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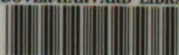
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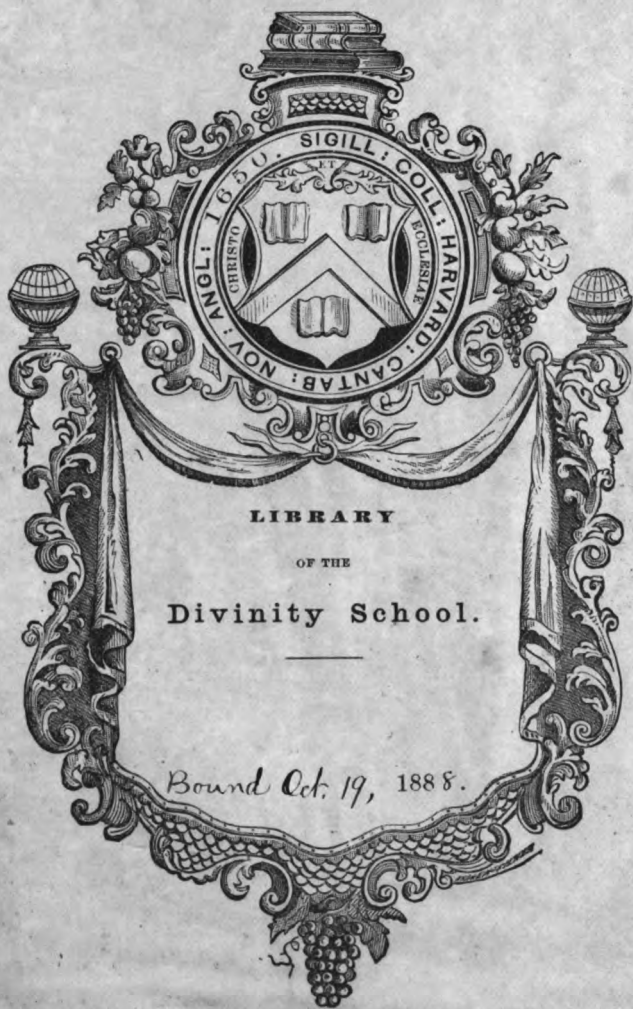
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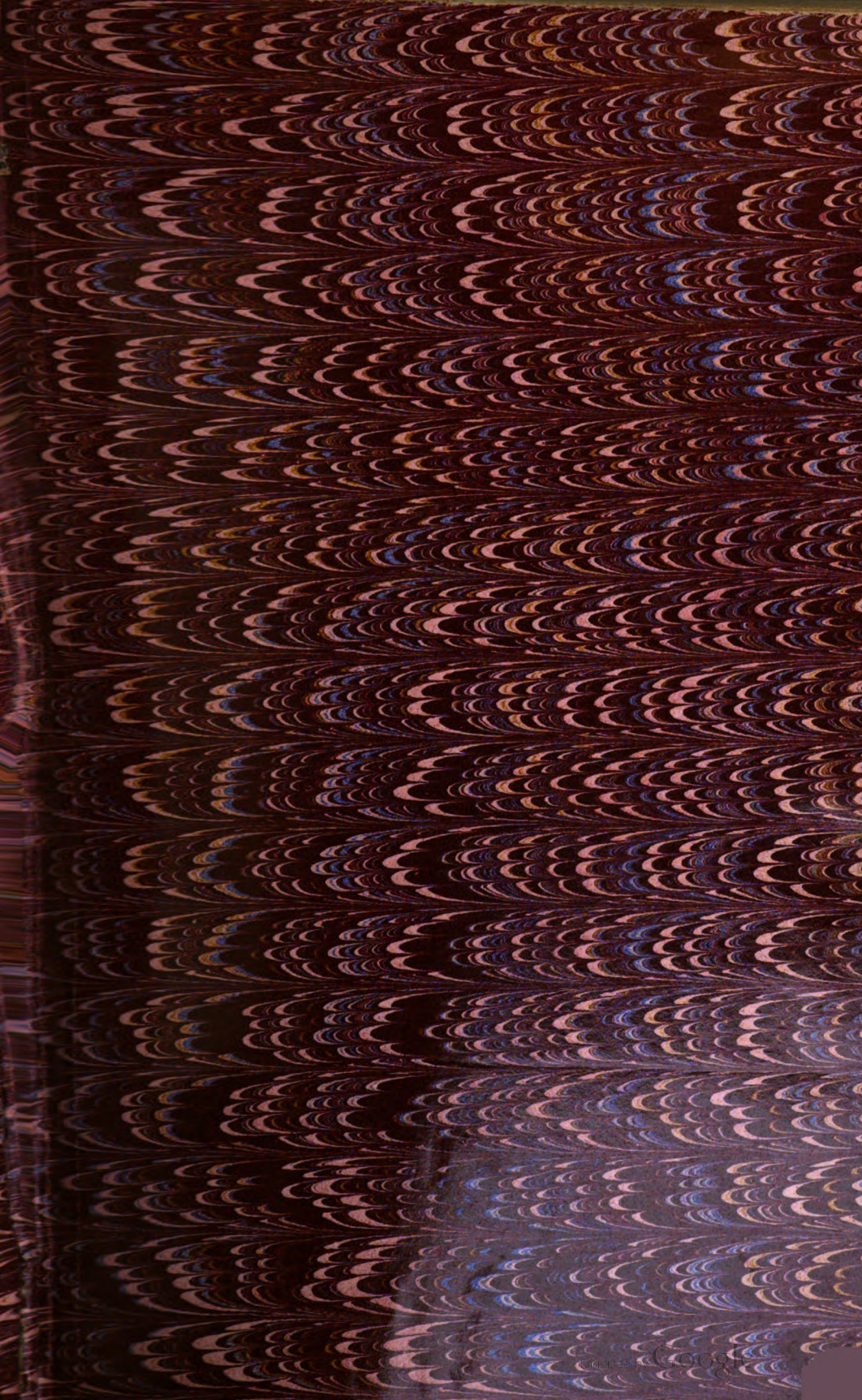


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EDITORS

EGBERT C. SMYTH, J. W. CHURCHILL,
WILLIAM J. TUCKER, GEORGE HARRIS,
EDWARD Y. HINCKS,

Professors in Andover Theological Seminary

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

PROFESSORS JOHN P. GULLIVER, JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR,
GEORGE F. MOORE, AND FRANK E. WOODRUFF.



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THE
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THE LEGAL STATUS OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN THE MODERN STATES.

ONE of the chiefest sources of confusion of thought in regard to any subject is the employment of the language of the past to express the relations of the present. Human ideas and institutions are, by the law of development, subject to perpetual modification and adjustment. The words and phrases which represent them correctly at one period of their growth are faulty and delusive when applied to another. As a general principle the terminology of every subject is behind the actual status. This is especially true in reference to the relations which constitute the problem of this essay. The current phrase employed to give title to the subject is "Relation of State to Church." This is misleading in at least two respects:—

1st. There is no such institution known to modern law as "the church." The phrase, "the church," is now only a collective name. It denotes a variety of separate and independent organizations having a common purpose. If the Platonians object to this statement we will grant them, for the sake of argument, that the church is an idea. In either case it has no legal status as an institution. The law takes cognizance only of the separate and independent organizations, and addresses itself wholly to them.

2d. The word "state" conveys no certain and distinct idea to the common mind. It is used sometimes to designate territory, sometimes government, and sometimes members of a political union. More rarely is it employed in its true scientific meaning to denote the sovereign, independent and ultimate organization of the people, upon which rests the constitution both of government and of liberty. Most frequently is it intended for government in the discussion of the relations which form the subject of this paper.

We seldom meet the phrase, "relation of the government to the church," although in nine cases out of ten this is what is meant, either exclusively or most largely, by the expression, "relation of state to church." Moreover the phrase, "the state," is subject, in some degree, to the same criticism which we have applied to the phrase, "the church." It is no concrete existence in the modern political world. There are states, but no universal state. "The state" is either a collective name or the symbol of an abstract idea.

The truth is that this nomenclature comes to us from the Middle Ages, when the state was the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, whose boundaries were, in theory if not in fact, the limits of civilization, and when the European church was one consolidated institution. We must discard its employment at the outset, if we would gain any clear and distinct idea of the relations of the present, either in practice or principle. The title which we have chosen is not subject to any of the objections to which we have just referred: "*The Legal Status of Religious Organizations in the Modern States.*" It requires, however, a word of explanation. We should indicate what we intend by the phrase "modern states." Briefly, we employ the expression to designate a definite system of fundamental political principles rather than a period of political chronology. Not all the states of the present are, from our standpoint, modern states,—not even the greater number. Only those which rest upon a national foundation, and have developed constitutional government and a popular "politique," can be strictly so termed. These conditions and principles have been attained chiefly during the most modern era, and therefore political science has borrowed from chronology the adjective in the phrase.

The discussion of our subject divides itself naturally under two heads, viz.:—

The relation of the religious organizations within the territory of a state to the state, and

Their relation to the government.

Modern public law distinguishes sharply the state from the government. It recognizes sovereign and absolute power as inherent in the state, and views the government as the creature of the state, deriving all its powers therefrom and subject to limitations thereby. Against the *state* there are no immunities, no rights, no liberties. Against the government, on the other hand, the state marks out a sphere of freedom and autonomy for the individual

and erects defenses for the same. The state makes the constitution upon which the government rests for existence and power, but there is nothing human more ultimate than the state. Its foundations are history, human nature, and God, and it is their sovereign interpreter. There is nothing in political science so difficult for the theologian to accept as the absoluteness of the state. "Dieu et mon droit" is usually his first principle. At the best, he seldom gets nearer to this most modern proposition than the doctrine of "natural rights." To ascribe the origin of rights to the state appears to him the root principle of tyranny and oppression. This is comprehensible. The theologian dwells largely with the ideas of past ages. His idea of right is an inheritance from the age when the prince was the government, the government was the state, and the ends of the state war and conquest; when, on the other hand, the church was the refuge of the people, the defender of their lives and property, and the promoter of their welfare. But the modern state is no longer that. It is the people in most ultimate organization. It comprehends, therefore, all interests, all institutions, and all persons. Its consciousness is the clearest light in which to search for justice and truth. It is the true king, who can do no wrong. Its will is the most ultimate force in mundane affairs. The churches or religious organizations existing within its territory are, as are all other associations and institutions, completely subject to it. Legally it is, either directly or mediately, the creator of them all, and they must look to it for their rights, powers and protection. The relation of the state to the religious organizations within its territory is, therefore, simply a question of high policy which the state alone determines through the precepts of its constitution.

The great, all-comprehending ends of the modern state are civilization and culture. It considers that these ends can be best secured in one direction by force, in another by influence, and in still another by liberty. The government is therefore but *one* of the means made use of by the state. The freedom of the individual and the encouragement of association are others which it employs; and, in proportion as the individual rises in the scale of culture, it employs them in higher and higher degree. This realm of autonomy is as truly a creation of the state as is the government itself. The state marks out its boundaries in the constitution, and commands the government not only not to overstep these limits itself but to repel assaults upon them from any and every other source. Within this domain of *constitutional* liberty the

modern states place the freedom of religion, endowed with such privileges and immunities and subject to such limitations as in their view the welfare of the individual, the community, and the state warrants and requires. From this point, therefore, our problem is the relation of the *government* to the religious organizations within the state.

We search in vain throughout the *constitutional* law of the modern states for any express provision which secures the freedom of religious associations against the powers of the government. If it be a constitutional right, it must be implied from the clauses guaranteeing the freedom of religion; and in order that such an inference should be authoritative and form a settled part of the law, it must be made by the organ vested by the state in the constitution with the power of interpreting finally the constitution. In the European states this is the legislature. In the United States it is the judiciary, — that is, where private rights are involved; otherwise it is the legislature. Far from recognizing the powers of religious organizations as secured by the constitution, the legislation of all the European states treats them as subject completely to *governmental* supervision and control. In the United States the highest judicial body has placed a similar interpretation upon our constitutional law. In the case of *Reynolds versus the United States*, reported in volume 98 of the decisions of that great tribunal, the Supreme Court of the United States declares that the clause of the Constitution which provides “that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,” deprives Congress of legislative power over opinion merely. That is, the freedom of religion, as recognized and guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, is only the freedom of individual belief. On the other hand, when that belief seeks to take on the form of acts and practices or to exercise powers through religious organization, it is subject to the powers of the government. I am not aware that this question has been the direct issue in any case adjudicated by the courts of the commonwealths, but we may surely conclude that, if such be the principle in reference to the powers of the United States government within the organized territories, such it must be in reference to the powers of the commonwealth governments in the respective commonwealths, unless otherwise prescribed in their constitutions. There is no such *express* restriction in any of these constitutions, and there is no clause in any of them more favorable in language to such an implication than

that contained in the Constitution of the United States, which the Supreme Court of the United States has declared shall not be so interpreted. The modern states confer upon individuals no *constitutional* right of practicing their religion and instituting religious organizations solely according to the dictates of their own consciences. Rights of this character are conferred or allowed by the *government*. The genius of the modern state, indeed, recommends the government to make this domain of individual action as large and as free as the safety and the interests of the public and of all individuals will permit; it sees therein the best means for the cultivation of true religious character; but it does not authorize individuals or associations to defy the government from the stronghold of the constitution in respect to these things. There is very great popular misapprehension, especially in the United States, in regard to the general rights and powers of associations, secular as well as religious. They seem to be considered, by a very large proportion at least of our people, to be not only constitutional rights, but the dearest and most important of rights. This view, however, completely confounds the modern with the mediæval state. In the mediæval state, the absolute freedom of combination for any and all purposes without governmental sanction, and even contrary to governmental command, was the leading characteristic. The practice was occasioned by the fact that the government was the prince, who could not sufficiently protect the rights of individuals or maintain the public peace and security or promote the general welfare, and who was often inclined to arbitrariness in his administration. The manors, the guilds, the leagues, the orders, and the church discharged many of the duties of the government toward the individual and the public. They, therefore, came to exercise many governmental powers. The union of public powers with private interests in the hands of the chiefs of these organizations resulted in grinding tyranny over the individual members of the same, while their rivalries and hostilities, unrestrained by the government, destroyed the peace, the power, and the welfare of the state. When this condition of things became no longer endurable, the prince and the mass of the subjects of these very combinations joined hands to crush their power. The result was the development of the absolute monarchies of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, which gave to the individual the freedom of his person and the security of his property against noble, bishop, and guild-master, — not completely, indeed, but in large degree. The experience of the Middle Ages had shown that

the complete freedom of associations will, in the long run, destroy individual freedom, and the universal cry for deliverance from their yoke was the declaration of humanity that the rights of individuals must be defended by the government against the powers of associations. So long as the absolute kings discharged this great duty, their government was popular. When, however, they themselves began the systematic invasion of the rights of person and property through their police and tax powers, then the combinations reappeared, and the power of the people was directed through them against the government itself. Through these new associations the absolute monarchies were overthrown and the states constitutionalized; and the more recent service which they wrought obliterated in the popular mind the memory of the evil which their predecessors created before. The constitutional law of the present, however, is more considerate. It holds that modern liberty means the liberty of the individual. It values association only as a help to the individual, and directs the power of the government against it when it becomes a violator of individual rights. The right of association is, therefore, not a primary but a secondary right; that is, it is subject to *governmental* regulation, and has no unlimited immunity in the *constitution*. Some of the earlier European constitutions contained it, but the error in principle was soon revealed and all such provisions were expunged from later instruments. It is a matter of the greatest importance that we understand and appreciate this point. We are threatened at this moment with the loss of liberty, not through oppression by government, but through the tyranny of associations. Our greatest danger is mediævalism, not absolutism. Let us fix, therefore, clearly in our minds the proper place of the rights of associations in the scale of rights. Let us free our minds from the thought that we are jeopardizing liberty when we lay strong hands upon the powers of associations. Let us fully realize that we cannot preserve modern liberty — the liberty of the individual — except through several very important restrictions upon the powers of associations; and let us not feel that the subjection of religious associations to these restrictions is either unnecessary or degrading. Religious associations have denied individual rights; some do now; and those which are not moved by the spirit of tyranny will not feel the bonds of the law in behalf of individual freedom.

As we have said, the modern states subject the powers of associations to the powers of the government, but recommend, so

to speak, the government to give them as great extension and play as the government shall find consistent with the highest enjoyment of individual rights and the highest welfare of the state. We have now to add that the modern states obligate the government so to limit these powers as, first, to prevent any association from taking possession of and exercising a governmental power; second, to prevent the rivalries and hostilities between different associations from coming to a breach of the public peace; and third,—and most important,—to prevent any association from denying to any member of the same, or to any other person, rights secured to him or her by the law of the land. The government is the only organization in the modern state which is authorized to use force, and the government is bound to use the whole power of the state, if necessary, to secure to the meanest individual the rights guaranteed to him by the constitution and the laws. Any hesitation on the part of those intrusted with the administration of the laws in such a case, no matter what the character or the strength of the combination to be dealt with, is vile and dangerous demagoguery. The modern state is the People, and the *government* is their organization; the laws are their laws, and are for their protection. The modern state should therefore throw overboard, instantly, any government which permits any association to defy the laws and violate individual rights, whether in the name of labor, capital, liberty, or religion.

Proceeding, now, from this view of the rights and powers of associations and of the limitations to which they are subject, let us examine the character of associations in the modern state. For our present purpose the only distinction necessary in regard to this point of our subject is between associations which are vested with or claim the exercise of a power to compel a member of the same against or without his consent or agreement, and those which are not vested with or do not claim the exercise of such powers. The truly modern state can endure the existence of the latter species only. At least we may say that if it permits the former, the government must place them under strict governmental supervision and control, for they are quasi-public organizations, or branches of the government itself. A purely private organization rests upon contract between its members. They can be held to do or to submit to only what they have, directly or indirectly, expressly or impliedly, agreed to do or to suffer. Neither can the body itself interpret, in final instance, the terms of the contract or the rights and duties which the contract creates, nor can it

compel performance. The judicial department of the government alone is, in the modern state, authorized to do such things. Such an organization can be safely left to the courts of remedial justice. Their powers and processes are sufficient for the defense of individual rights against any attempt upon its part to exercise undue power. If, however, we find within the state an association which may compel a member beyond his contract, or interpret in last instance the contract, or compel performance, then we have an organization exercising *civil* powers, and the government of the modern state is bound to do one of three things, namely, dissolve it altogether, or strip it of such powers, or adopt it as a governmental organ *ad haec*. In the latter case the government must place it under strict legislative and administrative supervision and control, as distinguished from mere judicial control; and must exercise revising and preventive powers over its acts as distinguished from a mere remedial power. These are the general principles according to which the relations of the government to any association within the territory subject to its jurisdiction should be determined.

Our final question is now: To which of these classes of associations do the religious organizations within the modern states belong? We may say that the great states of modern Europe agree substantially in assigning the religious organizations to the latter class, that is, to the class of public associations or institutions, and in subjecting them to the legal limitations and governmental control pertaining to their order.¹ They have found by experience that the great historic organizations of religion cannot be dealt with by the judicial power alone and on the theory of contract; that they exercise a power over the individual member beyond the control of the rule of mutual agreement; that they cannot be abolished or stripped wholly of this power; and they have therefore undertaken to settle the relations between them and the government under the view that they are public institutions, which must be intrusted with larger powers than mere private associations, and must therefore be subjected to a different and much stricter control. Consequently the administration of their properties is placed under governmental audit and approval. Their rules of discipline are limited by the law, and the application of them made subject to appeal to governmental organs for revision or cassation. The appointments to their higher stations can proceed only with governmental approval. The education of their clergy is directed, in considerable degree, by law. Even the enunciation of new doc-

¹ Hinschius, *Staat und Kirche*, S. 249 ff.

trines, the publication of proclamations and pastorals, and communications from persons outside of the jurisdiction of the particular government, are in many cases illegal unless furnished with the consent of the government. The purpose of these restrictions and this control is the maintenance of the rights of the individual and of the security of the state against the tyranny and the disloyalty of the associations. No one who reads European history closely and with understanding can fail to see that these means are both necessary and effective, and that any other manner of dealing with these organizations would be full of danger to the freedom of individual conscience and to the peace of the public. The European jurists have taken these organizations as they find them, and have generalized the principles of the relations which should subsist between them and the government from history and present conditions, and are now no longer duped by the high-sounding phrase of "the free church within the free state."

In the United States, on the other hand, we have a very curious condition of the law upon this subject, which does not, however, proceed so much from contradiction between statutes or judicial decisions as from confusion in fundamental principle. The law is fixed and uniform, but scientifically unintelligible. In the great and decisive case upon the point under consideration, namely, that of *Watson v. Jones*, reported in the thirteenth volume of Wallace's U. S. Supreme Court Decisions, the religious organizations in this country are classed *in name* as private associations, and are then recognized as in the exercise of powers belonging to public corporations, with the purpose of liberating them from the jural restrictions resting upon the former class, while, in all true political science, the legitimate effect of such recognition would be to place them under the far more stringent supervision and control of the legislative and executive powers of the government. In order that the position of the court and our criticism upon it may be clearly understood, we will give a brief account of the case, and quote the point and principal *dicta* of the decision. We would state at the outset that the reason why this case came finally before the United States courts was, that one of the parties was a resident of the commonwealth of Indiana and the other of that of Kentucky. The jurisdiction of the United States courts was founded wholly upon this fact. The law applied by the court was therefore commonwealth law, in so far as it harmonized with United States law, and not simply United States law. Neither was it the particular statute law of the commonwealth, as will be seen when

we come to recite the decision ; nor the general common law as modified by the particular statute law ; nor the general common law as interpreted by the courts of the particular commonwealth, — in this case, on the other hand, their interpretation was reversed, — but it was the general common law of the whole United States as interpreted and applied by the highest judicial body in the United States. We may therefore fairly say that it is the whole law in our dual system upon the subject, unless the constitutional or statute law of a particular commonwealth should otherwise ordain, which would, under our present system of distribution of governmental powers, create a different rule for that particular commonwealth.

The object of the suit was to settle the title to the property in the Walnut Street Presbyterian Church in the city of Louisville, Kentucky. The parties each claimed to represent that organization. The principal occasion of this state of things was the fact that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, the central and highest judicatory of that body, as the "Form of Government" puts it, had in May of 1865 decreed that voluntarily aiding in the war of rebellion and holding the doctrine that negro slavery in the South was a divine institution were *sins*, which must be recanted by every person from the Southern States making application for membership or office in any Presbyterian Church, before such application could be considered. The Presbytery of Louisville and the Synod of Kentucky repudiated this act of the General Assembly as a usurpation of authority, — as a violation of the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The parties in possession of the Walnut Street Church property at the time of the beginning of the suit before the United States courts were in sympathy with the above-mentioned resolution of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, as it called itself, although but few presbyteries south of the old slave line were represented therein at the time the resolution was adopted. These parties were therefore recognized by the General Assembly as the true Walnut Street Church. The parties seeking the property, however, were in possession of an order from the Court of Appeals of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, which court had decided that the introduction of the resolution of May, 1865, into the creed of the Presbyterian Church, by vote of the General Assembly, was a violation of the constitution of the church, was therefore a breach of the contract between the members thereof, and therefore

null and void. The order commanded the chancellor of the chancery court at Louisville to restore the Walnut Street Church property to the persons mentioned therein. Whereupon one Jones, of the party in possession, a resident however of Indiana, applied to the Circuit Court of the United States for an injunction restraining the chancellor from executing the order. The Circuit Court issued the decree of injunction, and one Watson, as representative of the party seeking possession of the property, appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States, and it is therefore from the supreme interpreting power in our system of government that we have the law upon this subject. We will quote the decision *verbatim* upon the point under consideration : —

“ Religious organizations come before us in the same attitude as other voluntary associations for benevolent and charitable purposes, and their rights of property, or of contract, are equally under the protection of the law, and the actions of their members subject to its restraints. . . . The questions which have come before the civil courts concerning the rights to property held by ecclesiastical bodies, may, so far as we have been able to examine them, be profitably classified under three general heads, which of course do not include cases governed by considerations applicable to a church established and supported by law as the religion of the state.

“ 1. The first of these is when the property which is the subject of controversy has been, by deed or will of the donor, or other instrument by which the property is held, by the express terms of the instrument devoted to the teaching, support, or spread of some specific form of religious doctrine or belief.

“ 2. The second is when the property is held by a religious congregation which, by the nature of its organization, is strictly independent of other ecclesiastical associations, and so far as church government is concerned, owes no fealty or obligation to any higher authority.

“ 3. The third is where the religious congregation or ecclesiastical body holding the property is but a subordinate member of some general church organization in which there are superior ecclesiastical tribunals with a general and ultimate power of control more or less complete, in some supreme judicatory over the whole membership of that general organization. . . .

“ The third of these classes of cases is the one which is oftenest found in the courts, and which, with reference to the number and

difficulty of the questions involved, and to other considerations, is every way the most important. It is the case of property acquired in any of the usual modes for the general use of a religious congregation which is itself part of a large and general organization of some religious denomination, with which it is more or less intimately connected by religious views and ecclesiastical government. The case before us is one of this class, growing out of a schism which has divided the congregation and its officers, and the presbytery and synod, and which appeals to the courts to determine the right to the use of the property so acquired. Here is no case of property devoted forever by the instrument which conveyed it, or by any specific declaration of its owner, to the support of any special religious dogmas, or any peculiar form of worship, but of property purchased for the use of a religious congregation, and so long as any existing religious congregation can be ascertained to be that congregation, or its regular and legitimate successor, it is entitled to the use of the property. In the case of an independent congregation we have pointed out how this identity, or succession, is to be ascertained, but in cases of this character we are bound to look at the fact that the local congregation is itself but a member of a much larger and more important religious organization, and is under its government and control, and is bound by its orders and judgments. There are in the Presbyterian system of ecclesiastical government, in regular succession, the presbytery over the session or local church, the synod over the presbytery, and the General Assembly over all. These are called, in the language of the church organs, 'judicatories,' and they entertain appeals from the decisions of those below, and prescribe corrective measures in other cases. In this class of cases we think the rule of action which should govern the civil courts, founded in a broad and sound view of the relations of church and state under our system of laws, and supported by a preponderating weight of judicial authority, is that, whenever the questions of discipline, or of faith, or ecclesiastical rule, custom, or law have been decided by the highest of these church judicatories to which the matter has been carried, the legal tribunals must accept such decisions as final, and as binding on them, in their application to the case before them."

The rights of property of a particular congregation were then decided upon the principles here advanced, and the decree of the Circuit Court affirmed. In other words, the Supreme Court of the United States has declared it to be the fundamental law of the land that the interpretation which the highest "judicatory" of

any religious organization puts upon its own powers over the subordinate judicatories and individual members of the same is *final*, and the civil tribunals will not inquire into the correctness of the same. The court appears to limit the scope of this wide-reaching principle somewhat by enumerating the subjects to which it is applicable, namely, faith, discipline, ecclesiastical rules, custom or law; but these are very general and indefinite terms, and we must not forget that the very case to which the court applied the principle was one directly involving the rights of property. The court did not say that, *if* the constitution of the Presbyterian Church vests the supreme and final interpreting power in regard to these things in the General Assembly, *then* the civil courts will not interfere. This would have been sound, for then *that* clause of the constitution would have been part of the original contract between the organization and all individuals entering the same. But the court refused to investigate the constitution altogether, and thus attributed to one party to the contract the power to bind the other by its own *ex parte* and possibly unconstitutional interpretation of the same. We submit that this is a civil power, and that it stamps the organization which has the legal right to use it as a *public* corporation. The learned counsel for the appellants in this very case, Mr. T. W. Bullitt, indicated this to the court. He pointed out to them the English law upon the subject in reference to the *free churches* of that country, as laid down by Lord Eldon himself, which holds that the civil courts must themselves examine and interpret the constitutions of the religious bodies, and determine from their own interpretations the rights and duties agreed upon under them; and that the claim that submission to the judicatories of such bodies is one of the original principles of their constitutions *is fact to be proved to the court*, and that there is no presumption of law in favor of such a claim. But our Supreme Court, in this case, with true American Chauvinism, waved aside the wisdom and experience of "abroad." In the important case of *Chase v. Cheney*,¹ decided but a little while before in the Supreme Court of Illinois, the only judge upon that bench at the time who had the knowledge necessary to deal with the questions involved, the late C. B. Lawrence, told his brethren plainly of the error into which they were falling by making a spiritual court in this country the final judge of its own jurisdiction; but they regarded the criticism as a European notion, and preserved the character of true Philistines in their decision. The justice who

¹ *Illinois Reports*, vol. lvii., pp. 541, 542.

rendered the opinion in *Watson v. Jones* knew well the case of *Chase v. Cheney*, and the dissenting opinion of Judge Lawrence. He was aware that there was another side to the question, but he evidently had no appreciation of its meaning or force.

We contend, therefore, that the religious organizations in this country, in spite of the fact that they are named in the language of the law and of the day private associations, are recognized by the law as in possession of powers which give them more the character of public corporations, and of public corporations of the most dangerous nature to the sovereignty of the state and the authority of the government, namely, of the nature of immunities. It is, no doubt, the intention of our lawgivers to confine them to the purely religious sphere, where such immunity would be harmless; and there is no doubt that the most of them imagine that they have done so, but they deceive themselves with the sound of words.

Evidently there is an *inherent* difficulty in the way of assigning religious organizations to the category of mere private associations, and we think it is this: These organizations hold that they rest upon revealed truth, that is, upon infallible divine truth, and this, in the close relation existing between religion, ethics and law, inspires them with the feeling that they possess the norms of a better *law* than any fallible human power can give. Why, then, should they be made subject to this human law? If these associations should or could take the view that theology was a human science, and that its postulates were the results of human experience, reflection and speculation, this difficulty might disappear; for as the national consciousness is wider and fuller than that of any religious confession, it could then be conceded that it would be clearer and purer. We would not be considered as offering this suggestion as our solution of this difficulty. We are not even willing to say that we desire to see the difficulty removed. We are only endeavoring to explain how it happens that, while the language and the theory of our law profess one view upon this subject, the facts and the practice reveal a different and a contradictory view. We are more inclined to regard religious organizations as quasi-public bodies, and advocate the readjustment of their legal relations upon that theory. If, however, they be recognized as in possession of fuller powers over their members than private associations may legally exercise, then must the government, in the modern state, hold a veto over their acts and a control over their administration, so far as it may regard

these as necessary to protect the civil and political rights of the individual members and secure the peace and welfare of the state. We pronounce it an utter confusion in political and juristic reasoning and language which terms religious organizations private associations, and then seeks to relieve them of the *judicial* supervision pertaining to the same by attributing to them immunity and powers of a public character, without asserting the more stringent control of legislature and administration over them. Really we do not comprehend how a true interpretation of our *constitutional law* can recognize to the courts the power to create these ecclesiastical immunities. The constitutions of the United States and of the several commonwealths vest the whole judicial power in courts created by the constitutions, or by the Congress and the several legislatures. No constitution vests in the judicial department the authority to delegate judicial power — surely not final judicial power. We do not, therefore, understand how the courts have any more right to accept the decisions of an ecclesiastical judicatory as final and unrevisable than those of the board of directors of a stock exchange, or of a bank or a railway, or those of the council of a club, unless specially empowered thereto by constitutional or statute law; and we do not think that this can be successfully claimed. Moreover, we think that the vesting of ecclesiastical tribunals with judicial power, or permitting them to exercise the same, is a question of polity, not of rights, and the Supreme Court of the United States has decided against its own power to determine questions of polity. (*Georgia v. Stanton*, 6th of Wallace's U. S. Supreme Court Reports.)

Political science requires that we should class these organizations according to their natural and actual character, and juristic logic then demands that we should attach to them the legal relations pertaining to their class.

John W. Burgess.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, NEW YORK.

CHRISTIAN WORK IN LONDON.

II. DISSENTING CHURCHES.—OTHER MOVEMENTS.

IN discussing the work of the dissenting churches in London we shall find many of the methods employed by them so similar to those already outlined in a previous article that they need no further description. It should not, however, be inferred that they are practiced with less earnestness and success by Nonconformists than by Churchmen.

The dissenting churches have about seven hundred places of worship, of all sorts, in London. Three hundred and thirty of these, most of which are quite small, belong to various bodies of Wesleyans and Methodists; one hundred and twelve to Independents or Congregationalists; ninety-nine to Baptists; sixty-seven to Presbyterians; and eighty or ninety to a variety of smaller sects and to undenominational missions.

The ordinary services of these churches are arranged and conducted in all essential respects like those of our own country. There are, however, some slight differences between their ways and ours. Their religious meetings are, if we are not mistaken, considerably more frequent than is usual among us. It is common to have two prayer-meetings on Sunday, besides two regular church-services and Sunday-school. Not a few of the churches have two sessions of the Sunday-school, the first coming before church in the morning, the second in the afternoon, and even have the same officers, pupils, and teachers at both sessions. Their Sunday-schools, as a rule, have the character of mission schools, and are usually not attended by the children of the best families in the church. Yet some schools are conducted on the American plan. It is a common plan to hold two prayer-meetings on week-days: one, perhaps, on Monday and one on Saturday evening; and a more formal service, with preaching, on Wednesday or Thursday evening. There is almost always more singing in the course of the service than is common with us. Morning service in most of the churches includes, at least, four hymns and a chant, or three hymns, an anthem, and a chant. It was noticed in two prominent Congregational churches in London that, during a morning service, followed by a brief communion service, there were sung, always by choir and congregation together, an anthem, two chants, and five hymns.

The celebration of the Lord's Supper is frequent, the event occurring as often as once, and even twice, each month. In the latter case there is usually one celebration after a morning and one after an evening service, in order that it may suit the convenience of all to be present at least once every month. There is also a system of tickets by which the members of the church indicate their presence at the sacramental service. Each member present deposits a dated and numbered ticket in the collection-box with the offering for the poor. This does not mean that no member can commune without a ticket; the ticket is simply an indication of his presence, and enables the church clerk to keep a roll of attendance, — a very useful thing, especially where the congregation includes a large number of poor and obscure persons.¹

Most of the methods of evangelistic work carried on by the dissenting churches closely resemble our own. They have prayer-meeting inquiry-rooms, gospel services, and protracted meetings precisely like ours. Although the music used for regular church services is somewhat unfamiliar, in evangelistic meetings of all kinds one invariably hears the well-known songs introduced by Mr. Bliss and Mr. Sankey; and, much as these simple melodies may be despised on artistic grounds, they certainly have a remarkable adaptation to the work for which they were designed, — that of evangelistic services among common people. They are used in such meetings, not only in London and all over England and Scotland, but at the McAll Mission in Paris, and the Young Men's Christian Association in Berlin.

Having premised thus much in general, brief description will be given of the work of two or three dissenting churches which deal directly with the problem of evangelizing the masses.

The first example is that of the *Highbury Quadrant Congregational Church*, of which Dr. Llewellyn D. Bevan, formerly of New York, and lately removed to Melbourne, Australia, was pastor at the time it was visited by the writer. This church stands in the midst of a rather prosperous district in one of the newer parts of London. The comfortable-looking houses about it are occupied by people of the middle and upper middle classes. There are poorer neighborhoods, however, within a few minutes' walk, inhabited by working-people. The church has two thriving missions. The relation of one of these missions to its parent gives

¹ I cannot say that this is a universal custom, but only that it is a common one. I trust my readers will not forget that I claim in none of these matters to speak with authority, except within the range of a very limited experience.

an extremely valuable hint at the way religious work may be successfully sustained and vigorously pushed in the poorest neighborhoods.

The Mission Church of Britannia Row is nearly a mile and a half away from the parent church. It stands in a narrow lane off from a portion of a great North-London thoroughfare, to which its abandoned character has given the title "The Devil's Mile." The population thereabout is of the poorest class, — day-laborers, washwomen, and costermongers. The Mission has all the appointments of a regular church. Its house of worship is large and comfortable. A regular pastor devotes his whole time and strength to its service. It has its own treasurer, deacons, and committees, and is in every respect like an ordinary church, except that it leans upon a stronger sister for support.

No church in such a community, with such a membership, could live a vigorously independent life, if it could live independently at all. There would be two great difficulties, and these the chief difficulties that disturb independent religious enterprises everywhere in poor neighborhoods: First, lack of money to support an efficient pastor, and to conduct the affairs of the church in a proper way; second, lack of workers competent to take helpful part in prayer-meetings, to organize and lead the various agencies that are needed to lift along the work, and to teach in the Sunday-school. In this case the difficulty is overcome by uniting the weak church with a strong one. The latter, out of its abundance, supplies the needs of the former, and both are benefited by the transaction, — one with the blessing of giving, the other with that of receiving. The Highbury Quadrant people pay the entire pastor's salary for their brethren at Britannia Row, and in hard times, when the weather is bitter and work short, so that many are in destitution, they come generously to their aid with gifts of food, clothing, and fuel. The stronger church sends also a corps of its very best workers to assist in the Sunday-school and prayer-meetings, to lead mothers' meetings, and even to take the office of deacon in the church. It would be strange if this outlay of its strength in support of a feeble sister did not, as it does, react powerfully upon the sustaining church, giving it more means for home expenditure and more workers for home work. It would be strange if going down to play the part of brother and sister in deed and in truth, by working shoulder to shoulder with these sons of toil and daughters of sorrow, did not, as it does, give to the well-to-do people of the Quadrant Church such an under-

standing of the needs of the poor, and such sympathy with their troubles, as no end of reading and speculation could afford. It would be strange if these gifts of money, of strength, and of fellowship did not soften the bitterness of the poor toward the rich, as indeed it does, convince them of the reality of Christian brotherhood, and open their hearts to all the uplifting influences of the Christian religion. Within the past ten years the neighborhood of Britannia Row has been surprisingly transformed. Neat and comfortable dwellings are rapidly taking the place of the wretched rookeries that once abounded in those parts. Where once the people were, almost without exception, ragged, drunken, and miserable, they now appear, in a great majority of cases, to be neatly clothed and comfortably situated. This remarkable change is doubtless chiefly due to the influence of the Mission Church.

The other mission connected with the Highbury Quadrant Church is smaller, and more of the usual type. The feature of it that appeared to the writer most interesting was a working-men's club and benefit society, comprising seven hundred members, of which Dr. Bevan was president, for whose meetings the Mission buildings are used. A similar club meets also in the lecture-room of the main church. The church, with both of its missions, sustains a very great number of societies, clubs, classes, meetings, penny banks, unions, mothers' meetings, fathers' meetings, etc. The Church Report states that, "irrespective of meetings for worship, there are, in all, not less than 56 such institutions, all of which, with the exception of five, meet at least once a week, that honor the pastor with the title of president. The Sunday-school scholars in all these institutions number more than 1,800; the members of the various mothers' meetings, nearly 1,000. Their annual contributions for the purchase of coal and clothing exceed £600; penny banks have 926 depositors, and their total deposits last year amounted to £579. The various temperance organizations have a membership of 700; the mutual benefit societies, a membership of over 1,100, with an income for mutual help of more than £1,350. Once a week, during six months of the year, about 850 poor children receive a meat dinner, and 700 poor families, or 8,500 individuals, receive, on Christmas eve, sufficient material to provide substantial dinners for two days."

Not far away from the church are the stables of one of the great street-railway companies. In these buildings, and on the cars

that run out from them, are employed, day and night, seven days in the week, a large number of men, of a class as much neglected by teachers of religion as any in civilized countries. A missionary is employed for their special benefit, a man of their own rank, who before his conversion was well known to them as a famous quack, gamester, and drunken horse-doctor. He is now a thoroughly changed man, full of zeal, with a rough sort of power, and an ardent advocate of temperance. His history, experience, and natural gifts, sanctified by the grace of God, secure for him great influence over the men. He has won scores and hundreds of them to total abstinence, and many to the service of Christ.

It is estimated that through these various channels the church, whose membership is only 517, comes in contact with at least 10,000 lives.

The *Tolmer's Square Congregational Church* adapts its work to the needs of the poorer classes by a very interesting movement of a somewhat different character. This church stands in the north-west quarter of London, not far from the junction of Euston and Tottenham Court roads. The neighborhood is one which was long since abandoned by the wealthy, and from which well-to-do householders have gradually been moving away, leaving the better streets to business and boarding-houses, while the poorer ones swarm with an ever denser population of artisans and laborers. Few churches have been called upon to look more squarely in the face the sternest, most difficult problems of city evangelization. As an effort toward the solution of those problems, some ten years ago, under the pastorate of the Rev. Henry Simon, now of Westminster Chapel, there was projected by the church an institute for workingmen; that is, a place for the meetings and the headquarters of their friendly and temperance societies, and a place where they could always gather for a social evening. The Rev. Arthur Hall, of Bristol, brother of Dr. Newman Hall, succeeded Mr. Simon, and pushed forward with great energy the plans of his predecessor. During his pastorate that noble building was completed which bears the name of *Tolmer Institute*. At a distance of about three minutes' walk from the church it rises loftily in the midst of a multitude of small shops, gleaming gin-palaces, and dingy tenement-houses. Four shops occupy the ground floor, one of which is a temperance café belonging to the Institute. The rest of the building is occupied by rooms of various shapes and sizes carefully adapted to its needs. Among these are a gymnasium and three good-sized audience-rooms, the largest of which has seats for 800

people. The cost of the whole establishment, together with the land on which it stands, was not far from £14,000. Not more than five years have elapsed since its completion, and about three since the coming of the present pastor, the Rev. Frederic Hastings. Yet under his skillful management it has become a potent centre of Christian influence in that community, and its spacious accommodations are already taxed to their utmost capacity.

Among the various institutions for working-people that meet in this place, the following are noted: a Sunday-school, a Band of Hope, two lodges of Good Templars and one of Sons of Temperance, a woman's temperance society, a thrift society, three building societies, a mutual improvement society, a "help-myself" society, two Phoenix (that is, temperance friendly) societies, a penny bank, and a number of evening classes. There are also frequent "smoking concerts" for workingmen, and popular penny concerts, which draw audiences of seven or eight hundred every Saturday night, and pay their way handsomely. Here the pastor's wife holds mothers' meetings, where poor women gather weekly, bringing their babies and their sewing, to hear reading, music, and gentle words of encouragement and helpfulness. Here, too, are held frequent mission prayer-meetings. The best thing about it is that all these various institutions move on of themselves, and are not a great and crushing weight upon the shoulders of the pastor.

It is worthy of notice that the chief political power in that district, low and vicious as the neighborhood appears, is in the hands of no brewer nor liquor-dealer. The member of Parliament for the west division of St. Pancras publicly acknowledged, at the last election, that he owed his seat to the personal influence of Mr. Hastings.

Before leaving this part of the subject the reader will be introduced to one other church, engaged in work of still another kind among the poor, — work which, in its way, is as remarkable as any that the world has to show. This is the *East London Tabernacle*. Its pastor, Rev. Archibald G. Brown, is a Baptist of the broad English type. He is a man of rather striking appearance, somewhat above middle height, rather slender, with soldierly bearing and laic dress, is prematurely gray, with a fresh animated face, clear tenor voice, and eyes that are full of leadership. He is gifted with remarkable executive capacity, and is at the same time a ready and effective speaker, filled with a passionate love for

souls.¹ His audiences perhaps surpass in size any to be seen in London, with the exception of Mr. Spurgeon's and those of the cathedrals. The church is a plain, square building, with scarcely the appearance of an ecclesiastical structure. It has seats for thirty-two hundred people, and remarkably good acoustic properties. It stands on Burdett Road, a few rods from Mile End Road, in the centre of East London. There is probably nowhere else in the world so extensive and so homogeneous a population of working-people as that in whose midst it is located. Many of these are exceedingly poor and degraded. Within five minutes' walk of the church in several directions, one may come upon the lowest types of human habitation. It was in this neighborhood, and by the assistance of Mr. Brown and his missionaries, that many of the investigations were made, the account of which, under the title "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," so startled England and all the world four years ago.

A correspondent of "The Daily Telegraph" has written a graphic account of an interview with Mr. Brown and a visit to certain parts of his parish, from which we shall quote at length, in order to give a better conception of the nature of the work in which he is engaged : —

" 'If you want statistics of the one-room horror, you shall have them out of my very district,' said the minister, turning to a carefully prepared tabulated sheet, which comprised every house to which his missionaries had access. 'What do you say to this? Three hundred and forty rooms yield nearly two hundred and sixty families, or, in square figures, twelve hundred and forty-four human beings. Cast your eye, sir, over the list. No. —, Cable Street, there are six families in twelve rooms, and twenty-nine persons living in the twelve-roomed house. Next door there are twenty-eight human beings in the house, exactly the same size. Number —, B—— Street, appears to head the list. No less than forty-seven human beings, the total of six families, are thrust every night into six rooms, and you shall presently see what rooms they are for which sums varying from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. are charged, — rooms with ceilings breaking away from the rafters; smoky and grimy rooms; rooms where chimneys smoke and windows won't unfasten; rooms smothered in vermin, or overrun with mice; rooms approached by breakneck staircases as black as

¹ This is chosen as an example of a style of Christian work such as that of Mr. Spurgeon, Dr. Bernardo, and others, in which the personality of the leader is a most important element.

pitch ; garrets of rooms with sloping rafters ; cellars of rooms underneath the pavement ; rooms overlooking low, miserable streets or foul mud yards ; hopeless, cheerless, despairing rooms where wives strip their children piecemeal for the pawn-shop ; where the furniture seldom consists of more than a broken table or backless chair ; where the children, when a stranger knocks at the door, come across to him with starving eyes and ask, "Have you brought mother some bread ?" — and where the blind, neglected, lonely widow sits upon an empty floor in a fireless room, during the dull November day, and mumbles hopeless assent when asked by the good-hearted missionary to join him in prayer to God that some miracle may be worked in order to lighten this unspeakable darkness.' " ¹

The reporter thus describes some of the places as he himself saw them in company with the missionary : —

"We now arrive at a house where the staircase is so pitch-dark that I have to grope my way up on my hands and knees. This is one of the cheerful abodes where forty-seven human beings are packed into six rooms. It is one of the strangest experiences I have ever encountered. Here, in this hovel, children are about to be born ; here men and women are dying ; here new-born infants are yelling for food, guarded by baby nurses, whilst the expectant mother is off on some errand ; here children of all ages and sizes swarm about the filthy floor with matted hair, and rags on their poor little bodies.

"We mount to the top of the house. We tap at a door, and it is opened. A picture-frame maker lives here, but he is out of work, as he needs must be, since, in the first place, he has pawned his tools to get bread ; and, in the second, he has scarcely sufficient clothing to go out and search for employment. The wife is in bed, or rather she is rolled up on the floor in a filthy rug — for there is no bed — suffering from acute rheumatism. The fire is almost out, and one of the children, without any shoes or stockings, is hugging the cat that is kept to insure an absence of mice and rats for the sake of the wretched people compelled to lie on the floor. We hear no grumbling, no complaint, no execration, no despairing cry. Even these poor people, with their empty stomachs and their fireless grates, listen to a prayer when it is offered up, though it sounds strangely under such circumstances. Talk to these people of the workhouse and they will refuse to discuss the question farther. The workhouse means separation from

¹ *Daily Telegraph*, London, November 21, 1883.

husband and child. They would rather starve or die here than that."

Such was the region in the midst of which an earnest man of God found himself stationed as a preacher of the gospel. The ordinary means of grace were found to be here, as they are everywhere when faithfully and prayerfully used, efficient. Mr. Brown proved to be a popular preacher. Multitudes came to hear him, and scores and hundreds, through his words and the Spirit's power, were born into the kingdom of God. But in a place like London, or indeed in any great city, large congregations may represent but small and limited sections of the people. So it was here: this great and flourishing church, in all its religious work, did not touch nor approach a very large portion of the community. Not one of the very poorest class — of the people who stood most in need of the consolations of the gospel — would ever think of attending any of its regular or irregular services; and those who did attend were a sifted and selected class composed of the most intelligent and well-to-do people of the community.

In the winter of 1879, when the length and severity of the season occasioned an unusual amount of distress, considerable sums of money were placed in the hands of Mr. Brown for the relief of the needy. The first plan adopted by him was that of distributing alms from his own home, but this soon proved impracticable. His door was continually besieged by throngs of applicants for aid, many of whom were quite unworthy of it, while the most deserving cases were the last to make their needs known. He accordingly employed two missionaries, who went from house to house through the most destitute streets, searching out the needy and supplying their wants in their own rooms. In this way he and his missionaries secured a welcome to about a thousand homes that had before been closed to Christ and Christian teachers. They thereupon resolved that "so open a door of usefulness should not be allowed to close." The matter was presented to the congregation and friends. They responded with liberal donations. The work which had been commenced as a temporary measure, to meet the exigencies of a severe winter, was accordingly established on a permanent basis, and has been constantly expanding from that time to this.

It is assumed that when people are suffering the bitterness of extreme poverty, their most pressing physical necessities must be relieved before their spiritual destitution can be successfully dealt with. It is also assumed that any system of relief work which

aims at anything less or lower than the conversion of those for whom it labors to the Lord Jesus Christ can give only a temporary and superficial sort of help. The plan is therefore adopted of first ministering to the immediate wants of the poor, feeding those who are found to be hungry and without food, clothing the tattered and half naked, furnishing coal to the shivering and fireless, redeeming from pawn artisans' tools, garments, and other necessities of life which famine has torn from them, providing medicines for the sick, and helping the unemployed to find work. Secondly, and simultaneously with their work for the relief of these physical necessities, it is the custom of the missionaries then and there to preach the Gospel to the neglected people. Into the midst of the want, squalor, and sunless sadness of their wretched homes is brought the story of Christ's redeeming love; the claims of God are personally urged; salvation by the only Saviour is freely and affectionately offered, and these heathen in the heart of Christendom are taught to commit themselves, with their wants, to the Fatherhood of God.

Nine missionaries who give their whole time to such work were, at last accounts, employed by this church. Not merely from house to house, but from room to room, they go, relieving the needy, visiting the sick, consoling the afflicted, and preaching the Gospel everywhere. Their energetic leader declares that a missionary of experience never stops to talk in the entries, never visits the lower rooms first, but goes to the very top of a house to begin his work with its inmates, and "prays his way down," leaving no apartment unvisited where it is possible to gain admission.

The missionaries, after spending most of the day in visitation, hold evening meetings for the benefit of the people among whom they have been working in four mission halls provided for the purpose. Each missionary has a regular personal and private interview with the pastor once a week, and each sends in a weekly report stating the kind and amount of relief given, the number and locality of calls made, and the meetings held.

Money is never given away, except in very special cases. All relief is supplied by tickets, which are orders on the grocers and shopkeepers, or on a central office, where tea and clothing are given out. As the tickets are given gradually, in connection with the calls, there is never a rush upon the central office. All garments given away are stamped with Mr. Brown's name, and therefore cannot be accepted at the pawn-shops. The church and its friends also sustain an orphans' home, and a seaside home for

the exhausted and for convalescents, besides a great number of clubs, societies, meetings, and classes such as have already been described.

The vigor and activity of the life enjoyed by the church is remarkable. No communion season passes — none has passed during the twenty years of the present pastorate — without accessions to its membership. On the occasion of our last visit, in July, 1886, we were informed that sixty persons were then waiting to be baptized within three weeks, which was said to be no extraordinary number. Most of these are not the fruits, or at least not the immediate fruits, of the mission work. It deals with persons so degraded that ordinary church services cannot effect them. They are lifted by degrees. They are first touched by the words of the missionary in their home, are then persuaded to visit the mission chapels, and are there lifted a step higher. They next learn to enjoy the prayer-meetings of the church, and are finally brought into the regular services of the Lord's house.

"Any week evening service," says the pastor, "there may be found at our tabernacle prayer-meeting those who used to lead drunken, abandoned, and, in some cases, indescribably vicious lives. We do not say that all these are truly converted, but, to say the least, it is a glorious change from street-walking and public-house fighting. There is no hopeless class. Christ wins them all."

One naturally asks how any church, and especially one so largely composed of poor people, can possibly raise money enough to support such extensive missionary operations. In reply to this question, we quote again the correspondent of "*The Daily Telegraph*": —

"You ask me where the money comes from with which I am able to relieve these sorrows of Shadwell. Well, I am old-fashioned enough to believe in prayer. I pray for these wretched people night and day, and as yet I have never prayed in vain."

The work is not advertised. No one but the Lord is ever asked for money or for help. Once a year the church appoints a day for receiving special thank-offerings to be devoted to the mission work. A week-day is set apart as thank-offering day. Due notice having been given, the church is open from early morning, when men are going to their work, until late at night, and all day long the pastor is present to receive in person each gift from the hand of the giver. The offerings are of all sizes: poor workingmen bring a shilling or two; children contribute

a few pence; widows offer their mite; and the few that are rich bring much. Each donor, whether his gifts be small or great, is properly credited with it in the books. As most of the people are poor, the greater proportion of the money raised comes in small sums of a few shillings each; but, taken all together, the thank-offerings usually amount to several hundred pounds. Besides this, donations for the mission work pour in from all over England. Not a farthing of debt is ever incurred; yet means have never been lacking for the continuance and expansion of the work.

Christian workers in London have experienced the same difficulty in retaining their influence over the older boys of the Sunday-school that has perplexed so many of us here. Our attention was directed to one very interesting and successful effort to overcome this difficulty which is well worthy of study.

The Regent Square Presbyterian Church, of which Dr. Oswald Dykes is pastor, had a flourishing mission, since then become a church, in Somerstown, a poor neighborhood in northwest London. Connected with this mission was a large Sunday-school composed almost entirely of artisans' children. Great numbers of small children and of larger girls attended the school; but the boys, after reaching the age of fourteen or fifteen, became possessed of the notion that they were too big for Sunday-school, and so left it, and were soon estranged from religious influences of all kinds, so that the work done for the boys' classes seemed like water poured on the ground. For the sake of saving these lads, after much thought and prayer, *An Institute for Working Lads* was planned and organized. It commenced very modestly with a small membership, and provided at first only a small room for reading and club room, a Bible-class, and one or two evening classes. But it grew and extended its operations rapidly. Commodious quarters in an old chapel were secured, — a gymnasium, a library and reading-room, and evening classes were successively added; games were provided, a regular ground for cricket and football was hired, meetings and entertainments of all sorts were held; and now the "top story of the Sunday-school," as the *Oldenham Institute* is sometimes called, is wonderfully popular. It has a membership of over four hundred, and the average small boy of that Sunday-school has no higher ambition than to become a member of it, a thing not allowed until he has reached the age of fifteen.

There are three Bible-classes in the week. A guild with daily

Bible readings and monthly meetings comprises a large portion of its members. They have a course of "ambulance instruction" on first aid to the injured, art classes, classes in English literature and composition, in English grammar and elocution, in political economy, singing, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, French, German, and nine different science classes, besides technical instruction in carpentry, plumbers-work, printing, and lithography.

As most of the members are young, and all of them engaged in tedious toil during the day, the Institute performs no slight service in providing them with healthy play. It has a chess and draughts (checkers) club, a cricket club, a football club, a swimming club, and a club of "harriers" for the old-fashioned English game of hare-and-hounds.

The Institute has, in many ways, been of almost priceless value to its members. By taking up the evenings and holidays, which most boys of that class simply idle away on the streets or in worse places, and filling them with helpful instruction and healthful amusement, it has lifted its members quite out of the old degraded life to which they were born and seemed to be doomed. When the president, a warm-hearted British merchant, had conducted the writer through two or three rooms full of the young fellows engaged in their usual employments, he exclaimed, "Why, these are not working lads!" "No," was the answer; "it is true that they are nearly all clerks; but working lads they all have been, and working lads they still would be were it not for this Institute."

In speaking within so limited a space upon so great a theme as that of Christian work in London, it has been necessary to select a very few characteristic items for presentation out of the vast amount of material at hand, and it has seemed wisest to dwell on those forms of work that are more or less directly connected with local churches. But it should not be forgotten that a large proportion of the religious effort in the city, especially that which deals with the needs of the poor, has no connection with any local church. There are multitudes of independent missions of all sorts, many of them well worth studying, of which we can make no mention. It will not do, however, to pass by without a word of notice the most remarkable of them all. That is *The London City Mission*.¹ This great organization has, for fifty years, been carrying the gospel silently, but with exceeding power, into the dark and cruel places of the great town. It works in the interest

¹ See *These Fifty Years*, John Matthias Weyland, London, 1884.

of no denomination, — is supported by collections made from all the churches, and by donations from Christians of every name and order. Its missionaries, of whom there are now about five hundred, are chiefly occupied in carrying the gospel from house to house in the neglected parts of the city, in distributing tracts and portions of the Scriptures, and in ministering to the sick and dying. Upwards of three millions of such calls were reported last year, of which two hundred and seventy thousand were calls upon the sick. Besides this general work, the society has appointed a large number of special missionaries for the benefit of certain classes whose peculiar circumstances have shut them out from the regular means of grace. Missionaries are employed by the society who give their whole time to work for policemen, for bakers, for night and day cab-men, for drovers, for omnibus and tram-car-men, for soldiers and sailors, for fire brigades, for theatre employees, for hotel servants, for canalboat men, for coachmen and grooms, for letter-carriers and telegraph boys, for railway-men and navvies, for gypsies, for fallen women, and for thieves. A score or so of missionaries are exclusively engaged in visiting public houses, gin palaces, and coffee shops. The missionaries also conduct a great number of Bible readings and evangelistic meetings, some of which are held in workhouses, penitentiaries, hospitals, and factories, and many in the open air.

Street-meetings are very common in London. You will hear the voice of prayer, gospel melodies, and earnest preaching by the wayside in scores of places all over the great city on any pleasant Sunday afternoon or during the long twilight of the summer evenings. The parks are the favorite places, however, for open-air services. On every Sunday afternoon several such meetings are carried on at the same time, and side by side, both in Regent's Park and Hyde Park. Besides half a dozen meetings for preaching the gospel, one of which is always conducted in the German language, there are usually two or three for the proclamation of socialism and others in which the credibility of the Christian religion is discussed in alternate attacks made by some representative of infidelity and defenses by some Christian. London has a *Society of Christian Evidences*, which gives particular attention to training young men for work of this sort. Many churches in poorer neighborhoods preface their evening services by brief open-air meetings. The value of such preaching may be questioned. It shocks one's sensibilities, at first, to hear sacred things cried out amid the shifting, laughing, trifling crowd out for a holiday.

Yet the careful observer will rarely fail to find one or two real listeners at every such meeting. I know of one large and flourishing church, situated in a neighborhood of great poverty and vice, which sprang out of an open-air movement combined with a mission Sunday-school in the first place, and, having continued its out-of-door services until the present time, has actually gathered a large portion of its members from the streets.

A discussion of Christian work among the masses of London would be incomplete without some reference to that singular religious movement called *The Salvation Army*. The nature and methods of this organization are too well known to require description; but in order to be intelligently understood they should be studied on their native soil. About twenty years ago, when there was far less religious and philanthropic work for the poor than now, a certain unknown Wesleyan minister, William Booth by name, touched by the misery and godlessness of the place, commenced preaching the gospel to the poor on a waste piece of land near Mile End Road, East London. Out of that humble beginning sprang the Salvation Army, at whose head Mr. Booth continues to stand, the "general" of a host whose officers are now numbered by thousands, and the soldiers by hundreds of thousands, and whose operations are extended around the globe.

This is a mission from the lower classes, by the lower classes, and for the lower classes. It speaks to the common people in their own manner and their native language. The vernacular of the slums of London is practically a different language from that of the prayer-book and the pulpit. Religion, as the church ordinarily teaches it, is presented in a tongue half unknown to the day-laborer. The missionaries to the Indians have best succeeded in converting them, not by teaching them English first and then presenting the gospel in English, but by translating the truth into their own rough speech and bringing its messages home to their heart on the wings of the mother-tongue; so it is the plan of the Salvation Army to translate the messages of salvation into the rude lingo of the dockyard and the gin-palace in order that it may reach those who know no other language. For the same reason its music and its religious meetings resemble the entertainments given in cheap theatres and low concert halls.

It has many excellent features. The earnestness and courage of its leaders, and their enthusiasm for the salvation of the very lowest, cannot be too highly praised. The plainness of its speech and the faithfulness and power with which it bears its testimony

are to be commended. Much of the criticism urged against it is unjust. Utterances of its members that seem shockingly irreverent, and actions that seem rude, take that appearance because the observer judges from his own standpoint, and is unable to appreciate the sincerity from which they spring. It is, however, undoubtedly the case that the Salvation Army furnishes a striking illustration of the truth that the religion of a class, whether the class be high or low, must always be a narrow and one-sided religion. This movement, being exclusively one of the lower class, lacks just those elements that the presence of cultured members would give it. It needs ballast. It is enthusiastic, courageous, and hearty; but it is neither wise, nor thorough, nor profound. There is an excessive amount of evangelistic appeal; there is a grievous lack of religious and Biblical instruction. As to the value of its work on the whole, it is not easy to speak with certainty. One finds a great variety of opinions regarding it. Of its value in one direction, however, there is but one opinion. It has had a great influence in stirring up the churches to an appreciation of the needs of the poor and their duty toward the outcast.

It is encouraging to believe that the religious work of London is not without effect. There has been progress in the condition of the working classes within twenty-five years. Slowly but surely headway is making against the awful current of sin and misery. There is less drunkenness, less pauperism, and less crime in the great metropolis to-day than ten years ago. The missionary spirit is abroad in the churches and increases from year to year. "With God all things are possible," — and it is one of the modern miracles to see a city growing better while she adds daily to her immensity.

Samuel Lane Loomis.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

TRUMAN M. POST, D. D.

WHEN Truman M. Post was twenty-two years old, inducements were held out to him to enter the law office of Senator Rives of Virginia. It was the natural course for him to have taken. His intellectual bent was in the direction of the legal profession. At the time, the ministry seemed forever closed to him. He had been for months listening to the magnificent arguments of the supreme court and the debates of Congress at Washington, in

those great days when Marshall, majestic and simple, was upon the bench, and beside him Story, rich in legal and classic learning; when Wirt, Jones, and Taney were being heard in the supreme court; when the second Adams, Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Benton, Rives, and many others were heard in the chambers of Congress.

But there ran across the path of the young aspirant for legal pursuits the hero of Fort Croghan, General Duncan. He had cast in his lot with the mysterious land of promise, the virgin state of Illinois. With true Western enthusiasm and hospitality, he gave young Post such an invitation to go to the valley of the Mississippi, that he turned aside from the flattering invitations of the South to become, as he supposed, a lawyer in the far West.

Those who have known Dr. Post, with hair silvered, and a face such as the seer of Patmos might have had, would have failed to have recognized him then in the stalwart young man, six feet in height, muscular, and not a little of the Boanerges in his eye. His birth from genuine New England stock; his early life among the Vermont hills; his association with the farmers, who thought on the largest problems of civil and divine government; his contact with the students and professors of his Alma Mater, — had given him a splendid physique, and toned to the loftiest pitch an intellect rarely surpassed.

Affliction had put its hand upon him. He had only a few years before been brought to the grave. His friends had gathered about him to see him die. A soul like his could not and did not return from such a journey toward the eternities without bearing upon it the impress of the sights he saw and the voices he heard.

Few men have tried more honestly and earnestly to shape their career under the teachings of such an experience. He wanted, if he might, to stand before dying mortals with the message from the sky. One objection, and a fatal one, prevented him. He could not say that he believed the creed of the only churches which he could champion. He was not an unbeliever; but to stand up before men and declare his belief in doctrines that he had not studied, and as far as possible mastered, was abhorrent to his honest soul. Hoping that he might find relief, he went to Andover to study theology. He remained until, to his mind, the hoped-for result was impossible; and now we find him on the way, as he supposed, to Jacksonville to practice law. The date of this journey is sufficiently indicated by the fact, that from Washington he proceeded by horse-cars over a new railroad to the foot of the

Alleghanies, and over the mountains by stage, to descend by boat from Pittsburgh.

The journey was a leisurely one. It afforded time for a few hours at Marietta, and an interview with a man of mind not unlike his own, Henry Smith, president of the college. At Cincinnati he formed the acquaintance of Salmon P. Chase, then a young man twenty-four years of age; and, the two having much in common, at that hour began the friendship that served them well in the days when, comrades, they were to fight the grandest fight of the century. He met Dr. Lyman Beecher, and their conversation turned, as the talk of two such souls would naturally have gone, into lines that reached far into the mysteries. The vigorous mind and catholic spirit, the sympathetic nature, of the elder divine, did much toward clearing the theological views of the younger. Still he went forward in his purpose to enter the legal profession. Bidding good-by to the two men who in church and state had given him an impulse as a Christian patriot, on the same boat with General Harrison, then in his prime, he sailed on down the Ohio.

Dr. Post always loved to recall the week it took to reach St. Louis, "with the wild refrain of the colored boatmen ringing along shores frowning with primeval forests, or escarped cliffs pierced with caves, still haunted with fresh legions of brigands."

He came to what seemed to him "the end of the world," St. Louis, a French village of six or seven thousand inhabitants, unconscious of the tramp of the coming millions who were to break the wide stillness of nature. The hospitable people gave the young man a cordial welcome. He was pleased with them and the town, and arranged to enter the office of Hamilton Gamble, afterward the war governor of Missouri.

Before settling down to his proposed life-work, he determined to visit the man who had induced him to come West, General Duncan of Jacksonville. He went on foot by a bridle-path through the wilderness. "Never shall I forget," he writes, "my first vision and impression of the prairie, — the vast, silent, green waste, houseless, manless, the red man gone, the white man not yet entered; the ocean-like expanse, now a level plain, now rippling into verdant wavelets, now with a vast sea-roll of gradual rise and fall, occasionally bellowing into bluffs that bordered the river and the water-course, with long stretches and curvatures of forest flecked and embroidered with the redbud and the haw; the grassy desert, studded here and there with oases of the oak, maple, walnut, and the pecan,

fringed with the sassafras, the persimmon, and the sumach ; and occasional islets of the wild plum, cherry, and apple scattered through the sea of verdure, and with their fragrance hitting the sense from afar, amid which the plumage of the paroquet glistened and the thrush and the mocking-bird burst into song : it seemed to me a fairy landscape. It was youth's walk amid the fields of morning."

The day went on. He became weary and footsore. Seated for a few moments to rest by a grassy brook, he bathed his bruised and fevered feet. Suddenly he came to himself. He seemed to hear a voice, "What dost thou here?" He saw himself "drifting, a lone waif on the great tidal stream of nations, a single lost drop in it, into the vast, mysterious West, and then onward — whither? But a hand above was beckoning onward." As if to add terror to the scene, a prairie storm with thunder came, "like the march of God from Mount Paran, fearful with the roll of his chariot wheels, and burning coals went forth at his feet." It passed. The bow of peace came, and, with the whole earth full of His praise, the youthful traveler went on his way.

Arriving at Jacksonville, Messrs. Edward Beecher and J. M. Sturtevant called upon the young stranger in behalf of the college, asking for temporary assistance in the instruction of the institution. He accepted, and two weeks afterwards met Rev. Asa Turner, — "Father Turner," of sainted memory, — who had been East to secure a professor of languages. He had visited Middlebury and Andover seeking for the man, who, he was told, had gone to Washington and then disappeared, no one knew whither, somewhere in the Southwest. The temporary arrangement was not long after changed into a permanent one, and fourteen years of service fastened the title, used by the older clergy of the Mississippi Valley of to-day, "Professor" Post.

In the year 1835 Professor Post married Miss Frances A. Henshaw, of Middlebury, Vt., and began the home life of which he writes: "Here in my secluded home, where the birds came early in the spring and staid late in the autumn, and sang in tempestuous orchestra in the morning or in the soft, sweet hymn of even, — here was the beginning of my family life. Here I dwelt with one sent from God, through beautiful and happy years, and little sons and daughters came to me, — beautiful and happy years, often of labor and weariness and cares and sickness and sorrows, under that discipline, kindly though stern, that on the whole makes life better and stronger and fitter for heaven."

In these years also were formed the strong ties of the friendships of early manhood, with such men as Hardin, Douglass, Baker, Lincoln, and Yates, and with those other men, sympathizing more fully with the religious views that he had, Edward Beecher, J. M. Sturtevant, Samuel Adams, Newton Bateman, and others. These also were years of profound religious experience. The date of the great change that came over his intellectual and spiritual life was perhaps the tedious and dangerous illness of 1833. Of this he says: "It was to me a revelation and a benediction. During the month of convalescence I was enfolded and entranced with a beatific sense of the love of God and of communion with Him and the spiritual world, accompanied with the feeling of glad and grateful devotion to Jesus Christ, such as I had never felt before. My religion passed more from perplexed and anxious speculations to glad and Christward personal love and delighted self-consecration."

Naturally this new life craved a manifestation of itself. Friends from New England, who had gone after the fashion of the day into the Presbyterian Church, warned him not to risk his future usefulness and influence by joining the little Congregational Church just organized in the place. Astonished at the idea of submitting principles of church order to questions of secular or social expediency, he resented the proposed compromise, followed the instincts of his manhood, and "delighted in the spiritual franchise of our Lord."

It was not in the ordinary way that he entered the church. The wise pastor did not insist upon a strict observance of all the usual requirements for membership. The candidate was asked to do nothing which he could not conscientiously and intelligently do, and in the small upper room over a printing-office united his fortunes with the despised, insignificant company of believers, the only Congregational Church west of Ohio.

Not long after came the panic of 1837. The college soon was in straits. Its patrons had lost their all. Should the young professor enter upon the practice of the law to provide for his family? While deciding this question, a delegation from the church urged him to take license and preach. To preach he was willing, but to have any body of men over him, as authority in the matter of speaking for Christ, he could not. The most that he could do was to ask for recommendation from the Association, as competent and representative men, to the churches. The Association was startled at his demand. On inquiry, however, they found that the

course which he proposed was Congregational. He was granted his request and began to preach.

The fame of the young preacher went abroad. The growing metropolis of St. Louis coveted the pastor of the country church. They sent a delegation to urge him to move to the city. There were two objections in his own mind against going to St. Louis: he was attached to the college; he was "unwilling to lay his bones in a slave state, or commit his family to its destinies." Two reasons were in its favor: he could by the change be freed from urgent pecuniary embarrassment; he might do something to make Missouri a free state. Repeated and urgent calls resulted in an answer, which must be publicly read before the congregation, who after hearing it should again vote, and on the basis of the communication. His terms were these: that he would go for four years; that in the matter of slavery he regarded holding human beings as property as a violation of the first principles of the Christian religion; that, while he would not require of the church to adopt his views as to the mode of the removal of slavery, every Christian should be alive to the inquiry after some mode and his duty thereto; that he must be guaranteed liberty of opinion and speech. Save on these conditions he would not go, for "God did not call him to add himself to the number of the slaves already in Missouri."

To the statement often made, that he should change his views as others before him had done, he replied: "My convictions and principles in regard to slavery belong to the primal elements of my thinking and the very essence of my Christian manhood, and were incorporated with whatever was worth anything about me; and if I could surrender them, I should cease to be worth your calling or procuring." He also wrote them that he was a Congregationalist, and should remain one. The answer of the church was that they had done as he required, and wished more than ever to have him come. Going in this way he had liberty and found tolerance. The four years of his engagement quickly passed. During them, repeatedly asked to take the lead of a movement to form a Congregational Church, he replied that the peculiarity of his position forbade his doing anything to disturb ecclesiastical relations. He was told that many of his members by origin and all in their opinions were Congregationalists, that there was room for such a church in St. Louis and need of it, and all that he was asked to do was to guide the movement ready to be made. He again firmly declined to do anything which in appearance might

be construed as playing a false part while pastor of a Presbyterian church. Neither did he feel called upon to oppose the movement. As a result the church, without any knowledge on his part of the purpose or fact of their meeting, of their own motion and without consultation with their pastor, met, and with almost a unanimous vote decided upon a change of polity. Professor Post was called to the pastorate of the church; it seemed a call from God. The city needed such a church, and many, who could not enter existing organizations, were in danger of being lost to the Church of Christ unless such a step was taken.

The churches of the Pilgrim Fathers had thus a representative among the forces that were shaping the growing center of the new Southwest. "It was a little child, born under the shadows of slavery," the only one in all the South. It demanded a right to live and grow, and, in spite of opposition, contempt, and calumny, it lived and grew. Men of wealth and influence were attracted by the poet-preacher, whose life had a charm unsurpassed by his sermons.

By nature of a judicial cast of mind, Dr. Post could not be a partisan; and as the days of drawing sharp lines between the friends and foes of human slavery came on, although all knew that he was unalterably opposed to the peculiar institution, there were not a few slaveholders, and men who defended the system of slavery, who were among his warm friends and liberal supporters.

Congregations became large, and were composed of the very best people of the growing metropolis. One sanctuary after another was outgrown, until a large building, erected after the pattern of an Ionic temple, was crowded to its utmost. But meanwhile forces were at work, national in their reach, which acted with great violence in the border land between the North and the South, — the Kansas troubles, the Missouri border ruffianism, the triumph of the anti-slavery party, the fall of Sumter, and the uprising of the North. Men's souls were tried. Old friends were separated. Households were divided. Jealousies, suspicions, open rupture, abounded. Dr. Post, in an autobiographical discourse (from which I have quoted) a decade later, thus describes these hours: —

"The dark genius that brooded over the land, growing ever more aggressive and imperious, challenging more and more arrogantly the spirit of the age, of progress, civilization, and Christianity, was claiming at last to force into its service the temples of religion and the oracles of God. The murmur and tremor as of a

coming earthquake was in the deeps below our national structure. At last the fatal hour struck. The repressed forces upheaved and chaos came again, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. The sun became as blackness and the moon as blood, and the stars fell from heaven and the old world passed away. The long silence of the heavens broken, the Majesty of Darkness came forth from his secret chambers for judgment: 'a fiery stream went forth before him and burning plagues were at his feet.' 'The earth saw and trembled, and the perpetual hills did bow.' Then were the thrones cast down and the books were opened. In the awful arbitrament of wrath and ruin, The Highest gave his voice, and the dark spirit that had brooded over the land so long was cast out and driven into the outer dark, and the shackles fell from millions of hands. The storm passed, the bow of peace was seen in the broken clouds, and the sunlight broke in on a land where the hands and words of men were free." What was it to have lived these years, — a lone representative of thought and feeling that was challenged at every street corner, in the parlor, and on the rostrum, and nowhere more sharply than at the church-door! With the cries of the slave, the sound of arms, the varying fortunes of the tremendous conflict in his ears, his life, his dwelling, his family in peril, the oncoming cataract stealing his vision, with unfaltering faith, calm courage, unruffled temper, the fearless and none the less loving arraignment of evil, he passed the long days and the longer nights until the end came.

But with the destruction of the forces of slavery and the expansion and emancipation of thought there came not unalloyed delight. Movements, which did not wholly meet the approval of one who had dreamed of a different future, distressed him. Zeal, without knowledge as he thought, worried him. It was left to others to build upon the foundations which he had firmly placed.

He lived to see the sole church which he had championed represented by twelve organizations in the city of his adoption, and fourscore churches in the commonwealth. This progress and advance came not with even pace. Rapid at first, its course was checked, and men learned that proclamations may free slaves in a day, but time only, and a very long time, can make thought free. It was a rich commonwealth that received his life labor. Its untold resources its own citizens have little conception of, and the vast world outside knows nothing of. Here and there a glimpse has been caught of its future possibilities; and as the years go by, the day may not be far distant, suddenly there shall roll away the

barrier to its magnificent future, and then will be discovered also the hidden forces which, working wellnigh silently during the past, will leap forth with unsurpassed might, forces shaped and controlled by the thought, the faith, the life, of the founder of our order in our State.

What these forces were it would be well to designate. They have been hinted at in the story of his career. They deserve distinct statement and enumeration.

His Mind. — As Dr. Post lay in his coffin, some for the first time beheld the shape of the head and the lines of the countenance which were the worthy abode of his master intellect. Always he had been a striking personage among his fellows. But perhaps the benignity of his face had drawn away attention from its strength. There was a grouping of graces in his mind. He had the gifts of a poet, a philosopher, an historian, and a seer. Formal poetry he did not write, but rarely did he preach upon a lofty theme without breathing into it the truest poetry. His was the vocabulary of a poet who fills every word with beauty, and who can call into being words better than any current terms to express thoughts begotten in his own soul. The flight of his imagination was the wonder and admiration of those who heard him on great occasions,—flights into regions so lofty as to strike terror into the hearts of all who had not learned that no height made him lose poise. His face, as he stood before an audience, disclosed the soul of the poet. His fancy found play in the lighter efforts of his mind, in the abandon of conversation sparkling with wit and humor.

History was his favorite pursuit. The men of the past lived in his thinking, and the deeds of bygone ages were as vivid as present transactions. The rare faculty of a correct perspective was his, the ability to group events also. The “trend of affairs,” as he often expressed it, was the constant object of his search. It seems at times a mistake which made a mind fitted for such pursuits so full of the busy affairs of life, that the world will never see from his pen the judgment that he had formed of the past: but we console ourselves with the thought, that to make history is greater than to write history; that to have such a mind working out life-thoughts in the most sensitive community, during the hours of the greatest transformation of our nation’s life, was an amazing provision of Providence.

And he was a philosopher. The deep things of God, the farthest reaches of the human mind, engaged his thought. He was of the Lord’s chosen ones bidden by the Master to “launch out into the

deep." In his later years the richness of his conversation upon vast themes was only surpassed by its breadth and vigor. Others might be content with the beauty of the ocean of truth: he sounded its depths to discover the hidden treasures. Systems he did not formulate, doctrines he cared little to develop; but the thoughts that underlie systems, the truths that stand behind doctrines, were his delight. For he was a seer. The logical processes that other minds must employ he overleaped. The trodden paths that others walked in he had left behind. The mountain top, whence could be seen at a glance the greatest truths, was the outlook he had gained. Of him it could be said, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

Other men in his day may have surpassed him in the vastness of their attainments, in the patience of their research, in accuracy of detail, but few have had his intimate, direct, loving acquaintance with truth. It is not surprising that such a mind welcomed with eagerness any new manifestation of truth, abhorred all restraints on those who were searching for the verities, demanded for himself and for others liberty of thought. Oldness, newness, were nothing; trueness, to him, was everything.

His Soul. — Dr. Post was supremely honest of soul. Where other men could lightly give assent to a creed and thus join a church and enter the ministry, he stood back appalled. The vast truths of the confession and the catechism must be his before he could declare them true. I shall never forget the shudder with which he recalled an attempt to commit a mass meeting of one of our large societies against a dogma at the time regarded unorthodox. "Who of those who voted for or against the motion," said he, "knew the teaching of the Scriptures upon the question? What if those who are voting against heresy, as they thought, were voting against the Bible?"

"Dr. Post, as usual, voting on both sides of the question," said a member of the Missouri Association, little appreciating the fact that Dr. Post could not shut his eyes to the truth which is nearly always found upon both sides of questions which come before Christian men for discussion. The church which he founded has a creed, the work of the hand of its founder, twenty-five years in advance of the creeds of its day; but no man, woman, or child found this creed, or any creed, standing across the portal of his church. It distressed him to learn that a new convert, who had no instruction or little thought upon the truths that it contained, desired to stand up before God and men and de-

clare his belief in its different articles. It was all that he dared ask of any that they should be received after his saying to the congregation, "These persons have, on previous personal examination, exhibited satisfactory conformity with the following statement of the great truth of Christianity exhibited in the confession of faith of this church." The only vows asked were those of consecration and service. In more than one direction looked this pregnant passage from the dedication sermon which Dr. Post preached at the opening of his church in 1852: "Here we inaugurate a gospel free in vindicating the eternal rights of the human soul to God's truth and its private judgment thereon. May the gospel here never be bound! Chain up, if you will, the senate chamber, the court-house, the forum, but may the gospel never come forth in this place wearing manacles! Wretched the preacher, wretched the people, that will suffer chains on it. Eternal chains await them both."

His was a Christ-loving soul. He loved, with all the intensity of his being, the Christ. His soul was knit with the soul of our Lord. To Him he referred all questionings and doubts. It mattered little what theories were held upon this or that fact of God's Word or government. Jesus was to him "the way, the truth, and the life." Acquainted with all the planets and knowing their motions, he learned them all by the study of the central Sun. In the last published utterances of Dr. Post I find these words: "The present need of the Christian world is a new resurrection of our Lord from the dead, another mighty angel to roll away the stone from the sepulchre. We need a new walk with the risen Christ to Emmaus, and to feel our hearts burn within us as He opens to us the Scriptures. We need another Pentecostal effusion of the Holy Spirit guiding the church with the consciousness of Him as a living personal presence. There needs a new enthronement and coronation of Him, another Apocalypse and unveiling of Him as King of kings and Lord of lords."

His Heart. — Dr. Post, commanding as was his intellect, lofty as was his soul, to those who knew him best owed to a loving heart the secret of his power. His was not the affection of a passionate nature loud in its expression, nor of a jealous disposition imperious in its demands, nor of an exclusive cast with its few favorites. He had friends everywhere and of all classes and conditions, of those who loved him, not merely because he was great and good, but because he loved them. Strong men, tender women, and little children bewailed their loss when it was said that he was

dead. "St. Louis had three saints, now there are but two," said a prominent banker on the day of his funeral. "Was not that the apostle John?" said a little girl who, after hearing of the revelator and his last words, "Little children, love one another," felt for the first time the hand of the aged pastor-emeritus on her head.

Three generations mourned a dear friend, — the few equal in age to himself, who with him had passed through the valley of the shadows of a great national conflict; the many into whose life had been wrought the instructions which he had given them in their youth; the boys and girls who, when the twentieth century shall have dawned, will recall the face they were taught to revere and learned to love. How such a heart can suffer when those whom he loves forsake, neglect, try to injure him! And the heart of the man who deserves no foes, but none the less has the bitterness of enemies, can by the help of God keep to itself its agony and quench revenge, hatred, and malice. It was from others than the sufferer that men learned of the wounds which Dr. Post received.

His great soul was like an ivy rather than the oak. It never seemed to any one who came near him that he demanded aught of homage, or even respect. He loved because he needed to love, and was not ashamed to disclose this need. He carried the griefs of a thousand hearts. Sickness in a home summoned him, and death there made his presence a necessity. The cemetery, at the opening of which he delivered perhaps the master oration of his life, is now the densely populated abode of hundreds who were carried thither by his loving hands.

Dr. Post was fortunate in the hour of his death. He was not called to live until his powers had decayed, and those who had known him in his greatness must needs remark his decline: in full possession of his mind, interested in all that was transpiring in the world of thought about him, his beloved church transplanted from the scene of inevitable defeat to that of assured success, he fell asleep. There is a marvelous opportuneness in the hour of such a departure. Men are still living who appreciate and delight in the work of the generation to which he belonged. The judgment which approves only the work of the present generation has not become universal.

Judged by the standards that are now forming, the standards by which men are now being measured, Dr. Post's life would be regarded less than that of many men his inferior in mind, heart,

and soul. He did the work of the generation he lived in, not the work allotted those who followed him. The passion for method in church life, the eager energy in giving and employing money for the coming of the kingdom, the off-hand presentation of truth, and (I speak of it approvingly) the kindergartenism of church life, did not prevail in his time.

Men possessed of capabilities in these directions are the men of this hour, not of his hour. Judged by the only just standard of judgment, that of his generation, Dr. Post has few peers. What he ought to have done as an organizer of educational institutions or the founder of churches can never be answered until has been learned how large a part of the work that he did accomplish would have been left undone, had he given his time and attention to labors belonging either to minds of a different mold or times of a different date.

But what this man did he never would boast of, nor suffer those who loved him to bruit abroad. His only glory was in the Lord, whom he adored and loved. He has written in his own matchless way the relation which he held to Jesus, and with his eloquent tribute of love to the Adorable One this brief sketch of his life shall close : —

“I find myself under a system which of itself, unless supplanted by some further revelation, leaves me with no moral deliverance. My moral nature is cold and dead. God is glorious and the universe is beautiful. But I am helpless, hopeless, lost. I sink beneath the glory and the beauty as the desperate swimmer sinks beneath the splendors of the nightly skies in the depths of ocean.

“But now, as I look around in the very crisis of my despair, lo! the heavens are open, a wondrous person descends from the bosom of the Father, revealing the beauty of his unspeakable love in a human form, that wears for me mortality and suffers and dies for me.

“As I behold, a new spiritual power enfolds me. I feel myself in a new universe. New life beats through my whole being. Divine love, stooping to my nature and proving itself through suffering, is mightier than my guilt, my fear, my despair. It subdues me to repentance, to faith, to hope, to love. It enravishes me, it transforms me. Cloud and darkness pass from before the Throne. The emerald bow of peace engirds it. The intolerable brightness is shaded into the sweetness of human sympathy. Wide flung are the gates of the city of God. Hands that were pierced for me

hold open its portals ; One that has redeemed me, and washed me from my sins in his own blood, that cried on the cross, 'Father, forgive !' bids me come up thither, — a saved soul."

James G. Merrill.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI.

MISSION WORK IN CHINA.

II.

MY two months' stay in China is at an end. What report shall I make concerning my chief object of interest while there, — the spread of Christ's kingdom? Never have I been more impressed with the need of patience and a suspense of judgment in reaching conclusions.

There are at work in China, not deducting those at home on furlough, about 600 Protestant missionaries, representing thirty-three societies, — British, American, and Continental. In every one of the eighteen provinces, with perhaps a single exception, some of these missionaries are to be found. Besides this, the Roman Catholics are present in force at almost every strategic point. The Greek Church is found at Peking, Hankow, and possibly elsewhere, but undertakes little.

Of the 600 missionaries, I have met and conversed with about 125, representing twenty-one societies, British, American, and Continental. In fourteen of their central stations I have seen them at work. Those stations were not only on the coast, at such points as Chefoo, Shanghai, Foochow, Amoy, Swatow, and Canton, but lay along two of China's great rivers, — Tientsin, Yungchow, and Peking, on or near the Peiho ; Hankow, Wuchang, Kinkiang, and Wuhu along the Yangtszekiang. Yet, while I have used every opportunity to see and study the mission work, I have realized more and more at every step that my observation was necessarily very superficial, and that my judgment should be extremely cautious.

That ready access to and easy intercourse with native Christians which is so common in Japan is almost unknown in China. The language forms an insuperable barrier to the stranger, and one is largely dependent on the missionaries for his opinions of the work they are doing. Yet both the experiences and the testimonies of missionaries differ widely. The variety of judgment which

always obtains at home is increased here by the immensity and difficulty of the subjects dealt with; by the necessary ignorance of Chinese life and thought; and by the gulf between the Occidental and the Oriental mind. Besides all this, the testimonies of other resident Europeans, especially merchants and consuls, add fresh elements of difficulty, and require separate consideration. It sometimes seems here as if quite contradictory statements were equally true. *Ex uno disce omnes* must be carefully applied. There is a greater heterogeneousness in China than is generally supposed. Moreover, in the numerous stations I have visited, including the chief centres of Roman Catholic operation, I cannot presume that I have been able to study the mission work in its simplest, best, and most encouraging forms. These are only to be found, for the most part, in the country, away from the open ports, among the substantial peasant class, who form the main hope both for China and the gospel.

Yet superficial and inadequate as my study of this great subject has necessarily been, it has furnished abundant material for certain distinct conclusions, which I give for what they are worth.

As to the coöperation in missionary work, so prominent in Japan, I regret to say that in China there have occurred but few opportunities for this, and of those few but one has, to my knowledge, been thoroughly improved. When the Amoy missionaries of the Reformed Dutch Church reported to their friends at home, some twenty-five years ago, that the Chinese Christians under their charge had effected a union with those under the charge of the English Presbyterians at the same place, there came, as many will remember, prompt remonstrance from the American Synod and an order to sever the union. When the missionaries, to their lasting credit, refused to obey, and appealed to the home churches, the following Synod, better instructed and truer to God's kingdom, left the matter to the discretion of its missionaries. The result was that the classic instance of such coöperation as is prevalent in Japan is to be found to-day at Amoy, and Amoy alone. The venerable Dr. Talmage is still at work there, and uses his influence in behalf of the union of God's people in the same work.

There are hints given of the possible formation here of a Presbyterian Synod by the union of the Amoy, Swatow, and Formosa Presbyteries, the distances and differences in dialect not being so great as to prevent such intercourse. All this shows what is possible under the most favoring circumstances. The country, how-

ever, is so vast, the stations are so widely scattered, and the dialects so numerous and divergent, that as yet there are but few instances where different missions of the same denominational family are thrown together. Yet I noted one or two cases where, to a careful observer, it would seem as if a coöperation in mission work were both practicable and desirable.

With the exception of a strong mission at Foochow and a single man in the province of Canton, the field of the American Congregationalists is entirely in North China. The English Congregationalists, also, have efficient missions in Tientsin and Peking, which are two stations of the American Board. What is there to hinder a union of this work?

There has been some talk of a Christian college at Tientsin or Peking, under charge of the American Congregationalists. Why not erect it under the combined auspices of London and Boston? Why not connect all the schools and churches of these two missions, and unite all the stations into one association? I can see no real hindrance to this, provided only the laborers are on such personal terms that they can work together, as do all branches of the Presbyterian body in Japan. Dr. McKenzie's splendid hospital at Tientsin, the American training-school at Yung Chow, the schools and churches at Peking, — think of these bound together, reinforcing one another, building up the Congregational churches of China!

The Northern and Southern Presbyterians are at work separately at Hangchow. Why should they not be united?

It would seem as if the American Methodist work along the Yangtze might easily be united with the English Wesleyan at Hankow and Wuchang; and also as if the work of Mr. Hagar and any who may reinforce him at Hong Kong and Canton might profitably be combined either with that of the American Presbyterians or the London Congregationalists, both of whom have active missions in the same region. There may be difficulties in the way of which I know nothing, but, so far as is apparent, only gain would be the result of such union.

There is one other point in this connection to be carefully considered by Christians at home. A demand for Western learning must before long spring up throughout China. Modern studies must take their places beside the Chinese classics at the provincial and imperial examinations on which all official promotion depends. When that day comes, it will be important to have the teachings of these branches in the hands of Christians and not of

skeptics. To this end, Christian colleges might well be founded all over China as the germs of future Christian universities. Well would it be if these colleges could be undenominational in character. If that is too much to expect, there might at least be a careful division of territory, instead of a crowding of institutions at a few points, while others equally important are left unprovided for.

It would seem hardly fitting to talk of any one central college or university of China, for the reason that no institution could assume that position any more than could be founded a central college of Europe. China has eighteen provinces, and, it is estimated, a population of 350,000,000. Each of her provinces is, in some sense, a kingdom in itself, with from fifteen to thirty millions of inhabitants, and with such differences of dialect that often those in the same province cannot understand one another. Now, if a Christian college could be provided for each one or two provinces, every such college would be central, and have far more on hand than it could ever accomplish. There might, therefore, be a well-understood agreement between different Mission Boards not to sanction the foundation of a new college in any place where another is already established. At Foochow, for instance, the Northern Methodists have an Anglo-Chinese college which is the germ of a great institution. It would be most unwise and unfortunate for Congregationalists, although they have a mission here, to think of starting another college of like grade and purpose right beside this, and that, too, when the field at Peking is as yet unoccupied.

At Shanghai there is also an Anglo-Chinese college, which has already cost, I am told, \$100,000. It is built, with large aims for the future, by the Southern Methodists, and occupies the field. St. John's College near by, under the charge of the Episcopalians, is also doing much, although its main work, I believe, is soon to be removed to Hankow. It would seem undesirable for the Presbyterians to raise a large amount of money to establish a college at Shanghai, while at Canton, where they are much stronger, there is great need and opportunity for such an enterprise. Let there be a fair division of the field. Let every province be occupied, first by the evangelist, then by the teacher, and finally by the college; but let each Christian who gives to these causes see to it that his money does not go to duplicate labors and institutions which should be broadly distributed.

When I come to the subject of *Self-support*, I touch that which

is the burning point of mission thought and discussion in China to-day. The use of foreign-paid native help is at the present time a vexed matter in all mission fields. But it has unusual complications in China.

The excessive poverty of the people, their practical character, coupled with their ease in memorizing and fluency of expression, led the earlier missionaries to employ a great number of native helpers. And much was to be said for this arrangement. To support a missionary costs, say, \$1,000 a year. For the same amount he could secure as many as ten additional Chinese evangelists, who would be apt scholars and fluent preachers among their countrymen. Why not thus multiply himself by ten?

It seemed a very clear case. But long experience has proved that it was a very bad case. The old apostolic saying that the love of money is the root of all evil is nowhere more true than in China, and particularly in the mission work.

It came to pass in many instances that a large proportion of the Christians connected with the various missions were, either directly or indirectly, gaining their livelihood from their profession of Christianity. They were trading on this as their capital. They were religious parasites, as ready to make a business of preaching the gospel as of anything else, if paid six or seven dollars a month for it. Godliness was to them great gain. What they received and what they "squeezed" gave them a competence. They were, as a missionary has well remarked, "Church compradores," transacting its business in as secular a spirit as if acting for a business firm.

Although there is some difference of testimony as well as of experience, the evils of this old system can hardly be exaggerated. There were, without doubt, some sincere Christians among the men thus employed, yet even these were contaminated by the system. Nor did it injure them alone. The fact that they were known to be in foreign pay at once created a barrier against them in the minds of their countrymen. When the missionary talked with them, even though he might live in what they regarded as a fine house, yet they could feel some force in his assurance that he had come to China solely to bring them the gospel. When, however, they saw their fellows suddenly enriched by the new profession, they did not despise them, for most would have done the same thing, but they gave no heed to their instructions. To them, these helpers were simply hirelings, paid to talk as they did, which they regarded as no reason for their listening.

While, at first, this general employment of native helpers appeared the only thing to be done, there can be little doubt that the extensive use of this system has been one reason for the small and poor results of missions in China. Perhaps a seemingly slower method at the start might have proved a surer and more rapid one. There is, at any rate, a growing disposition among all the missionaries to cut down the number of paid native helpers.

Yet it is exceedingly hard to get rid of the old practice. Some missionaries, notably Dr. Nevins, have changed their field of labor in order to be free to inaugurate new and truer methods. And in every mission I visited I found some who were doing all they could to bring their work out from the old forms into a new order and system.

There seemed to be only this difference among them. Some, while admitting that too many native helpers had been employed, and that the system has been abused, yet maintain that wherever true and tried men can be found they ought to be employed. Others, largely under the inspiration of Dr. Nevins's work, desire to abandon the old measures altogether. Instead of starting with a foreign-built chapel, occupied by a foreign-paid helper, and a congregation attracted by hope of foreign gain, they would start with a group of native Christians meeting in a native house, and, with the aid of missionaries, developing their own resources.

Undoubtedly this new departure may be carried too far. Even Dr. Nevins has one or two native helpers traveling with him. A degree of foreign-paid native help seems indispensable. Young missionaries, fresh from home, may rashly undertake impossible enterprises. But the articles of Dr. Nevins, issued first in the "*Chinese Recorder*," and just now in pamphlet form, are at once expressive and formative of the most advanced sentiment in the Chinese mission work. To me they also seem to represent the main hope of success.

The features Dr. Nevins presents are not wholly new. Many have said to me: "We have for a long time been working on that line." But these methods are not everywhere applicable. There is a great difference in the provinces, as there is also between city and country work. Yet it is a transition period in China, and out of these discussions and experiments I believe new and better methods will be evolved.

In this connection I would say that, as Amoy stands quite alone in its work of union, so it seems to be far ahead in this matter of self-support. In that district each of four groups of congrega-

tions jointly supports a pastor. This movement began six years ago. The membership in two of these groups is one hundred or more, the amount paid to each pastor being about \$150 a year. The annual contributions of the native Christians in this Presbytery are estimated at an average of about \$2.50 a member, which is a large sum when the poverty of the people is considered. Why may not this method be possible in other parts of China?

Self-support is being pressed in other departments than the evangelistic. Dr. McKenzie's hospital at Tientsin is the most striking instance of a great institution entirely supported by the Chinese; but it is not the only hospital which brings no expense to the Mission. A large part, or the whole, of the cost of the medical work in the London Mission Hospital at Shanghai, and the one just being erected in Hong Kong, in the American Congregational Hospital at Foochow, the Presbyterian in Canton, and in other places, is met either by the foreign community or by the Chinese.

In the educational work, of the \$14,000 required to build the Methodist Anglo-Chinese College at Foochow, Mr. Ah Hok, a wealthy Chinese merchant of that city, gave \$10,000. Pupils are no longer paid for going to school, as was formerly done, while there is a persistent attempt to make them assume a part of the burden of their own education. Most scholars now furnish their own clothing, which they did not do formerly. And many schools, especially in South China, simply give them in money a part of what their board actually costs them.

In some cases, especially in the Anglo-Chinese colleges, a slight amount is charged for tuition, the sum being increased from time to time as the school fills up after each depletion caused by the previous rise. All this shows the greater value placed on Christian education. In some country districts the missionaries have agreed to furnish a native teacher for a day-school wherever the natives will erect a schoolhouse, and this offer has been frequently accepted. In the hospitals, too, the patients are usually required to furnish their food, or its equivalent in cash. Thus men are helped to help themselves, rice-Christians are weeded out so far as possible, and the groundwork is slowly laid for churches composed of independent, self-respecting Christians.

There is another question back of the special methods employed in the mission work, which is being anxiously asked by many Christians at home: What of the mission work itself? Has it proved, will it prove, a success? Are the missionaries doing their work right?

From the lips of many European merchants long resident in China, from some consuls, from young men who have served as officers on Chinese coasting steamers, there comes sharp criticism, and sometimes utter condemnation of the missionaries and their work. Along the coast, on water and on land, missionaries are dissected and served up in every variety of form, till the church at home is made to appear extremely unwise in supporting such enterprises.

Some of this talk floats homeward. We hear of the extravagance, the mistakes, divisions, peccadilloes, and vices of missionaries; of the small chapel and the large house built with the "few remaining bricks"; of the impossibility of converting the Chinese, on account of their exceeding badness or goodness, as the case may be: and many a Christian is puzzled or dismayed by what he hears.

A large number of these reports are concentrated on this land, and the writer well recollects the feeling he began at one time to entertain, that in China at least there must be something wrong, some screw loose, some fatal error of policy or principle, in the mission work. It is the old story of mingled truth and falsehood, and of falsehood growing strong for its evil work through the truth on which it feeds.

With great regret it must be admitted that the mission work in China has been characterized by many and far-reaching divisions, which in some cases have become dissensions. The old question of terms of God was one of the earliest, and it engendered much bitterness at one time, threatening to become a national strife between American and English missionaries. Members of one party would sometimes hardly recognize those of the opposing party. The Spirit of God was now and then lost in zeal for a name of God. Even to this day some of the older missionaries cannot speak of the matter without deep feeling.

Yet there has been, I believe, some tendency towards unity of practice, and still more of heart. Most have agreed to disagree, and the younger men refuse to allow the old difference to affect their work.

It is true in China, as at home, that sectarianism often rends the body of the Lord, and becomes a scandal to the world. It is also true that personal differences between members of the same mission sometimes grieve away the Holy Spirit. I have known cases of ill-treatment among missionaries which would make one's blood boil. In all this, the church abroad is no better than

the church at home, and I think no worse, except so far as the peculiar circumstances of foreign work involve greater temptations. In general, there seems to be increasing unity among missionaries here, although the day of true coöperation is still to dawn on them. We may well pray for greater harmony in their ranks, and then ask them to make the same prayer for the church at home.

Not without reason is the complaint that there are not enough men of commanding ability sent into the field. The same is the case in the home field. It is also true that not enough laborers of any kind are sent to China. There is room for devoted men, of whatever class: while certain ones should be qualified to meet the subtle minds of the literati, the majority will come in contact only with simple peasants and laborers. It is a false charge that the missionary band comprises any number of those who could not have succeeded in other work. For most, the coming has involved a sacrifice of money, of comfort, and of reputation. Missionary talent in China averages certainly as high as ministerial talent at home. In order to find the best sinologists, the best authorities in all departments of Chinese life, character, customs, language, and religion, one must usually go to the missionaries, seldom, certainly, to the merchants or naval officers. Such names as those of Marshman, Morrison, Williams, Legge, Edkins, Eitel, and Chalmers, will remain unsurpassed in their own provinces. I have been repeatedly assured by intelligent Chinamen that no foreigner in Peking and few of their own countrymen have a better comprehension of China, or greater influence with officials, than our own Dr. Martin, President of the Imperial University of Peking, and long a missionary of the Presbyterian Board.

It cannot be denied that many mistakes have been made in the past, and that many are still made; also, that a great number of the reputed converts are so only in appearance, and that the actual results of missionary efforts in China are as yet comparatively small. But I have found none so keen critics of their work as the missionaries themselves. It is a self-corrective work, and many an error is being discarded before we at home have discovered that it is an error. Only those who have visited this country can begin to comprehend the difficulties involved in the conversion of a single Chinaman; still less the impenetrable front which the rock of Chinese sentiment, grounded on centuries of fixed custom and tradition, opposes to the swelling flood of Christian influence. As it rises, cliff-like, against the incoming tide, it seems as if only

some vast revolution could sink its proud heights beneath the waves. Yet, even if this does not come, the waters will gradually honeycomb the rocks and wear them away. As these obstacles are incredibly, almost undiscoverably great, the results of Christian effort are, at the best, discouragingly small. Meantime, little rills are filtering through the stony soil, and some souls are being saved. Those who believe in the invincibility of their Lord will endure in their faith and work to the sure and glorious end.

Various other alleged facts cannot be contradicted. There are many cases where a small chapel has been built with a large house beside or behind it. Indeed, this is the rule, not the exception. And it is what is called for. A chapel seating two or three hundred meets every need of most missions. But the house may be a mission home for the family, the boarders, the guests, and, perhaps, the day or boarding school.

It is also true that many missionaries in China live very comfortably — much more comfortably than some at home suppose. But it is false that, apart from possible exceptions, they live extravagantly or luxuriously. Usually they do not live as well as might appear when they bring forward their best for the frequent visitors whom their hospitality welcomes. In many respects they live better than they could at home on the same salaries. I have heard some of them say: "We live too comfortably, and should practice more self-denial." Yet I think none who know the stipends they receive will charge them with being over-paid. They may have four or five servants, where at home they would have but one. But the four or five cost them little more than would that one at home, and accomplish little, if any, more. The important thing, however, is, that in the midst of a foreign and heathen nation, in a climate which frequently tests the strongest constitution, in a struggle with the most difficult of all languages, and with customs, errors, traditions, and superstitions as inveterate as they are antagonistic, the missionaries need some things which they might dispense with at home. Nothing is more essential than to keep up their health and spirits. Deprived of the continual reinforcement which comes from a familiar land, a favoring climate, and a sympathetic and intelligent community, their home is the one human means of cheer and strength. Those homes cannot be made too comfortable. They must eat well and rest well, and with as little domestic worry as possible. Like race-horses, missionaries are too expensive an investment not to receive such care as will best fit them for their work.

It is estimated that, owing to the climate and other causes, it costs twice as much to keep an English soldier in India as in his own country. In that wearing, tropical region, what are comforts at home become necessities, and what are luxuries, simple comforts. It is much the same with the soldier of the Cross. He may spend several months of the year in itinerating among the natives, in great discomfort and privation, exposed to disease, the prey to discouragement, attacked in every sense of body and mind, while his wife, if she does not accompany him, is equally laborious at home. Surely if any human beings need a Chamber of Peace and Refreshment it is such missionaries. If additional servants can save time and strength for their work, if comfortable homes can fortify them against sickness or disheartenment, by all means they should have them. There is much to be said on this subject, but I will leave it here with a single word more. If a few frank statements could be made to our churches by our home Boards it might do much to forestall these carping comments, and to put the church into a more genuine sympathy with the actual condition of our missionaries and with their work.

Other criticisms might be treated in the same way. Ministers, at home or abroad, are but human, and therefore liable to err, and to just criticism. But in ability, wisdom, piety, and a thorough devotion to their work, the missionary body stands, certainly, fully as high as the clergy at home. And, considering the difficulties, the results are as great.

Beyond this, the question might be put to every unfriendly critic: "Do you believe in Christianity? Do you admit its divine character, its universal and exclusive claims, its world-wide destiny? If so, apart from minor details, you must believe in missions. If not, all basis for agreement is removed."

I candidly confess that before visiting China I had, and could have had, very little idea of the vast difficulty of the mission task, or of the total inadequacy of all previous missionary efforts. China stands both higher and lower than I had supposed. Its civilization is more complex, its social institutions more developed, its government more powerful. Merchants testify rather universally to the existence of a high code of honor among Chinese business men, and the expression is common: "I would rather trust the plain agreement of a Chinaman than of my own countrymen."

Some features of domestic life are noble, not only in theory but in practice. The strength of the filial tie which binds together

families and generations is intense beyond our conceptions. This is, in fact, the bond of China, the living wall of isolation, stronger far than the Great Wall which shuts it out from the rest of mankind. Where it is the one principle and the one passion of a people to tread in the steps of the fathers, and where all future bliss depends on their being included, by the worship of their children, in the great ancestral line, the fascination of Western innovations has little charm.

The only great changes which they have accepted have been forced on them by the need of national defense. These are the telegraph, and modern shipping — steamers and men-of-war. When railroads are built, it will be for the same reason. But even in these changes the Chinese decidedly prefer, and not unwisely, to be their own agents, rather than commit their navies, trade, and transportation to the hand of foreigners.

Yet joined with these traits are others far worse in kind and in degree than I had imagined. Official corruption, despite the boasted system of examinations, is absolutely universal from Li Hung Chang, the highest, down to the very lowest. The most significant fact in this connection is that the government cannot trust the collection of the customs to its own people, but puts it entirely in the hands of foreigners. It pays better to give them enormous salaries than to employ Chinese.

This same propensity to "squeeze" runs through private life, and every man with whom you have any dealings may be depended on to steal his percentage from you, whether in building, trading, or religious services, — whether compradore of a firm, helper in a mission, or gatekeeper and coolie. It is justified as a custom, expected as a right.

The Chinese are a commercial people, and a sordid people. Like most heathen, they have little or no idea of truth in itself considered, and, like most, also, the less religion the more superstition. The Agnosticism of Confucius seems to have left the supernatural world blank, only to be peopled with the most grotesque creatures of their fancies and their fears, which they first create, then alternately serve and cajole. So far as I can ascertain, the main purpose which, in the common mind, their many pagodas accomplish, is the regulation of the geomantic influences so as to make favorable the movements of the spirits of the air.

In Peking, and elsewhere, you will frequently see boys wearing a single ear-ring. Parents who have lost one boy and find another sickly think they can cheat the spirits into the belief that this

boy is a girl, and therefore of no consequence, by the disguise of an ear-ring. Hardly a day passes, even for long residents, without the discovery of some new superstition or deceit. Said one summing up his experience of many years, "The heart of a Chinaman is an abyss."

The pride of these people is such that until it is broken or melted they will not learn from others. They have never failed to occupy the lofty position of teachers to all with whom they had any real and abiding contact. They continue to regard us as barbarians who happen to be gifted with a great mechanical knack, but are vulgar and illiterate upstarts, doomed to a speedy extinction. They are the people, and theirs is the Middle Kingdom. Of course there are a few, that have come in contact with the Western world, who are undeceived in these matters. But even these hardly dare avow their convictions. All this tends to show how exceedingly difficult is the entrance of the gospel into China. To evangelize this vast country is the work of centuries rather than years.

If I were to sum up the result of my own observations, and of the testimony collected from others, it would be something like this: The great excellences of the people are their stability, energy, imitateness, adaptiveness, industry, economy, endurance, and general sobriety. In the industrial and commercial virtues they stand high. They possess the business instinct, and in this and their colonizing habits are well called the Anglo-Saxons of the East. Their code of business honor is, in some respects, high, and, whether from conscience or policy, their engagements are frequently more trustworthy than those of Europeans. The relations of the sexes, too, are generally correct; indeed, in this respect Chinese women probably stand higher than any other women of the East.

The more I learn of their history the more am I filled with admiration at its continuity and importance, and at the predominance of the Chinese, who have given the law to the surrounding nations, and stamped the impress of their peculiar civilization on the whole of Eastern Asia. I am also filled with admiration and astonishment in learning the extent and resources of their country, in many parts far more varied, picturesque, and grand than I had ever dreamed. Their society is more highly organized, and their civilization more complex than is generally supposed.

The filial tie is the great bond of their history and society, and the secret of their conservatism, which knows no higher ideal than

always to tread in the steps of the fathers. To-day they are restlessly and resistlessly pushing their way through the West, proving themselves the best laborers and business-men that can be found, and making themselves indispensable to the colonizing powers of the West in their occupancy of tropical regions like Malasia, for which they can furnish the brawn, while the Chinese furnish the brain, with much of the brain as well. In saying all this I by no means exhaust the good which might be told of this strange people, so far removed from our own customs, and differing so widely among themselves that hardly any general statement can be made about them which will not provoke a denial from some quarter.

There are not a few dark spots to be drawn in this picture : —

1st. An excessive national pride blinds them to their own defects, and to the lessons they should learn from other nations. Always accustomed to be the ruler and teacher, they know not how to take the attitude of pupils ; yet without such docility their decline cannot be far off. They must either appropriate the fruits of Western civilization or perish as an empire.

2d. Closely connected with this is their exaggerated conservatism and idolatry of the past. It seems probable that the acme of Chinese civilization came at or before the time of Confucius. That day can never return. Only a forward-looking and onward-moving people can fulfill its destiny. The filial tie has two sides and should have a double movement. On the one hand is the movement of the children toward the parents. On the other is that of the parents toward the children, progressing through them upward to ever nobler ideals, and gaining in them ever more precious treasures of mind and heart. This latter the Chinese have yet to learn. They are petrified in the past.

3d. A standard of culture among the learned which is both narrow and barren. It is much as if we were to confine our study to Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek philosophers. Their classics have an intermingling of noble morality and sage politics with an immense amount of rubbish. Any one can see this who reads Dr. Legge's just completed translation. Thus to limit their studies, to have their great examinations consist simply of dissertations on the teachings of Confucius, building up the whole of their life from these few volumes, with no science, no art, little history, and no living religion, — this, of itself, is enough to account for the sterility of the Chinese mind, and must make them impotent to play their part in the great world.

4th. Equally fatal to their own progress as a people is the ab-

solutely universal corruption of the official class. To hold office and to "squeeze" are identical. If an official does not squeeze, he cannot be squeezed, and will be flung aside as useless. This corruption is open, shameless, thousand-eyed and thousand-handed. Salaries are merely nominal; examinations are simply means to higher and greater "squeezing." Degrees and promotions are useless without this. All China is one vast sponge grasped by myriad-handed officials to squeeze from it the life-blood of the people.

The hope of the future, the hope of Christianity, lies not in those who have been corrupted by this universal greed for illegal gain, but in the comparatively sound peasantry and small country proprietors. By what means the nation can be purged from this all-pervading evil, — whether by the reforming hand of some great emperor or premier, or by the bloody hand of revolution, it is impossible to predict. But it is clear that there can be no permanent change which is not accompanied by a renovation of character and a greater love of integrity and justice than is yet to be found in China.

5th. This change cannot take place except by the cure of another evil yet more deeply rooted than official corruption, — the tyranny of that worst of despots, — a vast and varied *superstition*. Astrology and geomancy are the supreme powers in China, appealing to hopes and fears both natural and supernatural, extending their sway over both the living and the dead. So far as I can ascertain, the main or only benefit of the pagodas which stud the land is to adjust the *fungshin*, the influences of the air. Walls, rivers, mountain peaks, — all sorts of objects, natural and artificial, play a magical part in the practical life of the nation, that seems incredible to one who does not witness it. These superstitions form the tightest and strongest fetter of the people of the Celestial Empire.

6th. The position of woman is such as is common in heathenism. Purer, perhaps, than elsewhere in Asia, yet she is degraded. Infanticide is frightfully common in most regions, and the odious and cruel practice of foot-binding is prevalent among all women not liable to manual labor. Confucianism provides no remedy for all this.

Other evils naturally follow in the train of those which have been enumerated. Official corruption leads to betrayal of public trusts. Superstition breeds at once the degrading idolatry of Buddhism and Taouism on the one side, and skeptical rationalism,

ignorant and impotent, on the other. The sordid spirit of gain and habits of falsity undermine all business and social relations.

The cure for all this is a light which shall illumine these darkened minds, and a heat which shall melt these prejudices, purify the conscience, and kindle the desires and affections. The only cure is Christianity with its new life.

The medical work stands easily first in its successful appeal to the needs and sympathies of the people. Christian schools are scattered throughout the empire. Evangelists, foreign and native, are preaching in about every province. And although China has not been open to Christian labor till within half a century, many churches have been established, the beginnings made of a Christian literature, and about twenty-five thousand nominally converted.

In one sense, the results have been small. The mass of the Chinese people have not been affected, and are as far from receiving the gospel as ever. Many apparent converts are only rice-Christians, many helpers only church compradores. The ruling classes would to-day expel all foreigners if they only could and dared. In all the gospel work among this people there is very much that is perplexing and discouraging. Yet the seeds are being sown. Our reason for confidence lies not in the gains already made, but in the overcoming power of the gospel. China may be its supreme test, but it is absolutely needed, absolutely fitted for this people. What has been accomplished shows that, despite all weakness and ignorance, all mistakes and divisions, all obstacles and opposition, progress can be made. The next half century may show astonishing changes, when the faith, the zeal, the self-sacrifice of those who have labored so long in an almost desperate undertaking will reap their legitimate harvest. In all this, China must herself be the main agent. I cannot forbear quoting here the recent remarks of a veteran laborer in this field: — "China is not going to accept Christianity and European civilization as a boon from us, and thank us for it. All things considered, we have scarcely deserved this. The preachers of Christianity make some converts, and irritate the nation. The integrity of Europeans provokes a few to emulation and weakens the power of corruption in general, while every instance, in peace or war, of unfair dealing and self-seeking on our part, gives inward pleasure to the national mind, because it furnishes opportunity for the retort, 'Physician, heal thyself,' or else for the vain boast that, with all our advancement, the knowledge of the five cardinal virtues be-

longs to China alone. But the total effect of European encroachment can ultimately be nothing short of a thorough rousing up from centuries of torpor; and when China is thoroughly roused, she will have power and discernment given her to work round to the adoption of all our best ideas. Meantime, we may depend upon it, she takes the measure of us just as we take the measure of her, and it becomes us, as we prize the Christian religion above everything else, to commend it to the adoption of the Chinese, not in word only, but in deed and in truth."

It has been with the greatest satisfaction that I have found the missions increasingly earnest in their opposition to the cruel and degrading practice of foot-binding. When a girls' school is started in any community, it is difficult to get any pupils, and it seems impracticable to insist that the feet must be unbound. But gradually every such school wins its way. As scholars multiply, the simple advice against foot-binding may be easily strengthened to a prohibition. The schools at Shanghai, Ningho, Foochow, Amoy, Swatow, and other places are all taking practically the same firm stand against the evil. In some cases this produces violent opposition. Perhaps the young pupil is the first, for generations, in all her village, who has had natural feet. The whole community is excited and indignant at the breach of custom. But in time the excitement abates, a Christian husband is found for the girl, and her daughter continues as her mother has begun. Such a breach in an iron-bound custom is a great victory, and a most encouraging omen.

I will only add that to-day is the time for the formation of the infant native church which is itself to evangelize China; that there should be two thousand missionaries, instead of six hundred, engaged in this work, for which entire consecration is indispensable, but in which every order of talent can be employed. Laboring in the apostolic spirit, and with the inculcation of true Christian independence, even at the cost of some apparent delay, the middle or close of the next century ought to see a native church in China grandly militant, and a century later a church substantially triumphant. The continuity of heathen traditions once broken, and new traditions established, with filial piety directed towards Christian ancestors, — the very forces that now tell against us, will come to our reinforcement and extension.

It must be conceded that in this work there is manifested an occasional lack of wisdom which calls for just criticism. As when new-comers write home that the language can be mastered in six

months, when Dr. Legge, after thirty or forty years' study, still has his Chinese teacher. Or as when the Cambridge men, Mr. Studd and his companions, undertake to learn the language without books or study, believing that the gift of tongues will be granted to those who have sufficient faith, although after a month or two they are compelled to send for their books and learn the language in the usual way. Or as when the same men start forth on their first long tour with a literal fulfillment of Christ's instructions to those whom He sent out, they carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor change of raiment, nor bedding. But at the end of three days they find themselves used up, and are forced to return as they best can, recruit, refit, and start out again on common-sense principles. It is sad to see so much zeal and faith, without knowledge or discretion, and it brings great reproach on the cause. But this eccentricity is strictly exceptional, and usually soon cured, at least in its worst features.

No words can too highly express the devotion of the heroic band of men and women who are enlisted to prepare the way of the Lord into this citadel of heathenism. The majority break down in a few years, and are obliged to return home, to recruit or to remain. Nearly all of them seem to me to be living just on the outermost verge of their health and strength. The fancied romance of missions vanishes in the hard, wearing, daily fight with dirt and din and stench and filth, with climate and language, with ignorance and superstition, with beastliness and sordidness and falseness, with greed and pride and enmity, with discouragement, division, and sometimes opposition in their own ranks. The sanitarium and the two months' rest, the journey to Chefoo, to Japan, or Australia, in search of health, become necessary. But in all this, their much enduring patience, their lofty faith, their earnest personal love for the souls they are seeking to save, make the impression on a sympathetic observer of a heroism far grander than that which simply faces death on the battlefield and wins a speedy release.

Edward A. Lawrence.

PEKIN, CHINA.

EDITORIAL.

THE DECISION OF THE BOARD OF VISITORS.

MORE than five months after the public trial of the editors of this Review¹ had closed, a decision was announced by the Board of Visitors before whom the various charges had been argued. The result, which has been widely published in the secular and religious press, is a vote to remove Egbert C. Smyth from the Brown Professorship of Ecclesiastical History, and a vote that the charges against his associates are not sustained. The vote of removal was upon three of the fifteen specific charges presented, one pertaining to the authority of the Bible, the other two to salvation without knowledge of Christ. The remaining charges were not therefore sustained by a majority of the Board. The Secretary voted only on the case of Professor Smyth, assigning as a reason for casting no vote in the other cases, that he was not present when Professors Tucker, Churchill, Harris, and Hincks made their statements in defense. It is inferred that the President of the Board voted for acquittal in all the cases (including Professor Smyth's), the lay member for removal, and that, according to the provision of the statutes when a tie vote occurs, the question was, in the four last cases, determined by the vote of the President. The legal result is therefore a positive acquittal of four of the professors, and not absence of action on account of a tie vote. The charges cannot, then, be reopened, as definite and final action was taken. The text of the decisions may be found elsewhere in the Review, and also the complete report of the Board of Trustees.

We shall consider in this article: 1. Some characteristics of the official result. 2. Some features of the case as it is transferred from the Board of Visitors to the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth. 3. The effect of the decision upon the practical working and administration of the Seminary. 4. The apparent motive of the procedure as indicated by the prosecution and decision. 5. The value of the result in relation to the administration of trusts under the conditions of a creed.

This article, for obvious reasons, is written without consultation with Professor Smyth, and he will not know its contents until he receives a copy of the Review.

We consider, first, some of the characteristics of the official decision. One characteristic creates almost universal astonishment. It is that this legal tribunal has rendered conflicting decisions in respect to cases which were presented on precisely the same charges and the same evidence. The strange announcement is made that four professors are acquitted of

¹ The action of the Visitors by which the Trustees' election of Professor Woodruff was negatived, and which we deeply regret, does not come under discussion in the present article. Mr. Woodruff, since the decision, has been elected Professor of Greek in Bowdoin College.

serious charges and one professor is condemned under the same charges, although no difference was made, during the trial, in respect either to accusations or evidence. At the final hearing, when the Secretary was absent, it was agreed by the counsel on both sides and by the Board of Visitors that the arguments and evidence which had been presented in the case of Professor Smyth should be accepted in the remaining cases, and the President also said publicly that a stenographic report of the statements then to be made would be submitted to the Secretary, and that by agreement of all parties the hearing could proceed in his absence. Five months later, when action was to be taken, the Secretary refrained from voting on those cases, offering as a reason his absence when brief statements were made by four of the accused, which statements he had an opportunity of reading a few days after the hearing. All concerned, the accused, the complainants, legal advisers, and the other members of the Board, were perfectly satisfied to have the Secretary make up his judgment on a reading of the addresses which did not reach him through the physical organs of hearing. Similar instances of so delicate a sense of propriety as the Secretary exhibited have never come to our knowledge. We remember that the Secretary was also absent from the room more than once, and several minutes at a time, while the case of Professor Smyth was in progress. How did his scrupulous honor allow him to vote for the removal of a gentleman some portions of whose defense he did not hear with his own ears? Can it be doubted that he desired to procure the removal of Professor Smyth alone, and that he determined to single him out for condemnation, making the action more emphatic by declining to vote in the succeeding cases? The discrimination was made by means of a technicality more microscopic than judges in the secular courts are accustomed to resort to. But, at all events, the effect of the action is that a tribunal has put itself upon record as reaching conflicting decisions on cases identically the same. Such a discrimination will fail to command the respect of an intelligent public. In the general estimation, if one is removed all should be removed, and if four are acquitted all should be acquitted. And all, we emphatically declare, will stand together, in complete theological agreement and in unbroken coöperation, whatever the decision may be in the case which goes up for review and adjudication.

Another characteristic of the official result is the insufficiency of the grounds upon which the removal of Professor Smyth was voted. Not only was no evidence submitted which could prove the three charges mentioned, but ample evidence to the contrary was introduced. There was absolutely no proof of the charge that the accused professors held that the Bible is "fallible and untrustworthy, even in some of its religious teachings." On the contrary, the evidence showed that the Bible is exalted as "the only perfect rule of faith and practice." The criticisms made in the writings of the editors were only against certain inadequate theories of the inspiration of the Bible. The charge that man has no

capacity or power to repent without knowledge of God in Christ can be sustained only by separating parts of sentences from their connection. It was conclusively shown on the trial, as indicated in the earlier reply, that the passages cited can be made antagonistic to the Creed only by being first misunderstood. The charge "that there is, and will be, probation after death for all men who do not decisively reject Christ during the earthly life" was not supported in that unqualified form by any evidence or arguments. It was held only as a reasonable inference that certain classes of persons may have opportunity to know God in Christ after death. Neither was any conclusive evidence presented that such an hypothesis is excluded by the Creed. Furthermore, the official result declares that Egbert C. Smyth, *as such professor*, maintains and inculcates beliefs inconsistent with and repugnant to the Creed. But no shred of evidence was introduced to show that in his professional capacity he had so taught. He did not avail himself, on the trial, of the distinction between his teachings and his published writings, but the decision, considered as official and legal, goes beyond the evidence in affirming that, as a professor, he has taught contrary to the Creed of the Seminary.

Another characteristic of the official result, taken in connection with the official procedure, is that there has been an apparently arbitrary and excessive use of the constitutional powers of the Board. It is true that the limitations of their power are yet to be judicially determined, and we do not, therefore, argue the point here. But the vote to remove a professor, who is also President of the Faculty, without recognizing the existence of the Board of Trustees, the responsible body of administration, seems like an arbitrary and discourteous proceeding. So far as any notice or action on the part of the Visitors was concerned, the Trustees would have been in complete ignorance that a trial was in progress and a professor under examination until the official announcement of his removal was made to them. It was so evidently the intention of the founders that the two boards should act in conjunction, especially in reference to important matters affecting the institution, that it seems like an excessive use of power under some literal construction of words to vote for the removal of a professor without, at least, informing the Trustees that proceedings were pending. This arbitrary action is aggravated into a breach of courtesy when it appears that before the public trial the Trustees, although they had been ignored at every point, requested the Visitors to admit them by committee or otherwise to the hearing, but were denied so reasonable a request. The Trustees in their recent report say: "We further regret that when proceedings had been initiated before the Visitors, all efforts of this Board to secure a standing at the hearing failed. We felt that as a Board of Trustees especially charged with the administration of the Seminary, we should have been recognized as a party in a trial which involved the best interests of the institution intrusted to our care." Official Boards are usually more punctilious than individuals in expressions of regard and courtesy. In this case

the Board of Visitors, whose duties usually, and it may prove always, are merely appellate, showed less regard for the ordinary proprieties than is expected in the direct relations of individuals. We also consider it an unjustifiable use of power to withhold the decision more than five months after the trial of the case was concluded. On any supposition, the interests of all concerned required an earlier announcement. For, if appeal should be taken, it would then be known that the Seminary would go on as usual until a final result should be reached, and the evils of uncertainty would be avoided. And if a vote for removal was expected to take effect, it was eminently unfair to inform the Trustees of a vacancy so late that it would be impossible to arrange for the work of another year in the few weeks of summer vacation. Our judgment of the official action and result is, then, that the singling out of one for condemnation, while four under the same charges are exonerated, is a worse than meaningless discrimination and for an utterly inadequate reason, that the charges against Professor Smyth are not sustained by the evidence, and that the course of procedure, especially in relation to the Trustees and to the delay of the decision, has been discourteous and arbitrary.

The case now goes to another tribunal, and we inquire next concerning the larger issues involved as these legal and theological questions are submitted to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Evidently the appeal is taken without the least moral disadvantage on the part of those who take it. An unreasonable discrimination, affecting the rights and reputation of an individual, has been made upon the basis of a trivial technicality. The powers of a corporate board of trust have been invaded and its approved agent condemned by a literal and extreme interpretation of the statutory rights of an associated and less numerous Board. Unfair discrimination and adverse decisions have thus been rendered by resort to a technicality, which, after all, may prove invalid. No objection therefore can be made against submitting these and other technical questions as well as important legal principles to the highest judicial tribunal of the commonwealth. If the decision of the Visitors had carried any moral or theological weight, it is by no means certain that an appeal would have been taken by the professor or professors condemned. If any principle of interpretation had been laid down which would command respect, and under which all the accused professors had been voted against by all the members of the Board, there would have been little or no disposition to obtain a reversal on merely legal and technical grounds. But, as it is, the result not only carries no moral force against the professors and their opinions, but furnishes a decided moral advantage as the case goes up for adjudication. Nothing is decided theologically by the self-contradictory action of one individual; and an injustice has been attempted which gives a moral importance to the appeal above even its legal and theological character. It is also a moral advantage that twelve of the thirteen members of the Board of Trustees, after a careful examination of the charges, evidence,

and arguments, sign an exhaustive report completely vindicating the accused professors, and for reasons which are clearly stated. This result certainly has more value theologically and morally than the decision of two men who give no reasons, indicate no principle by which they are guided, and are opposed by the President of their own Board, whose opinion was absolutely necessary to give any theological value to the decision. We do not mean that because these cases have hinged on a technicality, we therefore are content to have them reversed on technicalities. There are now issues in equity to be raised and determined. There is also the grave question as to the powers and limitations of an associated board of trust. It should be settled once for all whether or not the founders intended to clothe with arbitrary and supreme powers three men who were appointed Visitors some years after the Seminary was in full operation, and so cautiously that the experiment was to be tried seven years before the Board should become permanent. And if there proves to be some doubt as to the intention of the founders, it should be determined whether or not the existence of a corporate board with such powers as have now been claimed is consonant with the genius of our institutions and laws. We mean that the case goes up to the secular court with an immense moral presumption in favor of the accused, and that, if there are legal principles which have been disregarded, or which possess a higher authority, there need be no hesitation in using them at their greatest advantage. And should an adverse decision be rendered by which the Visitors are established in the authority they claim, it certainly should be known, in order that self-respecting men may emancipate themselves from the control of so despotic a tribunal. It may be said that if all the professors had been acquitted the Visitors would have been praised without stint as righteous judges. That would depend on the reasons, if any, which might have been given. An acquittal of all without explanations would have indicated nothing more than the failure of an attack on the Seminary, and while we should have been gratified at the issue, we should not have been disposed to extol the men who had allowed so much needless annoyance. But however that might be, the four who have been fully acquitted are not at all disposed to commend judges who would condemn another no more guilty and no less guilty than themselves. And we are certain that a decision to remove all would have commanded much more respect than the inconsistent result which was at last reached and announced.

The effect on the immediate administration of the Seminary can be stated in a few words. All the professors remain, and the work of the Seminary goes on as usual next September. The four professors who are acquitted remain in undisturbed and unquestioned possession. Professor Smyth continues in his present position, as the appeal to be taken in his case will vacate the judgment under which he has been removed. No one thinks of resigning. If a decision like that against Professor Smyth had been rendered in the other cases, a decision affirming no principles of interpretation, giving no reasons, and upon the basis of

charges unsupported by the evidence, appeal would have been taken, and pending the result the Seminary would have gone on as at present. Much more, as the Secretary has saved four of the accused professors the trouble of appealing, and as, by a positive vote of the Board the charges against them are dismissed, they have every reason to remain in office, and thus, so far as in them lies, to save the Seminary to its intended uses. An acquittal from charges to which they have pleaded not guilty is not an occasion for resignation of office. The Seminary is now established in the interests of genuine theological progress, for even the Visitors have decided not to remove four out of five professors who advocate the principles of a progressive orthodoxy, and with whose views they are perfectly familiar.

We should be glad to believe that no considerations have entered into the prolonged trial of the last year, except regard for a correct theology in the teaching of Andover Seminary. But the actual result taken in connection with some incidents of the trial almost compel the conclusion that the whole movement was nothing more nor less than a personal attack on the beloved President of the Seminary. Doubtless, some who have been drawn into active opposition were influenced by the fear of opinions which they thought dangerous, and were as desirous of the condemnation of all as of one. But, nevertheless, the indications are almost unmistakable that the opposition was aimed and guided towards the very end which has been secured. It is matter of record that the most strenuous efforts were made by the counsel to prevent so much as a hearing on any cases except the first. Counsel for the complainants stated several times that they had been summoned to argue the case of Professor Smyth, and were not prepared to consider the cases of the other respondents. At that time all the accused professors and their counsel were apprehensive that only one case would be taken from the docket, and brought before the Visitors for decision. Only by persistent efforts was the opportunity gained to make the brief statements by the remaining professors which were finally introduced. As all the cases were at length submitted it was believed that the decision would necessarily be the same for all. When the result was announced, and it was found that Professor Smyth only was condemned, it was almost impossible not to associate the excuse by which that discrimination was explained with the efforts made during the trial to isolate his case from the others. The effect of such discrimination is not to disintegrate but to consolidate the accused professors and the entire Faculty. Whatever theological significance the procedure may have seemed to have, it is now apparent that its force was concentrated on one who is deserving only of support and affection. It is impossible that such attacks with such weapons should have any disastrous result except upon their contrivers and abettors.

There will be general disappointment that nothing has been gained or established relative to the administration of trusts under the conditions

of a creed. It was hoped by many that the case would become representative. In common with many incorporated institutions in this country Andover Seminary carries legal obligations under required compliance with a creed. Ministers in the Presbyterian and other churches also are under conditions substantially the same. The occasion of this trial might have been improved to lay down correct principles concerning the requirements of creeds. Something might have been established concerning the explanation of one part of a creed by another, concerning the proportion of essential and non-essential, concerning the basis of compromise as between diverging parties in the formation of a creed, concerning the strictness with which phraseology should be pressed. Practical fidelity to the great principles of a creed could have been distinguished from shrewd evasions on the one side and slavish literalism on the other. But nothing comes of this mighty contention but a decision by a vote of two men against one that a certain professor has, in their judgment, violated the requirements of creed, and four other decisions by the double value of the President's vote against the single vote of another man that other professors, charged with holding precisely the same opinions, and tried upon the same evidence, have not violated the requirements of the creed. On what principles or by what criteria these various judgments have been made there is no intimation whatever.

The decision of the Supreme Court may have a representative value. At all events, the case now goes to a body of men who can be trusted not to exceed their legitimate functions, and not to shun the use of such power as they actually possess.

A LESSON FROM TWO EFFECTIVE LIVES.

THE two eminent men who died on the same day of last month, Dr. Roswell D. Hitchcock and President Mark Hopkins, were very unlike in temperament and gifts, as indeed might be inferred from the distinction attained by each in his separate vocation. But their lives possessed one admirable feature in common (though in the nature of the case it is much more prominent in that of Dr. Hopkins), that of an unwaning efficiency. Both of them died in the harness, and neither of them had given up the extra professional labors in which both had been conspicuously influential. Dr. Hitchcock was to the last the fascinating lecturer on church history whom more than thirty classes had admired; he was the President of the Union Theological Seminary; a leader in the councils of the Presbyterian Church, and one of our most effective public speakers. President Hopkins was up to his death the peerless college instructor of his day, and the President of the American Board. As a leader in the controversy respecting the treatment of missionary candidates by the representatives of the Board, he was doing service as vigorous and, in our judgment as effective, as any that he had ever rendered to the church. The undiminishing influence of these two strong lives

comes strikingly and pathetically to view in the fact that each made just before its close a public utterance of especial power and usefulness, Dr. Hitchcock, in the address at the dedication of the Durfee High School, on June 15, and President Hopkins, in the article in the "Independent" of July 16, entitled "Councils and the Board."

It is of this their common characteristic that we wish to speak, reserving for some future day a more careful analysis of character and estimate of service than is now possible. Undiminished effectiveness in old age possessed by teachers of moral and religious truth and leaders of Christian thought is obviously due chiefly to moral causes. Every one can think of men who once did such work with much efficiency, but are now, though retaining physical and mental vigor, as incapable of it as wooden frigates are of effective fighting. Such obsolete men owe their obsolescence to moral and spiritual defects. They have become estranged from the life of their time either from lack of love or from a conservatism which obstinately clings to the formal and transitory elements of doctrine, or from inability to recognize the expression of Christian faith in new forms of thought. Their shrunken influence shows not so much decayed faculty as shriveled manhood. The best reward they can receive for their past service is the privilege of concealing themselves behind it.

Professor Hitchcock and President Hopkins kept their influence to the end, because they held the qualities which earned it. They had the love for humanity, the faith in God, and the spiritual insight which give sympathy with all that is essentially Christian, and power to enter into all thought which is pervaded by the life of Christ. Dr. Hopkins says, in one of his baccalaureate sermons, "Let me counsel you, my friends, to place a generous confidence in your fellow-men. . . . Not that you should be weak or credulous, but if you must err at all let it be on the side of confidence. . . . Far from you be that form of conceit which attributes to itself shrewdness and wisdom by always suspecting evil. Far sooner would I make it a part of my philosophy and plan to be always cheated up to a certain point. Let not even intercourse with the world, and the caution of age, congeal the spring of your confidence and sympathy."

Dr. Hitchcock said to a great representative assembly, on a memorable occasion, "God forgive me if I ever looked, or shall ever look, into any Christian face without finding in it something of the old family likeness." If men who can sincerely speak such words do not, however old, so fully belong to the life of their time as to be able to speak to its heart and its conviction, the cause must be intellectual, not moral, defect. But it must be added that the conspicuous forcefulness of the last years of these eminent men was due, in part, to intellectual gifts, joined to and supplementing their moral qualities. Dr. Hitchcock's historical insight and splendid culture helped him see the hopeful elements in present forms of Christian faith and life, even those most remote from his own sympathies, and changed the intense conservatism of his early manhood into a faith which looked for future development in theology with a confidence as firm as

that with which it clung to the sure gains of the past centuries. In saying to the Evangelical Alliance, at its meeting in New York, "The three essential and distinctive doctrines of Christianity are incarnation, atonement, and regeneration : if these are clearly affirmed, we can well afford the allowance of the largest liberty in regard to all the rest. . . . The doctrines are not yet all settled. Theology, Christology, Anthropology, Soteriology have all had their turn ; but Ecclesiology and Eschatology have yet to come ;" — he showed the wealth of a mind instructed into catholicity as well as the generosity of a great heart. That this liberality was due not to the decay of Christian conviction, but to the larger expectation of spiritual knowledge, in which the soul's closer approach to the Light of the world is seen, was made evident in the ever-increasing spirituality and fervor of his sermons and religious addresses. Especial mention may be made of the lofty and impassioned address on "The cost of service," delivered at the anniversary exercises of Union Seminary in 1884.

In Dr. Hopkins's striking personality, mental and moral qualities so interpenetrated each other that one is tempted to say that he kept his great influence to the last simply because he could never cease to be Mark Hopkins. He was not and did not profess to be a man of books. He was a man of the world, giving to the word "world" its highest and best sense, that of a moral realm directed and governed by a moral Being. He felt that personality was the great overshadowing fact, and lived in this forceful conviction. To him knowledge and ideas were of but secondary consideration to that which chiefly makes personality, character. Hence to him truth was chiefly interesting on its ethical side. If he had had less moral earnestness he would have been more eminent as a metaphysician. Like Socrates, whom he resembled in his method of teaching as well as in his temper and aims, he subjected thought no less than life to moral ends. Such a man could not but find men so long as he had faculties remaining with which to seek them out. He apprehended the truths of Christianity in those simple ethical aspects in which they have always made their most direct and forcible appeal to the human heart. To speak of them as he felt them, in his tones so full of human kindness, through an argument marshaled with a shrewdness debased by no touch of artifice, was to reach and convince and win. Those who have heard that voice in these last years, and have owned the power of its persuasion, its argument, and its appeal, must have felt not so much wonder that a man could be so potent at eighty-five, as gratitude that such a man should have lived in our time.

JUDGMENTS OF THE VISITORS AND OF THE TRUSTEES

IN THE CASES OF THE ACCUSED PROFESSORS.

I.

FINDINGS AND ACTION OF THE BOARD OF VISITORS ON THE AMENDED COMPLAINT AGAINST EGBERT C. SMYTH, BROWN PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, WILLIAM J. TUCKER, BARTLET PROFESSOR OF SACRED RHETORIC, JOHN W. CHURCHILL, JONES PROFESSOR OF ELOCUTION, GEORGE HARRIS, ABBOT PROFESSOR OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY, AND EDWARD Y. HINCKS, SMITH PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

Thursday, June 16, after the exercises of Anniversary Week were ended, the Reverend William T. Eustis, D.D., and Honorable Joshua N. Marshall, Visitors, met at the Mansion House in Andover. A second session was held the next morning. The President of the Board of Visitors, the Reverend and Honorable Julius H. Seelye, D.D., LL.D., was not present at either session. On the 17th of June, the two Visitors present sent, by a messenger, to the Professors concerned, the following decisions :—

At a meeting of the Visitors of the Theological Institution in Phillips Academy in Andover, held on the fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, the complaint, as amended, against Egbert C. Smyth, D. D., Brown Professor of Ecclesiastical History in said institution, the answer thereto, the evidence laid before them, and the arguments in behalf of the complainants and respondent, were further considered by the Visitors, and they find that said Egbert C. Smyth, as such professor, maintains and inculcates beliefs inconsistent with and repugnant to the creed of said institution and the statutes of the same, and contrary to the true intent of the founders thereof as expressed in said statutes, in the following particulars, as charged in said amended complaint, to wit :

That the Bible is not "the only perfect rule of faith and practice," but is fallible and untrustworthy even in some of its religious teachings ;

That no man has power or capacity to repent without knowledge of God in Christ ;

That there is and will be probation after death for all men who do not decisively reject Christ during the earthly life.

And thereupon they do adjudge and decree that said Egbert C. Smyth be, and he hereby is, removed from the office of Brown Professor of Ecclesiastical History in said institution, and said office is hereby declared vacant.

Voted, That the Secretary notify said Egbert C. Smyth, the complainants, and the Trustees of Phillips Academy of the foregoing findings and action thereon by the Visitors.

A true copy of record.

Attest :

W. T. EUSTIS, *Secretary*.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the Theological Institution in Phillips

Academy in Andover, held on the fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, before proceeding to consider the several complaints, as amended, against William J. Tucker, Bartlett¹ Professor of Sacred Rhetoric ; John W. Churchill, Jones Professor of Elocution ; George Harris, Abbot Professor of Christian Theology, and Edward Y. Hincks, Smith Professor of Biblical Theology, severally in said institution, Rev. Mr. Eustis declined to act thereon with his associates, upon the ground that he was not present on the day of the hearing on said complaints when said respondents severally appeared and made their statements in defense thereto.

Thereupon these complaints, as amended, were taken up and severally considered, and none of the charges therein contained were sustained.

Voted, That the Secretary notify these respondents of the action of the Visitors on these several complaints against them.

A true copy of record.

Attest :

W. T. EUSTIS, *Secretary.*

II.

JUDGMENT OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES ON THE CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST PROFESSORS SMYTH, TUCKER, CHURCHILL, HARRIS, AND HINCKS.

When the charges against the accused professors were made public by the press, the Trustees of the Seminary appointed a committee to report to them what action, if any, should be taken by them in the premises. The committee deemed it advisable that the Trustees should appear at the hearing before the Visitors, and take part in it. Accordingly, an informal interview was had by the committee with the Visitors, and it was understood that the latter favored their request that the Trustees should thus appear and participate. The details were left to be arranged by one of the Visitors and one of the committee. No conclusion being reached by these gentlemen, the committee renewed its request in a formal communication to the Board of Visitors. They asked permission for the Trustees to present such facts and considerations relevant to the charges against the professors as were in their power, and represented that their office gave them such knowledge of the professors, and such responsibility for their conformity to the creed and standards of the Seminary, that they felt it to be their duty thus to appear, if permitted ; and that they were " confirmed in this view by the precedent in the case of Professor Murdock, in which the Trustees appeared in this manner before the Board of Visitors." The President of the Board of Visitors, Rev. Dr. Seelye, returned an encouraging reply. Subsequently, the request having been laid before the Visitors, it was voted by this body " that, while the Visitors will welcome the presence of the Trustees at the hearing, it seems to them that the object contemplated by the Trustees can be best accomplished by their presenting the considerations to which they refer to the counsel of the respective parties." Inasmuch as the Trustees held no relation to the said counsel, this was a plain refusal of the Trustees' request.

¹ Bartlet is the correct spelling of this founder's name.

After the trial of the professors before the Visitors was concluded, full stenographic reports were published of the testimony and arguments which had been presented. The Trustees accordingly decided to examine individually into the charges with the help of the published evidence and arguments, and whatever additional information could be obtained. Twelve members of the Board wrote out opinions, which were placed in the hands of the committee already referred to. The thirteenth (and only other) member referred the committee to his argument before the Visitors. The twelve opinions were found to be in essential agreement, and the committee embodied them in a minute which was adopted by the Board as its judgment upon the complaint against the professors, and was signed by the Trustees whose opinions had been rendered as just stated.

The members of the Board of Trustees approving this judgment and appending their names to the same are: Rev. Daniel T. Fiske, D. D.; Edward Taylor, Esq.; Rev. C. F. P. Bancroft, Ph. D.; Thomas H. Russell, Esq.; Hon. Joseph S. Ropes; Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D. D.; Rev. William H. Willcox, D. D., LL. D.; Hon. Robert R. Bishop; President Franklin Carter, LL. D.; Alpheus H. Hardy, Esq.; Rev. James G. Vose, D. D.; and Hon. Horace Fairbanks. The only member voting in the negative was Rev. J. W. Wellman, D. D. It was also voted that the minute be entered by the clerk upon the Records of the Trustees. The following is the judgment thus adopted, signed, and ordered to be recorded:—

We cannot but regret that the charges against the professors were not prosecuted in the first instance before this board, and carried to the Visitors on appeal, if at all.

The original constitution of the seminary, dated August 31, 1807, in articles 13 and 14, provides that "no man shall be continued a professor in this institution who shall not continue to approve himself, to the satisfaction of the Trustees, a man of sound and orthodox principles in divinity," according to the standards established in said constitution; and that, "if at any meeting regularly appointed it should be proved to the satisfaction of a majority of the whole number of the said Trustees that any professor in this institution has taught or embraced any of the heresies or errors alluded to in the declaration aforesaid, . . . he shall be forthwith removed from office;" and that "every professor in this institution shall be under the immediate inspection of the said Trustees, and shall be by them removed" for neglect of duty, immorality, incapacity, "or any other just and sufficient cause." The associate statutes of March 21, 1808, and additional statutes of May 3, 1808, establish a Board of Visitors, whose duties in this respect are to "hear appeals from the Board of Trustees," to "review and reverse any censure passed by said Trustees upon any professor," and to "take care that the duties of every professor on this foundation be intelligently and faithfully discharged, and to admonish or remove him, either for misbehavior, heterodoxy, incapacity, or neglect of the duties of his office." It is clear that the duties imposed upon the Board of Visitors by the later statutes have in no respect superseded those imposed upon the Trustees by the earlier; and that the purpose, intent, and scope of the

later provisions was to establish a second board, whose duties should be supervisory and appellate, and whose action should be a check and corrective upon the action of the Board of Trustees, in the interest of safety and caution. The establishment of this board was a safeguard, not a substitution. Without discussing, or desiring to discuss, the legal question whether it is competent for the Board of Visitors to take original jurisdiction of the subject of removing a professor, it may be said that every consideration of purpose in the statutes and of propriety in their administration is against such action on the part of the Visitors. For that board to exercise jurisdiction of this subject in instances in which the question has not been passed upon by the Trustees is to transfer the power of removal, not *pro tanto*, but altogether, from the Trustees to the Visitors ; it is to change provisions contemplating the examination of grave and delicate questions by two boards, the higher having a corrective upon the lower, into a method for their examination effectively by only one board, and that the smaller in point of numbers.

We regret all the more that this case was first prosecuted before the Visitors, because the matter had previously been brought to the attention of this board in a memorial presented by one of the Trustees January 12, 1886, referring to public reports and charges against the professors, and praying that the Board of Trustees would request the Board of Visitors to investigate the same. This the Board of Trustees declined to do, on the ground that, if sufficient cause to consider them existed, it was the duty of this board to investigate the charges before they should go to the Board of Visitors, and expressing to the member presenting the memorial its readiness to take up and consider such charges as he or any other responsible person or persons might make ; and the board subsequently requested him to file specifications of such charges as he desired to present.

We further regret that, when proceedings had been initiated before the Visitors, all effort of this board to secure a standing at the hearing failed. We felt that, as a Board of Trustees especially charged with the administration of the seminary, we should have been recognized as a party in a trial which involved the best interests of the institution intrusted to our care.

Nor are the Trustees prepared to admit that Professor Churchill is amenable to the jurisdiction of the Visitors, the constitution having provided that every founder of a professorship shall have the exclusive right of prescribing the regulations and statutes concerning the same, and the founder of the Jones professorship having placed said professorship under the sole charge of the Board of Trustees.

But, although the Trustee who had brought the matter before this board declined to proceed with it, and, in connection with others, instituted proceedings before the Board of Visitors, and although we were refused a standing at the hearing before the Visitors, we still considered that we were not relieved from the obligation laid upon us by the constitution, and that it was our duty to pass upon the charges made against the professors. Such action, while out of its proper order and without the effect which every judgment of a subordinate tribunal is entitled to have upon subsequent proceedings, is at least the discharge of the moral duty of the Board of Trustees.

Accordingly, we have carefully weighed the evidence both of the complainants and the respondents presented at the trial, and have sought light from all other accessible sources ; and our judgment is that the charges brought against the professors are not sustained. In our opinion, the teachings of the profes-

sors accused are either not correctly represented, or, when correctly represented, are not inconsistent with the Creed which the professors have signed and are bound to sustain in all their utterances.

The question at issue is not whether the views and teachings of the professors are contrary to the great historic creeds of the church, nor whether they are contrary to the creeds of the churches in Eastern Massachusetts when the seminary was established, nor whether they are contrary to any of the known views of the founders, but whether they are contrary to the views which the founders embodied in the Creed that they prescribed as the test of the doctrinal soundness of all who should occupy chairs of instruction in the seminary.

We cannot read into this Creed anything not plainly there ; nor can we read out of it anything that is plainly there. The Creed, just as it stands, is the test.

It was claimed by the complainants that the Creed must be interpreted strictly according to the known views of the founders, whether those views lie in the very language of the Creed or not. This is manifestly wrong. The fundamental rule of construction of instruments forbids it. They must speak for themselves. This principle was clearly stated, and acted upon, in the case of this very Creed, where opinions coming much closer home to this seminary than any that have been adduced here were sought to be introduced to interpret it, and were rejected. This was in 1844 ; and, when it is said that the persons whose opinions were rejected were, among others, Samuel Farrar, who had more to do with drafting the statutes and was more familiar with them than perhaps any other person, and Leonard Woods, the first Abbot professor, it will be seen that no evidence could be more important or more admissible to put a construction upon the Creed, if any evidence of this character is admissible to do it. Esquire Farrar says, in his paper on the subject, "I wrote the additional statutes and know the thought that was in my mind when I penned that word." The Visitors at that time were Rev. Heman Humphrey, D. D., Rev. John Codman, D. D., and Hon. Seth Terry. They rejected the evidence, and refused to allow it to have any effect upon the construction of the Creed, using the following language : —

"The remonstrants rely much and insist strongly upon the contemporaneous opinions entertained by distinguished benefactors and friends of the institution, as expressed and settled in consultations held regarding its adoption and the construction of its laws. Long-established rules, settled on conclusive reasons, are opposed to the intervention of such opinions in this case. The Creed is written ; and it is presumed that its makers had the benefit of their opinions in framing it, and that it contains their will — the maxim *Ita lex scripta* applies. Our duty is to expound it as written ; and it may be added that seldom has a code been drawn up with more clearness and ability, nor better adapted to the difficult work of guarding a theological institution against the subtleties of schoolmen."

The principle upon which such evidence cannot be admitted is clear and most satisfactory. In an instrument written with care, thought, and precision, it is inconceivable that the authors should omit what they deemed it important to insert.

This Creed is to be interpreted according to the ordinary rules of creed interpretation, and according to liberal usage, which began during the lifetime of the founders — presumably with their approval — and has continued through the entire history of the seminary. Only by great liberty of interpretation

could all the founders have signed their own Creed ; for they differed widely in regard to some of the most important doctrines expressed in the Creed. And only by great liberty of interpretation could all the former professors have retained their chairs, for they differed widely in their views touching several of the fundamental doctrines represented in the Creed. It has been quite common for professors, on subscribing the Creed, to accompany their subscription with some explanatory statement indicating that they accepted it as substantially expressing the teachings of the Scriptures. The Trustees and Visitors alike have allowed this liberty of interpretation in the past.

Indeed, in no other way could the seminary have been administered so as to have carried out the great intent of the founders. We can see no reason why the same liberty of interpretation should be denied to the present accused professors which was granted to their predecessors, more than one of whom were in their day charged with infidelity to the Creed.

And now, in justification of our judgment rendered above, we will consider the specific charges brought against the professors.

The whole number is fifteen, but evidently the complainants laid emphasis only on three or four. The others may be dismissed as unimportant.

First charge : The professors are charged with holding and teaching "that the Bible is not the only perfect rule of faith and practice, but is fallible and untrustworthy, even in some of its religious teachings."

The exact language of the Creed is : "I believe that the word of God contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament is the only perfect rule of faith and practice."

The Creed says nothing about the way or method in which the Bible became a perfect rule of faith and practice ; that is, it prescribes no theory of inspiration.

The complainants infer that the professors do not believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures, because they do not adopt a certain theory of inspiration in regard to which the Creed is silent. They certainly do not deny inspiration when they affirm that the "inspired life" of the writers is the "seat" or "medium of revelation," especially as they admit that these writers of the Bible "were sometimes evidently conscious of receiving special messages from God." ("Progressive Orthodoxy," page 221.)

But there is nothing whatever in the Creed that requires any man accepting it to differentiate the action of the Holy Spirit in guiding and inspiring the composition of the sacred books from the action of the same Spirit in guiding and quickening to holiness of life, and this embodies all the charge upon this subject that can be brought against these professors.

They declare that in the very articles from which the citations in support of this charge were made, the writers assume "that we have in the Bible a trustworthy and authoritative expression of the mind and will of God." ("The Andover Defence," page 107.)

Moreover, in his address before the National Council at Chicago last October Professor Smyth said : "I know of no professor at Andover who has ever thought of questioning the supreme authority of the Scriptures as the record of special divine revelation and the only perfect rule of faith and practice." ("Boston Journal," October 19, 1886.)

And Professor Hincks says, "I close by declaring my full and hearty belief 'that the word of God contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament is the only perfect rule of faith and practice,' and by denying that I have

in my lecture-room or out of it made statements inconsistent with this belief." ("The Andover Defence," page 306.)

Without indorsing all the views which the professors have expressed in regard to the Scriptures, we see no reason to doubt the sincerity or truthfulness of the foregoing declarations.

Third charge : The professors are charged with holding and teaching "that no man has power or capacity to repent without knowledge of God in Christ."

And yet in the very citations made to sustain this charge occur such statements as these : "The power of repentance remains, and to this power the gospel addresses itself." "It is to this power that Christ, the holy and merciful, attaches himself." ("Progressive Orthodoxy," page 54.)

They further say : "Man's natural powers of moral agency are not denied, but asserted. It is everywhere assumed that men are responsible for their sins." ("The Andover Defence," page 116.)

The Creed itself, while affirming that "man has understanding and corporeal strength to do all that God requires of him, so that nothing but the sinner's aversion to holiness prevents his salvation," teaches that man is "morally incapable of recovering the image of the Creator."

It is not clear that the professors hold to any other inability than this "moral incapability which consists in aversion to holiness." They may not have emphasized sufficiently the sinner's natural ability, and their language on this subject may not always be most felicitous nor self-consistent. But in these respects we do not think they have sinned more than did the first Abbot professor ; and, if his language was not inconsistent with the Creed, neither is theirs. (See "Works of Dr. Woods," vol. iii., pages 173-200.)

The professors hold and inculcate with great emphasis the necessity and efficiency of the Holy Spirit in the work of regeneration ; and while they seldom use the familiar terms "natural ability," "natural inability," "moral ability," "moral inability," they exalt the *grace* of God in making salvation possible for men otherwise hopelessly lost.

Sixth charge : The professors are charged with holding and teaching "that the atonement of Christ consists essentially and chiefly in his becoming identified with the human race through his incarnation, in order that by his union with men He might endow them with the power to repent, and thus impart to them an augmented value in the view of God, and so render God propitious towards them."

The language of the Creed on this subject is : "I believe that Christ, as redeemer, executed the office of a prophet, priest, and King ; that agreeably to the covenant of redemption the Son of God, and He alone, by his sufferings and death has made atonement for the sins of all men."

The fact of atonement and its universality are here affirmed ; but no one of the various theories that have been held in the church as to the nature and necessity of the atonement is enjoined to the exclusion of all others. There is reason to believe that the founders differed greatly in their theories of the atonement. This certainly has been the case with the men who have occupied chairs of instruction in the seminary ; for example, the theory held and advocated by Professor Shedd is radically different from that held and advocated by Professor Park. (Cf. "Bibliotheca Sacra," vol. xvi., page 723 ; "Atonement," Discourses and Treatises, Introd. Essay.)

We see no good reasons why the views of the professors on this subject may not come within the scope of the Creed as well as the differing views of Anselm

and of Grotius, especially when those who hold them can use such language as the following : "I consider it fundamental in the truth of redemption through Christ that Christ suffered in our stead, or that his work was vicarious, that his sufferings had relation and influence towards God as well as towards man ; that the ultimate ground of redemption is the satisfaction of the God of holy love, procured by the sufferings of Christ ; and that all other effects upon man rest back upon and assume that satisfaction as having been made, or, in other words, assume a changed relation of God towards sinners produced by the sufferings and death of his only begotten Son." (Professor Harris's Address before the Congregational Club of Boston, May 26, 1884, "Boston Journal," May 21.)

Eleventh charge : The professors are charged with holding and teaching "that there is, and will be, probation after death for all men who do not decisively reject Christ during the earthly life ; and that this should be emphasized, made influential, and even central in systematic theology."

The latter part of this charge is without a shadow of support. The professors, so far from claiming that their view on this subject should be "emphasized and made central in systematic theology," declare that it is to be looked upon as "an appended inquiry rather than as an essential question for theology." ("Progressive Orthodoxy," page 77.) And they further say : "In the strictest sense, we do not treat it as a doctrine at all, but only as an inference from a doctrine or fundamental principle." ("Andover Defence," page 130.)

They frankly admit that they hold, as a reasonable inference from accepted truths, that any persons who have no Christian probation in this life may have such a probation after death.

The view which they emphasize is that there is salvation only through faith in Christ, in opposition to the Unitarian view of salvation by works, or by "living up to the light of nature."

Their views on this subject seem to us permissible under the Creed of the seminary. The Creed contains no explicit declaration concerning the condition of the wicked during the period between death and the final judgment. The Creed, in highly figurative Scriptural language, declares that "the wicked will awake to shame and everlasting contempt, and with devils be plunged into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone forever and ever." It is a significant fact that, while the authors of this Creed did say that "believers" at death do "immediately pass into glory," they were led — may we not say providentially led — not to say that the wicked do immediately "awake to shame." If it could be proved that they did believe that the wicked do immediately at death enter into a state of hopeless retribution, then would the fact that they did not express this belief in the Creed be all the more significant.

If it were allowable to go behind the language of the Creed, and inquire what views the founders held on this subject, following a line of historical argument similar to that adopted by Dr. Dexter in support of this charge, it could be easily shown that the founders believed that no man can be saved without faith in Christ in this life ; and, therefore, that the heathen *en masse*, and, without exception, perish. This was unquestionably the prevalent view at that time. Thus, in answer to the sixtieth question of the larger Catechism — "Can they who have never heard of the gospel, and know not of Jesus Christ, nor believe in Him, be saved by their living according to the light of nature ?" — it is said, "They who, having never heard the gospel, know not Jesus Christ, cannot be saved, be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature or the laws of that religion which they profess ; neither

is there salvation in any other, but in Christ alone, who is the Saviour only of his body, the church." The Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church (chap. x., sect. 4) uses similar language, and declares that the salvation of conscientious heathen with only the light of nature is "much less" possible than is the salvation of those who hear the gospel and reject it, and further declares that "to assert and maintain the contrary is very pernicious and to be detested." With this the Saybrook Platform (chap. x., art. 4) agrees. And this was doubtless the current belief at the opening of the present century; that none were, or could be, saved without a knowledge of Christ and personal faith in Him in this life. Even Dr. Emmons, who stood in such close relations to some of the founders, held this view of the impossibility of the salvation of any of the heathen without the gospel. ("Works," vol. 6, Ser. 22.) From this view, presumably held by some of the founders, there have been two important departures since the seminary was founded, both of them outgrowths of one and the same doctrine, namely, the universality of the atonement. One class of theologians hold that, since Christ died for all, the salvation of all is made possible; and that all who penitently turn to God, whether in Christian or heathen lands, will actually be saved by Christ, even though ignorant of Him. Another class of theologians hold that, since Christ died for all men, all men before the final judgment will have opportunity to accept or reject Him as their Saviour, and those who do not have such opportunity in this life will have it after death.

Both classes agree (1) that all men are hopelessly lost without Christ; and (2) that none can be saved except by Christ, and on the ground of the atonement; and (3) that some will be saved who do not hear of Christ in this life. They disagree as to the possibility of salvation without faith in Christ, and this of necessity leads to disagreement as to the possibility of probation and salvation after death for those who do not know of Christ before death. Now, the Creed neither expressly affirms nor denies the possibility of salvation without faith in Christ; and it neither affirms nor denies the possibility of probation and of salvation for any who die without a knowledge of Christ. But it is almost certain that the founders did not believe in either possibility. If, therefore, men holding to the one possibility can rightfully occupy chairs of instruction in the seminary, why may not those holding to the other possibility? If it is not contrary to the Creed, though contrary to the views of the founders, to encourage the hope that some of the heathen will be saved who have no opportunity to believe in Christ in this life, why should it be deemed contrary to the Creed, though contrary to the views of the founders, to encourage the hope that some of the heathen will be saved by having an opportunity to believe in Christ after death? The views of the professors on this subject, whether correct or not, do not seem to antagonize any of the doctrines of the Creed, nor lend any countenance to any of the errors and heresies condemned by the Creed.

In our judgment, the whole aim of the professors has been to enlarge and deepen the apprehension of Christian truth in its applications to the problems of faith and the work of the church in the world, and they have done this along the lines of the symbols of the seminary. And we think that they deserve for their industry, their zeal, their scholarship, and their piety, not the disfranchisement and suspicion of the friends of the seminary and of sacred learning, but encouragement and sympathy.

In conclusion, we cannot refrain from expressing our deep conviction that no

greater mistake can be made in endeavoring to promote the growth of Christ's kingdom than that of insisting that such differences on points in eschatology, as exist between the accusers and the accused in this case, should be made the occasion of accusations so grave and a trial so momentous as that which these distinguished and high-minded professors have been called upon to face.

D. T. FISKE.

EDWARD TAYLOR.

C. F. P. BANCROFT.

THOMAS H. RUSSELL.

J. S. ROPES.

ALEXANDER MCKENZIE.

WM. H. WILCOX.

ROBERT R. BISHOP.

FRANKLIN CARTER.

ALPHEUS H. HARDY.

JAMES G. VOSE.

HORACE FAIRBANKS.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

CURRENT GERMAN THOUGHT.

IN my last paper (May) I endeavored to characterize very briefly the general position of the school of Ritschl. It may not be uninteresting in the same connection to cast a glance at the two parties which condition and limit the influence of that school upon either side. The first of them is the so-called Confessional school, represented chiefly by the universities of Leipzig, Erlangen, Greifswald, and Rostock, and under the leadership of Professor Luthardt, of Leipzig, a man of immense personal power, whose influence in the orthodox Lutheran Church is undoubtedly greater than that of any other living man. The party is called "Confessional," and yet there is in Germany no truly Confessional school in the sense in which the Missouri Synod, for instance, deserves that name. The latter is continually pointing out to the mother church its deviation from the old positions and endeavoring to set it a pattern of close conformity to the established standards. But the school of which I speak claims to stand upon the old Confessions, and does so more nearly than any other part of the German Church, thus representing the strictest orthodoxy to be found in Germany. They hold, for instance, the majority of them, in distinction from all other German schools, a very rigid doctrine of plenary inspiration, by no means confining it to the so-called essential parts of Scripture. But at the same time they of course no longer pretend to accept the old mechanical theory which found such vigorous defenders among the post-Reformation divines. And yet, although in this and in some other respects they have outgrown their fathers, the essential principle which distinguishes them from the followers of Ritschl is, that they in reality take as their basis the dogmatists of the seventeenth century, while Ritschl goes back to the Reformation itself, to the underlying principle of Protestantism (not its doctrines — here is the vital distinction) as championed by Luther. The Confessional school of the present is distinguished from the orthodox Church of the seventeenth century, not simply by an alteration in a few of its doctrinal positions, but, in general, by the addition of an eighteenth-century pietism, which makes it at the same time deeper and narrower. I do not mean, of course, to imply that every representative of conservative German Lutheranism can be characterized in this way. I simply state the general position,

or better, tendency, of the school. The two great lights of this branch of the Church to whom it still looks back for its guidance and its inspiration were Hengstenberg, of Berlin, and Hoffmann, of Erlangen, and it is their spirit which still lives in the orthodox universities. The school is, of course, looked upon by the most conservative people as the bulwark of German Protestantism, but it must be remembered that it is rather the bulwark of the scholastic orthodoxy of the seventeenth century than of the true Protestantism of Luther and the Reformation. The school is strong in numbers — over 1,500 theological students are in attendance upon its four chief universities — and it can thus hardly be said that German orthodoxy is losing ground, at least from a numerical point of view. Its principal organs are the “*Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*” (monthly), the theological journal of the school; the “*Theologisches Literaturblatt*” (weekly), devoted entirely to the review of current theological literature; and the “*Allgemeine Evangelische Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*” (weekly), a general religious paper. All of these enjoy a wide circulation, and are all published at Leipzig under the editorship of Professor Luthardt himself. The influence which he exerts by means of them may be imagined. Hengstenberg’s “*Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*,” now edited by Zückler, of Greifswald, also represents this school, but does not at present enjoy a very wide circulation.

At the other angle of the triangle, as different from the orthodox party in its relations to Christianity and the Bible as could well be imagined, and yet one with it in opposition to Ritschlianism, stands the old Tübingen school, — in so far as it can be said still to exist in Germany, — at any rate the natural offspring of that school, which has been growing more and more toward a philosophical rationalism (I simply indicate its tendency) and at the same time becoming beautifully less in numbers. It is too negative to live in the face of such a free and at the same time aggressive movement as that of Ritschl on the one side, and such a conservative force as the Confessional school on the other. The former attracts most of the liberally inclined among the younger theologians, the latter absorbs the conservatives. For the Tübingen school few are left. The philosophy of the last-named school is, as is well known, Hegelian, and thus directly opposed to the *Neu-Kantianismus* of the *Ritschlianer*. Its position toward the Bible and toward revelation in general is extremely negative. Lipsius, of Jena, and Pfeiderer, of Berlin, are, since the death of Biedermann, of Switzerland, in 1885, the chief representatives of the school. Its strongholds are the universities of Jena and Heidelberg, with a total theological attendance of something over two hundred. The positions of the various members of the party are by no means identical with those of Baur; one has veered off in one direction, another in another (Lipsius is, perhaps, farthest from the old master), but the school is the lineal descendant of the old school, and the spirit of the latter still lives in it. It is noticeable that its chief lights are theologians rather than historians; upon the latter the influence of Ritschl’s principles has been especially great. Its principal organs are the “*Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*,” a very able theological review, published quarterly in Leipzig, with Lipsius as editor-in-chief, and the “*Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*,” published weekly by Reimer, of Berlin. The “*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*,” published quarterly at Leipzig,

under the editorship of Hilgenfeld, of Jena, though often spoken of as an organ of this school, occupies more of an independent position. I may add, what I omitted to state in my last letter, that the principal organs of the *Ritschlianer* are Harnack and Schürer's "Theologische Literaturzeitung" (published bi-weekly in Leipzig), which is devoted to book reviews and widely known for its very complete theological bibliography, and the "Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gemeindeblatt" (published in Leipzig under the editorship of Dr. Rade, a former pupil of Harnack's), a newly established weekly, which promises to be one of the very best of Germany's religious papers. Ritschlianism is strongest in the universities of Western Germany, especially Göttingen, Marburg, and Giessen, but it has individual representatives in almost every theological faculty. A characteristic difference between Ritschl and the Confessional school on the one side and the Tübingen school on the other may be seen in his treatment of the Bible. He rejects every attempt to deduce from any scholastic theory of inspiration its teaching power, but at the same time he accepts the New Testament as a norm, because it shows us what the followers of Christ believed before Christianity became corrupted and filled with the foreign ideas of philosophy. His treatment of the Bible is thus by no means negative. He endeavors to draw from it, and it alone, his whole system of theology.

In addition to these three more clearly marked schools is a fourth of extremely indefinite outlines, which is known as the *Mittel-Partei*, and is made up of the so-called *Vermittelungs-Theologen*. They occupy a mediating position between the extreme liberals on the one hand and the extreme conservatives on the other, but are ordinarily looked upon as orthodox theologians. They do not, as a party, enter into the Ritschlianistic strife, and are to be identified neither with the *Ritschlianer* nor with their opponents. They are the continuators of the theology of Tholuck, Twisten, Dorner, etc., are thoroughly evangelical, but free and scientific in their methods. A great many of them are avowedly devoted to a union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Germany, which of itself indicates their position in regard to the distinctively Lutheran doctrines. Their stronghold is the university of Halle, which ranks next to Berlin and Leipzig in the number of its theological students. Their most pronounced organs, the "Deutsch-Evangelische Blätter" (monthly), edited by Professor Beyschlag, of Halle, and the old "Theologische Studien und Kritiken," edited by Professors Koestlin and Riehm, of Halle, and published quarterly by Perthes, of Gotha, are in their hands.

Arthur C. McGiffert.

MARBURG, PRUSSIA.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

PITHOM — HEROÖPOLIS — SUCCOTH.

UP to within about three years and a half very little was known about this Egyptian city. A name had been found on some of the monuments and papyri which had been read Pa-tum or Pi-tum, and which was phonetically the equivalent of the Hebrew Pithom. These sources made it apparent that the place was in the eastern delta of the Nile, but the

exact location in that vast and barren wilderness of to-day, and exactly where to look for the buried remains, could not be determined. The earliest mention of the name in extra-Egyptian writings was in the Hebrew Scriptures, at Ex. i. 11, where it was mentioned as one of the "store-cities" built by the Israelites for Pharaoh (Ramses II.). But here no hint as to locality was given. The LXX, in translating this passage, diverges from the Hebrew and reads, "And they (Israelites) built fenced cities for Pharaoh; Pithom (Πιθω), and Raamses, and On, which is Heliopolis." Here, too, was no indication of its whereabouts. The Coptic version follows the LXX closely at most points, being a translation of that version, and not of the Hebrew. The Coptic lexicon of Amedeus Peyron, in explaining the word, gives Πιθωμ or Πιθωμ, "Urbs inferioris Aegypti prope Heroopolim a Judaeis in Aegypto captivis aedificata" (Lexicon linguae copticae. Studiis Amedei Peyron. Taurini, 1835).

The LXX, at Gen. xlv. 28, has a peculiar reading, differing from the Hebrew. The Revised Version reads, "And he (Jacob) sent Judah before him unto Joseph *to show the way before him unto Goshen.*" . . . The Septuagint renders the words in italics "at Heroöpolis, in the land of Ramesse" (ἡρώων πόλιν, εἰς γῆν Ῥαμεσση). But here the Coptic has still a different reading, and gives "Pithom" (Πιθωμ) as an emendation, which apparently was such as to make the identification of the place easier for its Egyptian readers. From this peculiar state of affairs it is easy to conjecture that if the same place was meant by both sets of translators, the city was called by both names, one being the Egyptian or Coptic designation, and the other that familiar to the Greeks. As we shall see later, such was in fact the case.

The historian Herodotus mentions a city, Πάτουμος, in speaking of a canal projected by Nekos (Necho, 610-594 B. C.) and finished by Darius, which derives its water from the Nile, "a little above the city of Bubastis, near Patumos the Arabian town; it runs into the Red Sea." Here, then, is a hint as to the site. On the strength of this, Professor Ebers conjectured, in the first edition of his "Durch Gosen zum Sinai," that the location was at Tell-el-Suleiman; but in the second, on the evidence of a papyrus (Anastasi vi. 4), he had felt himself compelled to give up this view in the face of a passage which reads thus: . . . "The pools at Pithom, of King Menephtah, which is Theku (Succoth)," in connection with an allusion in the great geographical text at Dendera, which speaks of "Pithom at the entrance of the East." But the difficulty in this reading of Herodotus has been explained and avoided by Mons. Naville ("Pithom," etc., p. 29-30) by a change of punctuation, which places Pithom at the east instead of the west end of the canal. In the translation given above the semicolon is put after the word "town." Now, change it to follow the word "Bubastis," and we are freed from difficulty, and (provided Tell-el-Suleiman is held to be Patoumos) the "Father of History" is relieved of those accusations of error which some are fond of laying to his charge, for this Tell is *not above* Bubastis, but some distance *below* it. With the changed reading we find that the canal "runs into the Red Sea near Patoumos," a statement according with the truth. Ebers, not having thus altered the reading of Herodotus, having rather given up hope of reconciling his narrative with the statement of monument and papyrus, placed Pithom on the southwestern bank of Lake Balah or Lake Menzale.

Little if anything was known farther about this city, except that it was in a district called *Theku*, which Brugsch had regarded as the equivalent of the Hebrew Succoth, and the determinatives used in the hieroglyphic writing had shown that it was peopled — largely, at least — by a race different from the Egyptian. In the Papyrus Anastasi the sign used was compounded of two “determinatives,” namely, “foreign people” and “border land.”

In this state things stood when Mons. Naville, as agent and excavator for the Egypt Exploration Fund, went to Egypt, in 1883, having set out with the expectation of investigating the site of Tanis-Zoan. But before he was prepared to begin to dig the season was quite advanced, and the time left did not warrant work there. He turned his attention to a mound called Tell-el-Maskhutah, on the south side of the modern sweet-water canal, which runs from the Nile through Wadi Tumilat, parallel with the ancient water-way. The site had been described by a French engineer, Le Père, toward the end of the last century, as containing ruins which “bore all the characteristics of an Egyptian city,” and “all such remains as mark the sites of destroyed cities in Lower Egypt.” The name of the Tell, “mound of the Statue,” was derived from a large granite statue which represented Ramses II. seated between the two sun-gods, Ra and Tum. This, together with some other monuments, had been removed to Ismailia, whither Mons. Naville went to examine them. From the fact that a large statue of Ramses had been found on the site, it had been concluded by Lepsius that it marked the spot where Raamses, one of the “store-cities,” stood. An examination of them, however, led to a different conclusion. It seemed that the place was dedicated to the god Tum, and hence the inference was drawn that when uncovered there would be found Pi-tum, “the Abode of Tum,” Pithom, and *not* Raamses. Having been thus prepared for results to be found, excavation began. A considerable number of monuments were found of various ages. The oldest was by Ramses II., and the latest hieroglyphic inscription by Ptolemy (II.) Philadelphus, thus covering the ground from about 1500 to 250 B. C. Besides these a Greek and two Latin inscriptions were found, which extended the period later, to 306 or 307 A. D. The fact that nothing earlier than Ramses II. was found pointed clearly to the fact that he was the builder of the city, and in connection with other facts, soon to be stated, especially the fact that here was the Pithom of Ex. i. 11, it was placed beyond question that in this king we see the Pharaoh of the oppression, unnamed in the Hebrew records.

The point of main interest to us is in the connection between the monuments excavated and the Biblical narrative. The first question to be answered is in regard to the history of the place. Menephtah, son of Ramses II., who was busy in all parts of Egypt, Upper and Lower, probably built here also, though no remains are found, and his royal oval does not appear. This may be accounted for in part by the fact that much of the stone used was a sort of white limestone which was soft and friable, so that it easily succumbed to the influence of atmosphere and weather. It is possible that some of the other things found belong to kings of the XX. and XXI. dynasties, but this is not certain. The next remains belong to Sheshonk I. (Shishak), Osorkon II., and Takelot, of the XXII. Dynasty, Nectanebo I., a great warrior and important king of the XXX. Dynasty, and finally to Ptolemy (II.) Philadelphus (284–247 B. C.). The reason why the city was maintained as it was

was that it was a frontier town on the southern route to Palestine and the East. Mons. Naville also found a stone belonging to a wall, on which were engraved Greek and Latin words: LOEPO | POLIS | ERO | CASTRA. (The vertical lines show the division into four lines of writing.) The meaning of LO is unknown. The first line is evidently by a hand very different from that which inscribed the other three. It will also be noticed that a Greek and a Latin combined to write the word Loeropolis, for the R of the first line is an upright line with a curve at the top which does not form a complete loop, such as is needed for a complete *ro*, and the P of the second line has not the Greek but the Latin form. The appearance of the writing leads me to suppose that it was begun by a Greek and finished by a Roman, who thus bore double testimony to the name of the place. We have here, then, the Heroöpolis of the Greeks and the Ero Castra of the Romans. A second Latin inscription was found all in one style, and almost intact. It reads, DDNN VICTORIBVS | MAXIMIANO ET SEVERO | IMPERATORIBVS ET | MAXIMINO ET CONSTANTINO | NOBILISSIMIS CAESARIBI --- | AB ERO IN CLVSMA | M VIII © | This is interesting both geographically and in connection with the identity of the place. The distance between Clysma and Ero is given as nine miles, whereas the Antonine Itinerary places the distance as 18 + 50 = 68 miles. The question is, What does this inscription prove? Does it prove anything? Are we justified in adopting the conclusion of Naville that there is here a discrepancy between the mile-stone and the Itinerary? Professor Dillmann has discussed this point, and after having given his grounds for the belief that there was a Clysma (Arabic, Qulzum), a little to the north of the present Suez, he gave as his conclusion that there must have been a second place of the same name on the isthmus unless some mistake shall be found to have been made in the interpretation of the mile-stone. He says that two things must be proved. First, that the stone originally stood in the place where found, and was not transported thither in later times; and second, that the stone really says what Naville claims that it does. The former of these points, however, need not concern us, as it is not well taken. What the stone says is true wherever it was found, whether it was at Tell-el-Maskhutah or Boulak Museum, or it is false. Dillmann had already acknowledged the truth of the statement that Hero was at Tell-el-Maskhutah, on the evidence of the other inscribed stones which were found *in situ*. The sole question to be determined is the second. If the statement of the stone is false, all conclusions based upon it must be false too. But, assuming the truth of the inscription, it is for us to consider whether there is a disagreement between it and the Antonine Itinerary which cannot be explained.

If we admit the identity of the Arabic Qulzum with Clysma, we must see what the result will be. Clysma was the port of the Red Sea. If the sea ever extended to the north of its present limits, it is only natural to suppose that the port was at such time situated at its northern limit. With the withdrawal of the sea, on account of the rising of the ground, the port must also have been withdrawn. The old site would fall into disuse, and be speedily swallowed up in the drifting sand, so that all traces of it might readily be lost in a decade, let alone a century or two. The northern place would, on this theory, be the older, but of its existence we have only the testimony of the mile-stone, and to that is opposed the statement of the Itinerary. But this is by no means decisive. It

can readily be imagined that if there ever were a city nine miles from Hero bearing the name, and if it had fallen into ruin through the loss of its trade, which was its life, it would be natural for the Romans, in establishing a camp on the old site, to restore the old name in a Latinized form just as they did at Heroöpolis-Hero. The cases would be exactly parallel. It would then be to this camp that the mile-stone referred, whereas the Itinerary refers to the city, well known to travelers, near Suez, at the head of navigation at the time that the list was compiled, when possibly the camp Clysma had again fallen from the memory of man. The lack of precise knowledge of the date of the Itinerary shuts us up to conjecture on this point. But when all has been said, if the inscription has been properly read and reproduced, a dilemma stands before us: either there was a Clysma nine Roman miles from Tell-el-Maskhutah, or Hero-Heroöpolis is still buried in some unknown and unexplored mound.

In connection with the question of the location of Heroöpolis, there is another matter of considerable interest. It has been held by some that the Red Sea never came further north than at present. Upon this theory there is a more obvious conflict between the mile-stone and the Itinerary, which seems incapable of explanation. No theory of the transfer of a name with the port is possible. The discrepancy cannot be bridged. The nine miles of the mile-stone cannot be reconciled with the sixty-eight given by the Itinerary as the distance from "Hero" to Clysma. Besides, this would require the entire and complete overthrow of the evidence, not only of the mile-stone, but also of the other inscriptions bearing the name Heroöpolis and Ero Castra. So far as we have been able to learn, the theory of the non-extension of the sea rests upon the geological argument and upon the view of Lepsius that the ruins of a canal to the north of Suez militate against the supposition that a water-way was constructed where the sea had been. To the geological argument little weight need be attached in the face of such expert testimony as that of Professor Dawson¹ of Montreal, and Professor Hull² of Dublin, confirmed as it is by the facts related by Sir John Coode and Du Bois Aymé.³ These authorities hold firmly to the belief that the sea formerly included the Bitter Lakes or even Lake Timsah. The existence of many sea-shells in the region between Suez and the Bitter Lakes points to the recent presence of the sea. Sir John Coode⁴ says that recently he made examination of the ground in this region, and within a very short distance of the surface a layer of salt was turned up precisely such as would be found upon ground which had been covered by a shallow body of salt water, and which had very gradually emerged from it. Other such facts are related, which point to the conclusion that slowly and by degrees an arm of the sea, north of Suez, was made shallow by a rising of the ground. If this was the case, and navigation was hindered by any such cause, it would have been quite natural to have endeavored to overcome the difficulty by constructing a canal which should take the place of the natural water-way. The existence of the canal cannot be

¹ *Egypt and Syria: their physical features in relation to Bible History.* By Sir J. William Dawson, LL. D., F. R. S., etc. (By-Paths of Bible Knowledge. VI.) London, 1885.

² *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, April, 1884.

³ *Description de l'Égypte*, iii. 187-192, iv. 715-732.

⁴ *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, April, 1885.

taken as a valid argument till its age shall have been proved to be so great as to antedate the city uncovered by Mons. Naville. Further light is thrown upon the case by the fact that the "rocky barrier" at Chaluf, the point where the ground is highest between Suez and the Bitter Lakes, of which so much has been made and on which the strength of the geological argument rests, was at its highest point in the line of the Suez Canal, *six feet below the present Red Sea level*. (See my note in the "Independent" of April 14, 1887, p. 7.)

This theory of the presence of the sea as far north as the present Ismailia is not in conflict with the testimony of the ancient geographers. Strabo speaks of Heropolis as situated near the head of the gulf which was called after the name of the city. In fact, it may be said, if the city was situated at Tell-el-Maskhutah, as the monuments go to prove, what sense would there be in calling the gulf after the name of a city sixty-eight miles away? Thus, inferentially, the language of Strabo might be considered as giving evidence of the near proximity of navigable waters.

In another respect this view is of great interest. If the sea came no further than Suez at the time of the Exodus, the Israelites must have gone beyond Suez to have found a spot where the miraculous crossing was among the natural possibilities, or where there was any sea. To this view it has been pertinently remarked, that it adds to the improbabilities of the case. Where was the need of such despair as the Israelites showed, if there was a belt of land between Suez and the Bitter Lakes which they could cross dry-shod? If, on the contrary, they were shut in by a broad though shallow body of water which extended nearly to Pithom on the north, there is good and reasonable ground for the explanation of their desponding complaints. To the south there was no escape possible, to the north was the army of Pharaoh, to the west was the land they were so anxious to leave, and to the east a vast body of water. They were thus shut in by the sea. On such grounds as these it would be reasonable to accept the theory; but when supported by the expert testimony of geologists and engineers it gains still further and perhaps conclusive strength.

Has Mons. Naville discovered the city of Pithom? This is a question that has received two, or possibly three, answers. It has been answered affirmatively by some, negatively by a writer in the "Athenæum" (No. 2,994), and doubtfully by others. What are, then, the facts on which the identification has been based, and in what degree do the facts bear out the theory?

The work of Naville has already been outlined, though some details remain to be mentioned. The earliest remains found belonged to Ramses II., the last Pharaoh of the XIX. Dynasty, the date of which is given variously by different writers. Thus Champollion gives 1473 B. C., Wilkinson, 1395; Bunsen, 1410; Lepsius, 1443; Bruegsch (1859), 1464, (1877), 1400; Unger, 1404; Lieblein, 1231; Mariette, 1462; Lauth, 1585, and the approximate number given by Wiedemann is 1490. (See Wiedemann's "Aegyptische Geschichte," pp. 732-33.) The fact that no earlier remains are found points very conclusively to the view that in Ramses II. we see the founder of the city, whatever its name may have been. The succession of monuments during about eleven hundred and fifty years shows that the place was of considerable importance and was kept in constant repair. This was due doubtless to the fact that here at

Tell-el-Maskhutah was situated one of the border towns on the southern route to Asia, which must be kept well fortified to protect the land from incursions of the nomads of the eastern deserts. That the city obtained a Greek name indicates the importance of its location at a strategic point. That it was occupied by the Romans is also evident, not only from the inscriptions found there, but also from a multitude of other vestiges and tokens of their occupation. Among these is one that cannot but be a matter of regret to all, whether they are inclined to accept or to reject the conclusions of Naville. This was the vandalism shown in the treatment of most of the monuments that would be so precious to us now. They leveled off the ground, filled those strange subterranean chambers, and wellnigh destroyed all evidence by which the place can now be more positively identified.

When Mons. Naville began to dig, he found an immense wall of brick which surrounded a space that covered 55,000 square yards. Inside of this was a temple dedicated to Tum, at the southwest corner; and occupying the rest of the space were series of subterranean chambers, without communication with each other, that he regards as "store-chambers." To this view objection has been made by Dr. Lansing in the "Monthly Interpreter" (Nov. 1885, pp. 32-50), on the ground that such chambers would be useless for the storage of grain or any such thing, on account of dampness. He believes rather that they were constructed to effect a saving of the amount of dirt thus displaced, the importance of which he fully explains. Practically it makes little difference which view is adopted, for it is not necessary to regard the Hebrew text as requiring the reading either of "store-cities" (R. V.), or "treasure-cities" (A. V.), and perhaps Dr. Lansing's "residence-cities" is as good as either. It would seem, however, as though the question will have to be decided, if at all, by an examination of the *facts* in the case. If the level of the bottom of the chambers is high enough to insure freedom from dampness, so that they should be dry during the time of high water on the Nile and in the canal, they may have been used as Naville supposes; but if not, the theory of Dr. Lansing is the best yet proposed. For the region about Cairo it is the only one, but if the ground about Tell-el-Maskhutah is considerably higher (a point on which I am not informed), there is the possibility at least of the other for that place.

Outside of this great wall other remains from the Roman period were found. The names of the kings whose ovals have been found have been mentioned already. The objects found were the following, and in giving the list the occurrence of the names of the city and region are specified, so that the date of each mention of either can be approximately fixed. The first was a large black granite hawk, bearing the name of Ramses II. and the name of the god Harmachis. The second was a fragment of the naos which had been taken to Ismailia. It had been broken, and the piece found by Naville bore the name of Theku "determined" with the sign for "foreign people." It bears also a part of the name of Ramses II. The third was a part of a tablet bearing the name of Sheshonk I., but with no geographical allusions. The fourth is a "statue of a squatting man," from the time of Osorkon II. (XXII. Dynasty, 975-811 B. C.), bearing the name of Anx-renp-nefer, "the good recorder of Tum." On this monument the name of Pithom occurs three times, and in neither case is there any "determinative." In other respects the writing of the name is exactly the same as in the later tablet of Ptolemy

II., and consists of the conventional representation of a house, followed by a short vertical line to indicate what the exact reading was (pi, pe, or pa, *not h*), and ending with the representation of the god Tum bearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. In one case the word occurs as the direct object. The fifth was an undated tablet of a priest, which speaks of him as the "principal of the priests of Tum, the great priest (over) of Theku." Theku is here determined by the city sign, so that the evidence at hand would show that this name had been applied to the city during the interval between Ramses II. and this inscription. The same stone speaks also of the *hat-ntr nt Tum ntr āa hr qb Thku*, "Temple (sanctuary) of Tum, the great god in the midst of Theku." Here the "sanctuary" of Tum is a very different thing from the "dwelling" of Tum, Pi-tum. Theku is written as before, except for the interchange of two equivalents for the vowel *u*. The evidence of this stone can scarcely be overestimated, the only drawback being that it is without date. Another fragment (Pl. iii. c.) bears the name alone and cannot be chronologically arranged. A sixth was found, but so broken that the name of the king could not be read. It contained no mention of localities. The seventh find consisted of parts of two inscribed statues, the one giving no geographical hints and not dated, the other also undated, but having some important readings. The person whose praise is recorded was *ān (sesh) hat-ntr n tem thku*, "scribe of the sanctuary of Tum (of) Theku," etc., and it is further said that *ta s-mn rn hnā mstui (?) atft(?) n m hat-ntr n tm ntr āa ān Thku an sek*, "she (Hathor) grants that the name remain with the statue (? Naville) in the temple of Tum the great, living god of Theku (Succoth), (it shall) not (be) destroyed" (vii. A. 3). The inference to be drawn from this is evident. The statue was set up in the temple of Tum, where it was to remain, and where it was found. The eighth was the most important document on all accounts. Not only does it refer many times to Pithom and Theku (Succoth), but also to other names of importance, and it has added to the list of words known and unknown to the Egyptologist. It aids also in the determination of some points of geography, and clears up in great part some dark subjects. It was the tablet of Ptolemy II. Unfortunately the style of engraving is very bad in some parts, and, in consequence, the reading of the signs is rendered extremely difficult. Naville says: "... to get a quite correct copy of it, it will be necessary to collate it several times with the original." Any one who has attempted to make out the reading on an old weather-beaten gravestone will understand how much greater the difficulty is in a hieroglyphic inscription, not only worn and defaced, but also badly engraved in the first instance. As a consequence, the copy here given is only tentative and the translation given is scarcely more, nor is it claimed to be more than a "rough sketch" or first attempt. Later study must come in to correct any mistakes in the published work. It may be said, by way of explanation, that the text which is published was of necessity made up from photographs and a paper squeeze. Naturally, then, we have here the *minimum*. Later work and study may bring out further details and may change some of the readings in minor points; but the present text will approximate to the correct one.

At the present time it must suffice to enumerate the passages where the various names of especial interest to us occur. The name Pi-tum (Pithom) occurs twice, and in each case it is "determined" with the

city sign. The passages are Plate ix. line 10, in the first half, and line 13, in second half. In the first passage the text is imperfect, so that the connection is obscure; but in the other the reading is *er xnt neteru Pi-Tum Thku*, "before the gods (of) Pithom-Theku." Here the writing of these two names is exactly parallel, so that if one is a city the other is the same. The close connection in which they stand, without any intervening word expressing relation, is very significant, and points to the identity of the two. The fact that we have found that Tum was the principal divinity of Succoth, and that he had a temple dedicated to his honor at Tell-el-Maskhuthah, is significant, especially as we have a mention of the fact in explicit language. When we read of the "sanctuary of Tum, the great living god of Succoth," we cannot but be struck with the fact that there is here an evident contrast between this method of naming it and the other, Pi-tum, "dwelling of Tum." It has been claimed that this last does not refer to a city; but to those who have made study of Egyptian ancient geography, the statement of the claim is absurd. Here we have a temple of Tum in Pithom in the district of Succoth.

This is the last mention of Pithom that we have found. The name Theku, however, occurs several times in the same tablet, in such phrases as *n nu Thku*, "in the city of Theku," determinated with the double sign "foreign or border land" and "city" (ix. 1), *n Theku* "in Theku" (x. 25, 28) with the same "determinatives." With the "city" sign alone it occurs six times (viii., 3d vert. line at right top of inscription, ix. 2, 3, 14, x. 19, 21) and in the form *Thkut* three times without any determinative at all (ix. 7, 13, 14). The phrases are *n tm ntr āa Thku*, (forever) "before Tum the great god of Succoth," (viii., 3d vert. line, top; ix. 2; x. 19, 21); *ntr āa hr tp Thkt*, "great god over Thekut" (ix. 3); *er Thkt*, "into Thekut" (ix. 14). In x. 16, middle of line, the name occurs in the shorter form which is frequent in other writings, *Thk*.

The readings occur in great variety and with many minor changes, but with little real difference. Occasionally one form of the vowel *u* is used for another, and the determinative of "city" is sometimes supplemented by another and sometimes it is omitted entirely. As in the hieroglyphic writing generally, so here, the short vowels are disregarded. Where no vowel is expressed and where one is nevertheless necessary for the vocalization of the word intended, the conventional *e* is used. It does not stand necessarily for an *e*, but merely to indicate the presence of a short vowel, *a*, *e*, *i*, or *u*. In nearly all of the transliterations (except the German) of the Egyptian Thku(-t) which we have seen, even in those of Naville, the word is written Thuku(-t). There is only one occurrence of the name in all the monuments found which would even seem to justify this, and that one must be read to correspond with the rest. The reading has been made, it would appear, to make the word correspond with the English form rather than with the Hebrew. The writer of Exodus did not make any mistake in transliterating the name, but wrote as the Egyptian did, Sko(u)th (סכור). An anonymous writer in the "Athenæum" has derided the probability of the phonetic change of the Egyptian *Th* into the Hebrew *S*, but with little glory to himself, in the face of the evidence of Dr. Brugsch, who long ago placed the two words in question as equivalents, and of Prof. Ebers, whose opinion on the subject is most decided and outspoken.

Was Succoth, then, identical with Pithom? Ex. i. 11 says, "And they

(the Israelites) built for Pharaoh store cities (ערי מסכנור, = fenced cities, II. ch. viii. 4), Pithom and Raamses" (רעמסס and פתום).

The name Raamses or Rameses occurs several times in Scripture, but the name Pithom only here. The proof that the mound uncovered by Naville was Pithom, depends in part upon the proof that the name Succoth (Ex. xii. 37) is the civil name corresponding to Pithom, the sacred name, and of this the monuments leave no shadow of doubt.

Ex. xii. 37: "And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth" (סכר).

It is strange that in this passage their names are thus used. If Pithom (Ex. i. 11) was a sacred name, we are justified in supposing that Raamses (Pi-Raamses) was also; and if Pithom and Succoth are identical, it is strange that the profane (civil) name (Succoth) is placed in proximity with the sacred name (Raamses). Now, it would seem improbable that the children of Israel should start out from a single city — Raamses — as from a rendezvous, but much more probable that it was from the *region* of Rameses, and that they journeyed into the *region* of Succoth. Attention may here be called to a peculiar fact which is at least worthy of note though it may not *prove* anything. The name Raamses (רעמסס) occurs but once with this pointing, and then expressly of a *city*; with the pointing (רעמסס) Rameses it occurs four times (Gen. xlvii. 11, Ex. xii. 37, and Num. xxxiii. 3 and 5), once expressly of a *land* or *region*. In the passage now under consideration it has the pointing נעקסס, as also in the other parallel passages which refer to this same journey. It may be inferred that there was a distinction intended by the authors of the massoretic points, and if such was the case it has been strictly adhered to.

To our mind this explanation, making Rameses and Succoth *regions*, *not* cities, is the more probable and reasonable. The question of the identity of Pithom and Succoth as the two names of a city is then of subordinate importance. Already in 1881, Ebers spoke decidedly of *Theku* as a region which was inhabited by foreigners and was situated at the "entrance to the East." The identification of *Theku(t)* with Succoth he also adopts, following Brugsch, making no objection and raising no question on phonetic grounds. In a later paper¹ Professor Ebers has supported with warmth the view that there is no phonetic difficulty whatever in the way. We have found the name *Theku-t* nineteen times in the eight pages of monuments reproduced by Mons. Naville, and of the name there are no less than eight different forms given. As already said, this profusion of forms need cause no doubt or uncertainty, as such a variety is, fortunately, frequent in the hieroglyphic writing, thus enabling specialists to arrive more nearly at the vocalization of the words. But the variety of determinatives is very instructive. We see that the word has stood for more than one thing, and that it was applied to a "district" in which a "foreign people" dwelt, as well as to a city, the former being much the earlier usage.

The explanation that has been given of a double nomenclature is entirely satisfactory. Egyptian kings had double names, their own and those assumed upon taking the throne. So, too, the cities had double names, as is known in many cases.

In the present case, we have seen that there was a temple to Tum,

¹ *Academy*, No. 681, New Issue, May 23, 1885, p. 373, first column; *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, etc., 1885, 2. Heft, p. 49.

and that there was a *city* Pithom, the one in or near the other. Now, Tum is spoken of again and again as *āa ānch ntr n Thku*, "the great, living god in *Thku* (Succoth);" and that Succoth was a general designation of a country or region, and also of a city, has not been questioned. The proximity and connection between Pi-tum and Succoth (city) would go to show that they are one and the same, only called by two names, and that the city Pithom-Succoth is in the region of Succoth.

Among the other results of the work of Naville are some of great importance as to the geography of the Delta. A glance at the map prepared by Brugsch in 1881 shows some peculiar facts. Herōpolis is placed on it near the present Suez on the east side of the Red Sea, and Arsinoë is near by. Pithom is in the district of Theku, but at the north of the Delta, just west of Pelusium. In the Wadi Timulat there is nothing except two or three marks, designating ruins. Pithom was supposed to be the ancient name of Heracleopolis Parva. Now all this is changed. The Wadi Timulat is shown to have been the home of a numerous people and the scene of verdure and plenty; it was on the most frequented route to Asia, and a place that had to be guarded by garrison cities. Much was already known about the name or district in which Pithom was situated, but having been wrongly located, all the deductions drawn from the facts recorded on the monuments were false.

C. R. Gillett.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE DOCTRINE OF ENDLESS PUNISHMENT. By Prof. W. G. T. SHEDD, D. D. 8vo, pp. vii., 163. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886. \$1.50.

This book is in three parts : first comes a very slight historical sketch of the doctrine (11 pages), last, the rational argument for the doctrine, which was published in February, 1885, in the "North American Review," and has received its meed of criticism (45 pages). Between these we find the really new part of the work, the "Biblical Argument," which fills 106 pages. To this we shall confine our attention.

The main position which the author takes, to which he devotes fifty-five pages, is that *Sheol* in the Old Testament, and *Hades* in the New, mean sometimes *hell*, sometimes *the grave*.

We must make two remarks in advance, on this double translation of *Sheol* and *Hades*. First, as to its great convenience. It is like a fox's hole with two exits far apart, so that the inhabitant can never be caught at, or smoked out of, either opening. If one adduces texts which imply conscious existence and the gathering together of those whose graves were far apart, then, of course, *Sheol* or *Hades* cannot mean *the grave*, and is *hell*. But if, on the contrary, texts are cited which apply to good men in connection with *Sheol* or *Hades*, then of course it means only *the grave*. Persecuted in one signification, it is easy to flee unto the other ; indeed, it is difficult to argue against such a Protean theory, because one only produces the impression of having proved that the opponent has wrongly classified a few texts. Second, we call attention to its utter fallacy from the linguistic point of view. We can hardly expect to be

understood and believed, except by those who have made a specialty of the study of language, when we say, that the idea of a word having, and preserving in its equivalent in another language (*Sheol* = *Hades*) for many centuries, two meanings so wide apart, nay, so inconsistent, as *hell* and *grave*, is a philological absurdity. We might, like Boettcher ("De Inferis," p. 73, the great authority on this subject, whom Dr. Shedd never mentions), rest the case on the linguistic argument, but it will be more satisfactory to most readers if we deal briefly with our author's reasons.

Dr. Shedd argues that *Sheol* means *hell* on four grounds: —

1. "Because it is denounced against sin and sinners, and not against the righteous."

This is skillfully worded; for how could anything be *denounced* against the righteous, in the Bible? Yet this is really no argument. Several things are denounced in the Bible against the wicked and not against the righteous, which really are part of the earthly lot of both righteous and wicked. Sickness, poverty, suffering, affliction, evil of all kinds, and especially death, — all are denounced against sinners in the Bible; yet they enter into the lot of the righteous, and death, which is especially denounced against sinners, comes to all alike (Ps. xlix. 10). Further, it must be said that the righteous in the Old Testament distinctly expect to go down to *Sheol*, no less than the wicked, — even are represented as consciously existing in *Sheol*, righteous and wicked together. Thus Jacob expects to rejoin Joseph in *Sheol* (Gen. xxxvii. 35); and Samuel, summoned by the witch of Endor, predicts that Saul and his three sons will join him there on the morrow; the righteous and the wicked meeting. Moreover, it will not do to insist that *Sheol* means *grave* here: for Jacob supposes that Joseph has been devoured by wild beasts; and Saul and his three sons were not buried till at least several days after that on which Samuel was to meet them. This *Sheol* is the common place for all (Job xxx. 23). In it are whole armies, and nations, and they are represented as living, speaking, etc. (Ezek. xxxii. 17–32; Is. xiv. 9–23).¹ It would be easy, did space permit, to show many other passages inconsistent with the idea of *Sheol* as meaning either *hell* or *grave*.

2. Because "there is no other proper name for hell in the Old Testament."

Why must there necessarily be a proper name for hell in the Old Testament? Does Dr. Shedd think that every doctrine of the Bible must find proof in the Old Testament? If so, it would be easy to instance other defects. The fact is, that only the germs of a doctrine of future retribution are to be found in the Old Testament; and while *Sheol* is all the name there is for *hell* in it, it never means what we mean thereby.²

3. Because "it is contrasted with the Old Testament texts which speak of the contrary bright abode of the righteous and of their state of blessedness."

It is rather hard for Dr. Shedd to find these "Old Testament texts." He quotes Numbers xxiii. 5, 10, Proverbs xiv. 32, which do not touch the subject; also Psalms xvi. 11, xvii. 15, which are generally understood not to look beyond death.³ Isaiah xxv. 8 looks forward to the Messianic time, and of all the passages adduced one alone contains the contrast to *Sheol* on which the validity of Dr. Shedd's argument depends. This is

¹ See the admirable article of Professor Moore in this *Review*, November, 1884, where these passages are discussed.

² Moore, *l. c.*, p. 443.

³ Moore, *l. c.*, p. 447.

Psalm xlix. 15, "But God will redeem my soul from the power of Sheol; for He shall receive me." But this manifestly expresses a confidence that God will make an exception in the case of the writer and rescue him from, perhaps out of, Sheol, to which he expects to be consigned. There is not the faintest intimation that *all the righteous, as such*, are saved from Sheol, nor is it even certain that the writer might not go there for a time. At all events, there is no evidence here to identify Sheol with hell.

4. Because "it is inseparably connected with spiritual and eternal death."

Here, again, we have the same irrelevance of quotation which seems a besetting sin of our author. Two thirds of the space under this head is taken up with passages about death in general, of no cogency here. Then a few texts are cited containing the words "death" and "destruction," in connection with Sheol. It is asserted that the death and destruction are spiritual, but no proof of this is given; and certainly Abaddon, translated *destruction* is not spiritual, while "death" is apparently physical all through. Indeed, it may be doubted whether there is any definite conception of spiritual death in the Old Testament. But with either meaning of these words, they do not furnish any necessary presumption that *Sheol* means *hell*. Dr. Shedd completely misstates the case when he says (page 34):—

"But if Sheol be taken in the mythological sense of an underworld, or spirit-world, there is no inseparable connection between it and "death," either physical or spiritual. Physical death has no power in the spirit world over a disembodied spirit. And spiritual death is separable from Sheol in the case of the good."

If Sheol is the world of the dead, of departed spirits, is there no inseparable connection between it and death through which all enter there? What a strange assumption it is that death has no connection with the state of the dead, because they cannot die *again*! Further, Dr. Shedd would put the *second* death in here. That would certainly be applicable after the judgment, according to a later theology, to all the wicked in Sheol. But this does not imply that *Sheol* means *hell*.

We pass over the attempt to prove that *Sheol* means *grave* in many passages, because, though easily refuted, it does not bear directly on "eternal punishment." Then Dr. Shedd gives five reasons for translating *Hades* in the New Testament *hell*.

1. The parable of Dives and Lazarus.

But this proves only that there is in Hades a place of punishment, before the judgment, for the wicked. It cannot be proved that Lazarus and Abraham were in heaven; indeed, the parable, counting in what its hearers believed on the subject, gives rather the impression that they were not, but rather in a part of Hades remote from Dives and his pain.

2. "Hades is represented as the contrary of heaven, and the contrary of heaven is hell (Matthew xi. 23)."

This is rapid but entirely inconclusive reasoning. *Hades* and *Sheol*, even *Earth*, are used as contrasts to *heaven* in the Bible, only, of course, not all in the same aspect. In this passage both *heaven* and *Hades* are figurative, Capernaum had not been exalted to heaven except figuratively, so that as *heaven* stands here for the extreme of privilege, so *Hades* stands for the extreme of abasement. There is here no proof that *Hades* means *hell*.

3. "Hades is represented as Satan's kingdom, antagonistic to that of Christ (Matthew xvi. 18)."

The point to be proved is here assumed, as the passage says nothing about Satan's kingdom at all. Hades may prevail against Christ's church if Christians are not delivered from Hades, or even if the church dies off the earth before Christ's second coming.

4. "Hades is represented as the prison of Satan and the wicked."

We agree that Hades includes the intermediate state of the wicked, but deny that it is ever represented as the prison of Satan. The passages given by Dr. Shedd (Revelations i. 18; iii. 7; xx. 1-3; xx. 12-14) do not present a shadow of proof of it.

5. "Hades, like Sheol, is inseparably connected with spiritual and eternal death."

The three passages given (Revelations i. 18; vi. 8; xx. 13) all refer to physical death, and the explanation given of Revelations vi. 8 is a curiosity of exegesis: "Hades here stands for its inhabitants, who are under the power of ('follow') the 'second death' spoken of in Revelation ii. 11; xx. 6, 14; xxi. 8." Yet, of course, there is a real connection between Hades and spiritual death, as implied in the parable of Dives and Lazarus; but this does not at all involve the equivalence of Hades and hell. There is much more reasoning and exegesis of the same kind in the book; but it is sufficient to have illustrated the unsoundness of our author's main position.

In conclusion we must protest against Dr. Shedd's misuse of the Bible. Take this (page 50):—

"Our Lord affirms that the future existence of the soul is so clearly taught by 'Moses and the prophets,' that if a man is not convinced by them, neither would he be 'though one should rise from the dead' (Luke xvi. 29)."

Of course there is no reference at all to "the future existence of the soul" here; it is the motives to repentance that are clearly taught by Moses and the prophets. Similar mistakes may be found on pages v., 23, 25, 28, 30, 32, 33, 35, 38, etc. Thrice he cites Psalm xlix. 14, perhaps the worst mistranslation in the Authorized Version, without a word about its false impression; and the arguments on pages 36, 38, strictly taken, seem to deny the omnipresence of Christ and God, by implying that if in heaven they cannot also be in the intermediate state.

The gravest fault of this book is that it weakens the proof of "eternal punishment," in which we believe as fully as Dr. Shedd, by resting it in a great degree on the assumption that *Sheol* and *Hades* mean *hell*. He even ventures to say (page 65) that if Hades be not regarded as hell, "Hades will be merely a temporary residence of the human soul, where the punishment of sin is imperfect, and its removal possible and probable." This shows how much is risked by resting the doctrine on such grounds.

C. J. H. Ropes.

BANGOR, MAINE.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY. A Compendium and Commonplace-Book, designed for the use of theological students. By AUGUSTUS HOPKINS STRONG, D.D., President and Professor of Biblical Theology in the Rochester Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 758. Sold only by O. W. Jansen, Agent, 6 Trevor Hall, Rochester. \$5.00.

This substantial volume is the product of long professional service. It is a growth, being a revision and enlargement of lectures printed in 1876 for use in the Rochester Seminary. The author's aim has been to construct a handbook for theological students which should serve as a guide for oral elaboration in the lecture-room. Two sizes of type facilitate this purpose. The main text affords a basis for daily recitation, while the smaller print amplifies by way of proof and illustration. The plan of the book places it outside the range of literary attempt, and therefore beyond literary criticism. The outline is concise and pointed, yet sufficiently full.

Dr. Strong has availed himself of the advantages of his method, which enables him to compress into a single volume an unusually full discussion. Large use is made of historical theology, and this element makes it a very valuable compendium for the student and pastor. A striking excellence is the full bibliography of theological science here presented. Authorities and writers of all shades of opinion are cited freely, the most important by page references. Especially valuable are the abundant references to English and American periodicals. In short, the student is put in possession of all the instruments of theological learning. And to attract him to seek these treasures, copious quotations are made from the best writers, not to mention the gems — brief, sententious expressions culled from general literature — which meet one on every page. This feature testifies to a remarkable range of reading, and to the tribute under which the author has laid all departments of thought to serve his purpose. Another characteristic is the large place given to the Scriptures. Every position taken is fortified by Biblical evidence, and the citations are printed in full in the subordinate text. The discussion is carried forward in a direct, logical manner, and characterized by breadth and scholarly attainment. We note as particularly satisfactory Dr. Strong's vindication of the necessity of theology and its importance for right religious life, the discussion of the Existence of God, the Trinity, and the Person of Christ. The ethical discussion is brief, occupying only six pages, and might profitably be expanded. Ethical postulates are fundamental, and demand larger consideration from a true theology.

The severity of form into which this treatise is cast befits the type of theology which is thorough-going Calvinism. The new theology, ancient or modern, receives no hospitality. The New England improvements in their diversity, from Edwards down, find no place in this consistent Calvinistic divinity. Yet it is so tempered with a Christian catholicity of spirit, and so interpenetrated with the suggestions of modern thought, as to be attractive and inspiring. So much of truth is interwoven that at first glance one does not perceive how much it has lost by being forced into the limitations of Augustinianism. The flowers are crushed, but their fragrance exhales from every page. The author is sensitive to the trend of modern thought and labors to satisfy its demands. But the requirements of his system are too much for him. At vital points the discussion wavers, damaging admissions are made, finally what appear to be the effects of early training combine with logical necessity, and

the system triumphs. The structure is too elaborate. After studying its complexity and perfection in detail, the question comes, Is it vital? Does it explain the facts? It is a beautiful machine, its symmetry is admirable, but is it not too highly articulated to be a practical, working theology?

Dr. Strong's doctrine of the Bible is disappointing. There is no attempt at a discussion of what the Bible is. The relations of the divine revelation to history, to ethics, and to science in the Scripture are not treated, except very inadequately under the head of objections to inspiration. We miss any consideration of the authority of Scripture, its nature, limit, and ground. This was not necessary, perhaps, in the author's view, for he seems to rest it on a supernaturally correct text. Dr. Strong's Bible contains no errors. What are charged as such are only permissible mistakes and discrepancies, which require, however, ten pages of explanation and apology. Against any such *a priori* method we protest. These mistakes of transcription or lapses of memory, these discrepancies as to number, date, and detail, are important data for our views of Scripture. They are not objections to inspiration, and should not be discussed as such, especially in a theological treatise. The question is not whether the Bible is inspired, but what inspiration is. Theology must not attempt to explain away manifest Biblical errors. Its task is to take them up into its doctrine of the Bible and to demonstrate that they do not impugn its divine authority. Dr. Strong teaches substantially a theory of verbal inspiration. Though he rejects dictation, and finds that the writers were usually left to the action of their own minds, yet they were held back from wrong words, and when necessary were given right ones. The organic unity of Scripture is emphasized, but no notice is taken of inspiration in the formation of the canon. We regard the treatment of this important subject as inadequate and misleading. The method is faulty. Throughout the discussion revelation and inspiration are hopelessly confounded, real difficulties are evaded, and the authority of the sacred volume is finally left hanging on the exploded fiction of an infallible text.

The conception of the character of God is fundamental in any theological system. What God is must determine his activity and our relations with Him. The grounds for belief in the existence of God are set forth here with admirable vigor and caution. Man knows God by rational intuition, God's existence is the condition of all rational processes. They presuppose Him. The cosmological, teleological, and ontological arguments are ably reviewed, their corroborative value noted, and their limitations clearly defined. In the discussion of the attributes of God, however, the author loses sight of what seems to us the clearest revelation God has given of himself. Error here is fatal. It runs through the whole system of thought, appearing in the discussion of sin and atonement and eschatology. In Dr. Strong's view holiness is the chief characteristic of God. It is the supreme and ruling attribute, conditioning the activity of all other attributes and conditioned by none. Love is subordinate. Thus the necessity of atonement is grounded in the holiness of God. This demand is satisfied "by the substitution of Christ's penal sufferings for the punishment of the guilty." In the punishment of the wicked holiness and love are represented as contending for the sufferers; but holiness finally overcomes the pleadings of love. "Holi-

ness shows itself higher than love in that it conditions love." God's mercy is shown in Christ's enduring the penal infliction by which holiness is satisfied. Our author does not make it clear to us, though, how God can in any proper sense punish himself. The inevitable antagonism which the author conceives as existing between mercy and justice is removed only by the atoning death of Christ. Holiness is the ground of moral obligation. Though love is declared by the Bible to be the fulfillment of the law, and love to God and one's neighbor is given the first place by Christ, Dr. Strong understands by it, love for God as *holy*. From this view of the divine nature we dissent. Long ago Hooker expressed a truth often overlooked: "The Being of God is a kind of law to his working." All the attributes of God demand satisfaction and perfect realization. The claims of love must be satisfied as well as those of holiness. No attribute reigns supreme in the Godhead. Every attribute conditions the activity of every other. Neither can there be any such conflict as this theology represents. Our author appropriates the saying, "God *may* be merciful, He *must* be just." But this cannot be true. Love is as absolute as holiness. Love is not supplementary and secondary. Justice guards its claims as well as those of holiness. Justice is not as is here represented merely active holiness. It secures the perfect satisfaction of all attributes. And this involves no conflict, but perfect harmony. By holiness we understand the absolute moral perfection of God, the norm of all moral activity. It does not stand opposed to love, but guarantees its righteous exercise.

In the discussion of sin and its punishment, the supremacy of holiness is again asserted. Dr. Strong finds the essence of sin to be selfishness. Virtue is essentially love to God, which is explained to be love for that which is most fundamental in God, holiness. Consistently, the author makes justice the antagonist and punisher of sin. But if the essence of sin is selfishness, is not love its inevitable antagonist? Concerning the origin of sin Dr. Strong teaches the Augustinian theory. The race sinned in Adam, who was not its federal head, but its natural head. The life of humanity, not yet individualized, was then in Adam. His will was that of the race afterwards generated. Adam's sin is imputed to us immediately, therefore, because it is ours. Involuntarily and unconsciously, yet none the less truly, every man sinned with Adam. Guilt is ours because we participated in the act of sin. The traducian theory of the origin of souls is adopted. Man's depravity is total, though he still has the ability to grow worse. He has no thought, emotion or act which God can approve. He has no ability, natural or moral, to turn to God, and is responsible for his loss of it. Penalty must follow, as every man is guilty by sharing in Adam's fall. When all this doctrine is based on Scripture as its chief support, one can imagine the sort of exegesis employed. The great advances of recent years in Biblical interpretation have been all in vain for the theology which this volume represents.

The infants prove too much for our author's heart, and the head follows its lead in granting them salvation. They are in a state of sin, need regeneration, and receive it through Christ at death. In this connection the significant remark is made that "certain and great as is the guilt of original sin no human soul is eternally condemned solely for this sin of nature, but that on the other hand all who have not consciously and willfully transgressed are made partakers of Christ's salvation." How this can be on his theory of sin the author does not explain, and it certainly

is not evident. The salvation of infants stands outside his system, and his treatment, if carried out, would lead to an entire reconstruction of his view of moral probation, and this, in turn, would destroy the Augustinian theory of sin. Nine objections to this theory are noticed, but not satisfactorily answered.

Atonement receives full and able discussion. The various theories are carefully estimated, and an attempt made to reach a profounder view under the ethical theory. With the purpose of the author we sympathize. But here the Adamic headship in sin and the supremacy of holiness in God's character vitiate the discussion. The race-sin and race-responsibility pass over to Christ. As a child of Adam Jesus inherited guilt, but not depravity. This was expelled by the Holy Spirit. Possessing guilt, Christ must suffer the penalty of violated law. The guilt of Jesus was not personal, nor even that of inherited depravity, but solely that of Adam's sin. So while well-pleasing to God, Christ was conscious of this race-guilt for which he must atone. This consciousness is found expressed in John xii. 27. The necessity of the atonement is found in God's holiness. The satisfaction of this holiness is the necessary condition of God's justifying the believer. Atonement is only incidentally and subordinately necessary for man. The penalty God inflicts, He also offers himself to endure. We find in Dr. Strong's treatment no vital significance given to love in Christ's sacrifice. The whole view is that of legal satisfaction. True, he grants that love offered the sacrifice, but the full meaning of that fact is not appropriated in the discussion.

The atonement was universal, but this system admits only a limited application of it to the elect. God chooses whom He will save without reference to ethical conditions, in the absoluteness of his sovereignty. Were it not for these special divine influences for some, all would perish. His decree of election is unknown to its subjects, which fact the author regards as a stimulus to effort. To the objection that such a doctrine of election makes God partial, he replies that since nothing in men determines God's choice of one rather than another, the objection is invalid. Reprobation is a permissive decree that sin shall run its course.

The sacraments and the church are treated from the strict Baptist standpoint, with ability and Christian courtesy. Pedobaptists may learn something from it, as their authorities are critically reviewed.

As a whole, the work is a credit to the intellectual strength of its author, a monument of learning which his friends may well cherish. The faults are mainly those of the theological system which holds the author in its grasp. However much one may dissent from his positions, he must admit the force of his logic. We regard Dr. Strong's work as one of the strongest presentations that can be made for the extreme Calvinistic system of theology. And though its conclusions may not commend themselves generally, even to his own denomination, the reverent temper and catholic spirit which pervade the book must command universal admiration.

Willis A. Anderson.

ANDOVER.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.
By the Rev. BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, D. D. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 225. London :
Hodder & Stoughton. MDCCCLXXXVI. (One volume of a series of
Manuals, entitled THE THEOLOGICAL EDUCATOR, edited by the Rev. W.
Robertson Nicoll, M. A., Editor of "The Expositor.")

This is a bright little book. After showing, in a clear and familiar way, that every reader is, in a sense, a textual critic, the author proceeds to discuss his theme under the four general divisions of the "Matter of Criticism" (that is, the extant helps for ascertaining the original text of Scripture); the "Methods of Criticism" (which treats—in *this order*—of the internal evidence for readings, then of the external); the "Praxis of Criticism," in which (after conceding that the best procedure reverses the order just stated, and begins with the *external* evidence to proceed from that to the internal) the author takes Acts xx. 28; John i. 18; 1 Tim. iii. 16; John vii. 53–viii. 11; Mark xvi. 9–20, as examples; and finally (and briefly) the "History of Criticism." The treatment of these several topics is in the main lucid, and is often felicitously lighted up by illustrations. The author is to be congratulated upon his success in making every intelligent reader feel the fascination of a branch of study reputed to be recondite and uninteresting.

Professor Warfield's chief labor has been expended on the second of the above-named chapters, which occupies one hundred pages, or nearly half of the body of the little book. He may be pardoned, perhaps, for treating at such length a branch of his subject which especially interests him, and which relates to a field in which he has made valuable original explorations. But whether the harmonious proportions of the book have not been marred by this extended treatment may be questioned. It is doubtful whether, notwithstanding all the author's skill in presentation, his helpful diagrams, and his illustrative examples drawn from the history of secular texts, the average beginner will not sometimes seem to himself to be in a jungle. Moreover, there is some danger lest the author's undisguised and enthusiastic advocacy of the "genealogical method" make an exaggerated impression on the unwary reader. The latter receives, to be sure, in the course of the book, repeated reminders that there is no royal road to criticism, and that results in questionable cases cannot be reached in the off-hand way in which he would foot up a column of figures. But by the time he reaches the end of the chapter he can hardly escape the conviction that the values belonging to the extant authorities have been pretty definitely ascertained and registered, and that in practice he is to weed out one set of witnesses discredited by certain experts, and listen to other witnesses indorsed in advance by these same experienced investigators. And this his liability to a mechanical use of the method advocated is confirmed rather than neutralized by the examples brought forward in the chapter on Praxis. Some of these examples are among the gravest outstanding problems of criticism, and the author's limits compel him to deal with them in a summary way quite out of proportion to their delicacy and importance.

Now it may yet come to pass that our extant authorities will be so well understood in their origin and relations as to secure for the "genealogical method" all the practical advantages which belong to it in theory. But cautious critical scholars are far from claiming that such a stage of knowledge has yet been reached. On the contrary, the extant documents are so complicated and at times conflicting in their characteristics, their pedi-

grees are apparently so mixed and certainly so dubious, the researches requisite to enable even a sagacious expert to hazard a conjecture respecting the descent of some of them are so delicate and wide-reaching, and have been attempted as yet by so few, that it is misleading to expose a beginner to the assumption that the "method" may be adopted by him outright as the final and decisive resource. As a safeguard against any such erroneous assumption, it would have been better to select for the "Praxis," not the *cruces criticorum*, but texts concerning which the judgments of experts have already come into harmony. And, as a further counteractive to any onesided impressions, it would have been well to exhibit, in a tabulated or summary form, the general coincidence in results to which the leading representatives of different methods have come in a given chapter or book of the New Testament.

Among the conspicuous merits of the manual — as has been already intimated — are its numerous and apt illustrations, many of them drawn from matters with which every reader is familiar. It is a substantial service, too, which Professor Warfield has rendered the inexperienced student by transcribing and explaining at length a note or two from Tischendorf's eighth larger critical edition. See pages 23 *sqq.*, 79. In a few particulars, indeed, the explanation should have been more detailed; and there are traces here, as elsewhere, of minor inaccuracies, attributable, doubtless, to the author's distance from the press. Indeed, there are occasional ambiguities and infelicities in the English, due probably to the same cause, which may be expected to disappear in future editions. In anticipation of such, the suggestion will not, it is hoped, be regarded as intrusive that indexes, both topical and textual, be furnished, and that the lists of manuscripts, versions, fathers, be repeated at the end of the volume. Nor would it conflict materially with Professor Warfield's evident and laudable endeavor to produce a readable book were the definitions, which at present are introduced incidentally, to be gathered together and sharply restated at the end, or, perhaps still better, at the beginning, of every section. The book is too good not to be perfected. And many a lover of the Scriptures into whose hands it comes will regret that the author, whose zeal and enterprise and unwearied industry have been so helpful to Biblical studies, has felt it his duty to transfer his labors, at least in the main, to another department of sacred learning.

J. H. Thayer.

CAMBRIDGE.

THE JEWISH AND THE CHRISTIAN MESSIAH: A Study in the Earliest History of Christianity. By VINCENT HENRY STANTON, M. A., Fellow, Tutor, and Divinity Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo, pp. xvii., 399. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1886.

The earliest Christian confession of faith was very brief: Jesus is the Messiah. But in these simple and familiar words there lies an historical problem of the first difficulty. What did the first Christians mean by that? What did their countrymen whom they tried to win to their faith understand by this sentence, which for the moment comprehended the substance of Christianity? What ideas concerning the person and work of the Messiah prevailed in the circles in which Christianity had its beginnings? This has often been treated as a very simple question. The answer is to be found in what we call the Messianic prophecies of the

Old Testament. A study of these must teach us what God's deliverer was to be and to do. A little reflection, however, will convince us that this is not the case. Those prophecies themselves exhibit no single established and consistent conception of the nature of God's deliverance, or of the means through which it is to be wrought out. On the contrary, nothing about them is more conspicuous — and nothing more significant — than the manifoldness of the forms in which the hope of Israel from age to age found expression. A glance at the last chapter of Dr. Briggs's recent work on the subject will make this very clear. Furthermore, we know — and if the evidence were far more scanty than it is we should still be sure — that the interpretation of these often obscure and difficult passages of the Old Testament, which was current in Jesus' time, often differed widely from that which in the light of Jesus' teaching, of his life and death, and of the apostolic gospel, has prevailed in the church. Finally, the centuries which intervened between the last Messianic voices in the Old Testament and the Christian era had witnessed historic movements and changes which deeply impressed themselves on Jewish character; they had been a period of great activity of thought upon many questions of faith and practice — a development which we ignore only at the risk of misunderstanding the New Testament at every turn. For with this development Christianity immediately connects itself. It grew up on the soil of contemporary Judaism, not of the old religion of Israel, and whether in agreement with it, or in opposition to it, is primarily conditioned by the spirit and the thought of its own time. Important therefore as the careful study of the Old Testament prophecies of redemption in their historical unfolding is, it does not by itself suffice for the understanding of the Messianic faith of the earliest Christians.

What did the Jews of Jesus' time think of the Messiah? What was the teaching of the School and the Synagogue? What forms did the popular expectation take? This is the first question; the second is, What is the attitude of Jesus to these ideas? As for the latter, it is often represented as purely negative. Jesus repudiated the notion of the Messiah which prevailed among his people, and, returning to the purer ideal of the Old Testament, would be the Messiah of Prophecy, in opposition to the Messiah of Judaism. This is, however, an error which involves something more serious than a forced antithesis between the prophets and the scribes — a misapprehension of the nature of Christianity. Jesus had something more to do than to correct the current interpretation of the Old Testament. We owe to Him a deeper and fuller conception of the nature of God's deliverance, and of the character and work of the Messiah, conceptions for which prophets and scribes had prepared the way, but which may for all that fairly be called *new*. It is by virtue of these conceptions that Christianity has its place among the religions of the world, not as reformed Judaism, but as Christianity — the religion of the Messiah.

Our inquiry concerning the meaning of the earliest confession of faith is, however, not at an end when we have ascertained what the prevailing Messianic expectation of Jesus' time was, and what attitude He took to it. It is not only possible but probable, that Jewish conceptions of the Messiah and his work, attaching to the name, would be carried over into the Christian church, and in various ways modify or color its thought of Christ. The christology of the early church must then be studied from this point of view.

Into these three divisions the volume before us falls: the Messianic expectation of the Jews, Jesus' attitude to Messianic beliefs, and Messianic ideas in the early church. The sources from which we may hope to learn about the opinions of Jesus' contemporaries on this subject are of two kinds, namely, the Jewish apocalyptic literature, of which Daniel is the earliest specimen, and in which the centuries just before and after our era were very prolific, and what the author calls for distinction, the Rabbinic literature — the Targums, Mishna, Tosephta, etc., and the oldest Midrash. The Greek apocrypha contribute little more than a significant silence.

The apocalypses, our knowledge of which has within a few years been enlarged by some important discoveries, have the advantage in point of age, being in part older than our era; while the Rabbinical sources are not in their present form earlier than the second century after Christ. On the other hand, the latter enjoy an official recognition and authority, never allowed to the apocalypses, which, however popular, are but irresponsible private writings, expressing the opinions or imaginings of the author and his circle. This limitation is of less importance in the present instance, for a reason which it is necessary to note. Minutely as the Jewish doctors sought to regulate every particular of ceremony and of conduct, that the slightest risk of breaking a law of God might be avoided, they made no attempt to tyrannize over opinion. There were, indeed, certain points which had been subject of sectarian controversy on which the Pharisaic schools lay down the law for faith with considerable stringency — for example, the resurrection of the dead — but in the main, they made no attempt to impose a system of doctrine. This is the case in regard to the Messianic hope, as appears not only from the unrestrained play of the imagination on this subject in the apocalypses, but in the utterances of the doctors of the Law themselves. There was no exclusive Messianic dogma, enjoying the sanctity of orthodoxy. That is the first result of the investigation. In the present work the author has placed his chief reliance upon the apocalyptic writings. The Rabbinic literature he has used to much less purpose, partly because he has not the same familiarity with it; chiefly, as he says, because of the suspicion that these writings have been materially affected by Christian thought or the reaction from it, and are therefore less trustworthy witnesses than their relatively late date of itself would make them. Certainly there is every reason to believe that the spread of Christianity and conflict with it, as well as events of external history, such as the fall of Jerusalem, have left their impression on these works. Criticism must endeavor to discover in what particulars and to what degree. Only when this has been done can we safely use these sources; but only after it had been demonstrated that it cannot be done should we be justified in setting them aside altogether. Without criticism we could not use the apocalyptic material either; for all of it has passed through Christian hands, and little of it has passed untouched; and if, notwithstanding this, we can still employ it, — why not the Hebrew sources in the same way? I am convinced that, properly handled, these sources are by no means so unsafe as Mr. Stanton thinks. Still, the earlier writings of this class do not yield much — that must be admitted.

It is different in regard to the Jewish eschatology (Part III., Ch. II.). Here the Rabbinic sources are hardly liable to the suspicion of Christian influence; they are by no means scanty; and they carry an authority

which does not belong to the fantastic imagery of the apocalypses. The author's sketch of Jewish opinion on this subject is, in spite of its length, unsatisfactory, chiefly because this material has not been sufficiently investigated. Indeed, the most important document bearing upon the subject seems to be entirely unknown to recent writers; for example, to both Dr. Pusey and Canon Farrar in their remarkable controversy.¹

Important, however, are the general remarks (p. 338 f.) on the relation of the New Testament to these opinions, the latter part of which may here be quoted: "The source of the eschatological conceptions which we meet with in the New Testament was not directly the Old Testament, nor were they originated by the Lord Himself or His apostles. It cannot, then, be maintained that the outward form is matter of revelation. The use made of these current ideas in the New Testament is such as to give them an altogether new moral and spiritual effect. The broad lessons of the punishment for sin in a future world, and man's individual accountability, and the summing up of the whole life of mankind in a final crisis at the end of this world-period, irrespective of all race distinctions, come out with a clearness and power in the New Testament which they never did among the Jews. But it may well be that no particular stress was intended to be laid upon particular points in the descriptions derived from the common stock of imagery."

The core of the volume is in the chapter on the Christian transformation of the Idea of the Messiah, and in the whole second part, on Jesus' attitude to Messianic beliefs. To the former is added a chapter on the use of the Old Testament in the early Church, accompanied by a convenient tabular view of the Messianic use of the Old Testament in the New. The second part contains three chapters: the teaching of Jesus concerning the Kingdom of God; His use of the title "Son of Man;" and His claim to be the Christ. In the third part we have the doctrine of the office of Christ in the early church, a comparison of Jewish and Christian eschatology and Messianic prophecy and the Mythical theory, in the course of which Mr. Stanton brings out clearly the Jewish origin of Christian chiliasm.

These questions are discussed in a clear, candid, and scholarly way. The author's standpoint is that of positive but intelligent Christian belief, and the purpose of the work is to bring out into distinct relief the evidences of the truth of our faith which the historical relations of Christianity at its beginnings to Judaism give. The argument is directed against the rationalistic, especially the mythical, explanations of the origin of Christianity. It is, perhaps, because he had these theories chiefly in view that the author has not pushed his investigation into some questions which the title and general scope of the book suggests — foremost among which, as another reviewer has pointed out, is the vital question: how far and in what way is the Messiah the mediator of salvation?

Mr. Stanton is in general well acquainted with the literature of the subject, both English and continental. It is to be regretted that he did not know Schodde's "Enoch," which would not only have given him a version derived immediately from the Ethiopic, but the notes in which would have in some points have brought his knowledge in matters of criticism and interpretation — for example, in the matter of the seventy shepherds — down to a much more recent date. Toy's thorough work on the New Testament quotations has also apparently been overlooked. On

¹ Tos. Sanhed. 12.¹⁰ ff. 13.

some points the authorities Mr. S. has followed, especially for the Rabbinic literature, have led him into error. For example, p. 209, n. 1, מלכות השמים is not a Rabbinical phrase, though it figures as such in most commentaries and New Testament lexicons; it should be מלכות שמים — שמים, as virtual proper noun without the article —. The error goes back at least to Schoettgen. Cremer, *N. T. Wörterbuch* is almost the only work of the kind where the fact is correctly stated. P. 214, n. 1, the Targum on Mi. 4.⁷ is quoted as the original of the phrase Kingdom of Heaven — (The kingdom of heaven shall be revealed in . . .). This is also a widely disseminated and persistent error, which in Robinson's *N. T. Lexicon* takes the form of the surprising assertion that the Hebrew phrase מלכות השמים is found in the Targum at that place. As a matter of fact the Targ. Mi. 4.⁷ has in all three of the types of text with which we are acquainted (Antwerp, Bomb.-Buxt. : Reuchl.-Lagarde) : the kingdom of Jehovah. If a variant exists it would have to be regarded, in the face of this agreement, as a mere curiosity. But the existence of such a reading at all is very doubtful. In the same note the passage quoted in the Yalkut, from Pesikta and Shir-hashir, Rabba, for the use of the words kingdom of heaven, in a Messianic-eschatological sense can have very little weight, when it is a question of the usage of New Testament times, since the oldest of these sources is hardly to be dated earlier than the seventh century of our era; ib. Targ. Is. 53.¹¹ should be 53.¹⁰. As to Targ. Is. 40.⁹ (comp. Targ. Obad. 21 —) מלכותא is not concrete *kingdom*, but *royalty*, kingly power and state, and is used with the verb, *shall be revealed*, just as *glory*, and other words of the sort in so many cases, to avoid an objectionable anthropomorphism.

But these are comparatively small things. The author has seen what the real problem is, and has addressed himself to the solution of it with a learning, insight, and fairness which deserve our gratitude as well as our praise. His work ought to be in the hands of every one who is concerned to understand the beginnings of Christianity.

G. F. Moore.

ANDOVER.

THE PHARAONS OF THE BONDAGE AND THE EXODUS. Lectures by CHARLES S. ROBINSON, D. D., LL. D., Madison Avenue Church, New York. 12mo, pp. viii, 199. New York : The Century Co. 1887.

To write a helpful book on Egypt is no easy task. The author faces a unique land, a crabbed language and uncertain chronology, an immemorial history, coupled with an art that dazzles and a religion that mystifies. He must compose, so to speak, in the midst of discovery. His highest authorities are at variance with one another. The novice is apt to fail absolutely. If the expert's sketch be firm in outline and true in coloring, he counts himself fortunate.

Dr. Robinson is alive to these difficulties that inhere in his subject. On the whole, he has met them ably in his "Pharaohs of the Bondage and the Exodus." The lectures are thirteen. It is evident they are based on study of what Egyptologists have done both before and since the great find of Deir el Bahari in 1881. They are distinctly modern in tone. One feels the traveler in the glowing atmosphere. The scholar and teacher

stamps himself on the pure style and philosophic thought. According to him, the obelisk was an "Egyptian psalm of praise." To many it will be a new idea to cite "mummies as evidences of Christianity." Dr. Robinson is a clergyman, who makes the most of the historical and theological bearings of his facts. A scientist might copy none the less with advantage his caution, his precision, his patience, his enthusiasm in amassing and winnowing these facts for others. The book is worth half a dozen more pretentious publications in the field it touches.

John Phelps Taylor.

IN DIVERS TONES. By CHARLES D. G. ROBERTS, author of "Orion and other Poema," Professor of English Literature in the University of King's College, Windsor, N. S. Pp. viii, 134. Boston : D. Lothrop & Co. \$1.00.

DAFFODILS. A new Volume of Poems. By Mrs. A. D. T. WHITNEY. 16mo, pp. iv, 132. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1887. \$1.25.

The author of "In Divers Tones," who is Professor of English Literature in the University of King's College, at Windsor, Nova Scotia, is evidently no sharer in the spirit of secession which is said to be abroad in his province. If he were, he could hardly have written such patriotic poems as *Collect for Dominion Day and Canada*, to say nothing of *An Ode on the Canadian Confederacy*.

Professor Roberts, however, appears to best advantage as a poet in his descriptive pieces, especially those referring to scenes and incidents with which he is personally familiar. Take, for example, *The Tantramas Revisited*, and compare it with the classical poem on *Actæon*. His skill in handling the various metres shows that he is no novice in the art of versification. Words fall easily and musically into their places. But, on laying down the book, one perhaps may ask himself whether after all it is so much a diversity of tones as of forms and themes. The thought, which is always clear, runs through a smooth channel ; but one wishes for more of the little turns and recesses with which a brook of nature is constantly surprising us.

The sentiment is always good, always easily expressed, and of false notes there are almost none, in this graceful little volume.

The publishers have done all that could be desired to give Mrs. Whitney's "Daffodils" an appropriate setting. The gold-and-white cover, bearing the imprint of the daffodil, produces a very pleasing effect.

In these poems, no less than in her recently published "*Holy Tides*," the spiritual quality in Mrs. Whitney's thinking is very evident. We see this in such a poem as *The Witness*, where she says :

"An Image stands all glorious
Before our comprehension dim:
Either He hath created us,
Or our poor thought created Him."

One will also be struck with the short hymn to the Trinity, at the close of the volume. A better one for the purpose of church dedication is seldom found.

In the poems which come nearest to life, especially in those expressive of religious feeling and of the love of home and children, Mrs. Whitney writes as if from a full and real experience.

The workmanship is not all of equal merit. Now and then a word or phrase seems infelicitous, and the expression a little strained. We doubt

if there is etymological warrant for such a compound as "forecastless." Such lapses, however, are slight in view of the aspiring quality of the poems as a whole.

Samuel V. Cole.

DEMOCRACY AND OTHER ADDRESSES. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. 16mo, pp. vi, 245. Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1887. \$1.25.

The only way in which we have much occasion to remark on a book of Mr. Lowell is to quote from it. In the address on Democracy, especially, we may confidently exhibit the bricks as specimens of the house. "He who has read his Aristotle will be apt to think that observation has on most points of general applicability said its last word, and he who has mounted the tower of Plato to look abroad from it will never hope to climb another with so lofty a vantage of speculation." "I have grown to manhood and am now growing old with the growth of this system of government in my native land, have watched its advances, or what some would call its encroachments, gradual and irresistible as those of a glacier, have been an ear-witness to the forebodings of wise and good and timid men, and have lived to see those forebodings belied by the course of events, which is apt to show itself humorously careless of the reputation of prophets." "'The beggar is in the saddle at last,' cries Proverbial Wisdom. 'Why, in the name of all former experience, does n't he ride to the Devil?'" "Because in the very act of mounting he ceased to be a beggar and became part-owner of the piece of property he bestrode."

Mr. Lowell is no Communist, or piece of a Communist. But we judge he does not, with a very eminent journal, think that every one who treats workingmen as really having a grievance ought to be sent to prison. "It is only when the reasonable and practicable are denied that men demand the unreasonable and impracticable; only when the possible is made difficult that they fancy the impossible to be easy." "To the door of every generation there comes a knocking, and unless the household, like the Thane of Cawdor and his wife, have been doing some deed without a name, they need not shudder." "The trade unions are now debating instead of conspiring." "I am a little impatient of being told that property is entitled to exceptional consideration because it bears all the burdens of the State. It bears those, indeed, which can most easily be borne, but poverty pays with its person the chief expenses of war, pestilence, and famine." Yet Mr. Lowell presses the necessity of "wealth, and of hereditary wealth, as the security of refinement, the feeder of all those arts that ennoble and beautify life." "An appeal to the reason of the people" — he is speaking to Englishmen of America — "has never been known to fail in the long run. It is, perhaps, true that, by effacing the principle of passive obedience, democracy, ill understood, has slackened the spring of that ductility to discipline which is essential to the unity and married calm of States." But I feel assured that experience and necessity will cure this evil, as they have shown their power to cure others."

In the tumblings and tossings of our thoughts how to find the true way of appeasing discontent without sacrificing civilization, I think we may look long before we find a better anchoring-ground than Mr. Lowell offers us. "What is really ominous of danger to the existing order of things is not democracy (which, properly understood, is a conservative force), but the Socialism, which may find a fulcrum in it. If we cannot

equalize conditions and fortunes any more than we can equalize the brains of men . . . we can yet, perhaps, do something to correct those methods and influences that lead to enormous inequalities, and to prevent their growing more enormous. It is all very well to pooh-pooh Mr. George and to prove him mistaken in his political economy. I do not believe that land should be divided because the quantity of it is limited by nature. Of what may this not be said ? . . . But he is right in his impelling motive ; right also, I am convinced, in insisting that humanity makes a part, by far the most important part, of political economy ; and in thinking man to be of more concern and more convincing than the longest columns of figures in the world. For unless you include human nature in your addition, your total is sure to be wrong and your deduction from it is sure to be fallacious." What follows has been largely quoted. "Socialism," as opposed to State Socialism, "means, or wishes to mean . . . 'the practical application of Christianity to life, and has in it the secret of an orderly and benign reconstruction.'" "Let us be of good cheer, however, remembering that the misfortunes hardest to bear are those which never come."

The brief address upon the death of Garfield follows well upon this. "In the presence of that death-scene so homely, so human, so august in its unostentatious heroism, the commonplaces of ordinary eulogy stammer with the sudden shame of their own ineptitude." "Not only has his blood re-cemented our Union, but the dignity, the patience, the self-restraint, the thoughtfulness for others, the serene valor which he showed under circumstances so disheartening and amid the wreck of hopes so splendid, are a possession and a stimulus to his countrymen forever. The emulation of examples like his makes nations great and keeps them so. The soil out of which such men as he are made is good to be born on, good to live on, good to die for and to be buried in."

Of Fielding the author says : "He had the courage to be absolutely sincere, if he had not always the tact to see where sincerity is out of place. We may discuss, we may estimate him, but we cannot push him from his place. His imagination was of that secondary order of which I have spoken, subdued to what it worked in ; and his creative power is not less in degree than that of purely ideal artists, but was different in kind, or, if not, is made to seem so by the more vulgar substance in which it is wrought." "Fielding's characters are very real persons ; but they are not types in the same sense as Lear and Hamlet. They seem to be men whom we have seen rather than men whom we might see if we were lucky enough — men who have been rather than who might have been." "We may read Fielding's character clearly in his books, for it was not complex, but especially in his 'Voyage to Lisbon,' where he reveals it in artless inadvertence. He was a lovingly thoughtful husband, a tender father, a good brother, a useful and sagacious magistrate. He was courageous, gentle, thoroughly conscious of his own dignity as a gentleman, and able to make that dignity respected."

Of the address on Coleridge, we may say, that its character, as the world has already determined, is ripe and rounded completeness, æsthetic, intellectual, and spiritual maturity. It is worthy of the author and of the subject, worthy of England and of America, and worthy of Westminster Abbey.

In the address at the opening of the Chelsea library we find a sentence which shows how far Mr. Lowell is, in that desire which has al-

ways guided him, that "Christ should not be shuffled away into the Apocrypha," from being a Fifth Monarchy man of our century. "A public library should also have many and full shelves of political economy, for the dismal science, as Carlyle called it, if it prove nothing else, will go far towards proving that theory is the bird in the bush, though she sing more sweetly than the nightingale, and that the millennium will not hasten its coming in deference to the most convincing string of resolutions that were ever unanimously adopted in public meeting. It likewise induces in us a profound and wholesome distrust of social panaceas."

In the address on Wordsworth, besides the mention of the "rare quality of the minds that he has most attracted and influenced," and the admission that he continues to be insular; that he makes no conquests beyond the boundaries of his mother-tongue; that, "more than perhaps any poet of equal endowment, he is great and surprising in passages and ejaculations," we have been most struck by this reference to the central poem of the world: "In what I think to be the sublimest reach to which poetry has risen, the conclusion of the 'Paradiso,' Dante tells us that within the three whirling rings of vari-colored light that symbolize the wisdom, the power, and the love of God, he seems to see the image of man."

A peculiarly fine touch in the paper on Don Quixote is this:—

"It is noticeable too, in passing, what a hypæthral story it is, how much of it passes in the open air, how the sun shines, the birds sing, the brooks dance, and the leaves murmur in it." Last comes the Harvard address which we all have in our memories. May this remain in our memories in these days when "the baby beats the nurse, and quite athwart goes all decorum," and this topsy-turvy is praised as the highest enlightenment. "We are trying to do two things with one tool, and that tool not specially adapted to either. Are our students old enough thoroughly to understand the import of the choice they are called on to make, and if old enough, are they wise enough? Shall their parents make the choice for them? I am not sure that even parents are so wise as the unbroken experience and practice of mankind. We are comforted by being told that in this we are only complying with what is called the Spirit of the Age, which may be, after all, only a finer name for the mischievous goblin known to our forefathers as Puck. I have seen several Spirits of the Age in my time, of very different voices and summoning in very different directions, but unanimous in their propensity to land us in the mire at last." With what follows thereupon.

The general effect of these papers is to fortify the belief, that one is not likely to be greatly moved by ephemeral falsehood, who is well grounded in eternal Truth, and that a knowledge of what is vital in the past is an admirable preservative against becoming a slave of the present.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte, von P. D. Chautepie de la Saussaye, Dr. und ord. Prof. der Theologie in Amsterdam. Erster Band. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr: 1887. 8vo, pp. x, 465. 9 marks.—The *Samm- lung theologischer Lehrbücher*, of which Holtzmann's *N. T. Einleitung* and Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte* formed the first two volumes, is in-

creased by another important work, and the thanks of the general theological public as well as of students are again due to the publishers for their praiseworthy undertaking. A glance over the list of contributors whose works are in course of preparation assures us that the character of the series will be sustained, and that scientific theology will continue to be a gainer. The present work is preëminently a text-book. It exhibits with clearness and conciseness the chief points of the various subjects which it treats, leaving the minor details, of interest only to the specialist, to be sought elsewhere. At the same time the literature is given with sufficient fullness to guide the student in more extended work. The first volume is divided into an Allgemeiner Theil, which treats of such introductory subjects as the science of religion in general, the origin of religion, etc., a Phänomenologischer Theil, an Ethnographischer Theil, and a Historischer Theil, the last embracing the religions of the Chinese, Egyptians, Babylonians and Assyrians, and Indians. The next volume, which is expected to appear within a year, will treat the religions of the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germanic peoples, and Mohammedanism. We quote a few sentences which will serve to show the standpoint of the author, and his position upon some of the mooted points. "Wir wollen also auch in der Religionswissenschaft die Bedeutung der mechanischen Betrachtung, den Werth der Evolutionslehre nicht schmälern, glauben aber nicht, dass diese Lehre zur Beurtheilung des religiösen Lebens der Menschen ausreicht" (p. 10). "Die Frage nach der Uöffenbarung darf also keineswegs als eine ganz oder halb-historische gelten; sie ist eine rein philosophische" (p. 23). "Vielmehr gilt uns die Religion als aus dem Wesen des Menschen hervorgegangen, unter Einflüssen und Umständen, worin Gottes Activität sich bethätigte, ohne dass wir aber die Form und die Verhältnisse, worin dies geschah, bestimmen können" (p. 24). "Vielmehr glauben wir, dass Religion und Sittlichkeit, im Ursprung getrennt, sich später mit einander verbunden haben, dass das religiöse Verhältniss sich im Laufe der Entwicklung moralisirt hat" (p. 35). "Deshalb ist es undenkbar dieses Volk (Israelites) so direct an ägyptische Ursprünge zu knüpfen, wie man thut, wenn man die Jahreligion für ein Stück ägyptischer Geheimlehre hält . . ." (p. 317). — *Geschichte der Christlichen Ethik*, von Dr. W. Gass. Erster Band: Bis zur Reformation (1881. 8vo, pp. xviii, 457). Zweiten Bandes erste Abtheilung: Sechszehntes und siebzehntes Jahrhundert. Die vorherrschend kirchliche Ethik (1886. Pp. xvi, 372). Zweiten Bandes zweite Abtheilung: Achtzehntes und neunzehntes Jahrhundert. Die philosophische und die theologische Ethik (1887. Pp. xvi, 386). Berlin: Reimer, complete 20 marks. — The recently issued second part of the second volume of this work completes a most important contribution to the history of ethics. The first volume has been before the public since 1881, and therefore the work as a whole needs no commendation here. The present installment handles Die Vorkantische Entwicklung, Kant und seine Epoche, Katholische Moralthologie, Die speculativen Schulen, Die Literatur der Neuzeit. The method and standpoint of the author (the venerable Heidelberg professor) may be gathered from a sentence or two in the closing chapter of his work. "Die von uns vorangestellte Darstellung eines *Processes* wird methodisch dadurch bedingt sein, dass wir uns in der Möglichkeit befinden, entweder den Standpunkt einer *sittlich* religiösen oder einer *religiös* sittlichen Entwicklung durchzuführen. Ich habe meinerseits dem ersteren, d. h. dem synthe-

tischen Verfahren den Vorzug gegeben, und zwar im Anschluss an den Gang der Menschengeschichte, welchem zufolge ein gewisser Besitz sittlicher Urtheile dem durchgreifenden Einfluss der Religion als vorangehend gedacht werden muss." "Nach unserer Meinung giebt es für den Ethiker keine frühere Frage als die, *wie der Mensch zu sich selber steht*, die anthropologische und psychologische, die eine physiologische Erkenntnis zur Unterlage hat" (p. 369). "Aber auch der *Determinismus* ist unhaltbar für sich allein. Menschliche Handlungen gehen nicht wie Consequenzen auseinander hervor, sondern werden von Momenten der Erwägung und erneuten Besinnung unterbrochen, es ist kein *Gesetz*, was sie verbindet" (p. 372). — *Der Reichstag zu Speier 1526* im Zusammenhang der politischen und kirchlichen Entwicklung Deutschlands im Reformationszeitalter, von Walter Friedensburg. (*Historische Untersuchungen*, herausgegeben von J. Jastrow, Heft V.) Berlin: Gaertner: 1887. 8vo, pp. xiv, 602. 15 marks. — The present work throws much new and greatly needed light upon a very important epoch of the Reformation. The book is an excellent example of proverbial German industry. It rests upon a very extensive study of the original documents, and utilizes a mass of material which has hitherto been unnoticed. The first book (pp. 99–192) is devoted to a general view of the condition of the empire and the politics of the emperor during the period in which the Reichstag was held. The second book (pp. 193–490) treats the Reichstag itself in a most thorough manner. The appendix contains a brief description of the various archives consulted, and the full text of numerous documents referred to in the work itself. — In connection with the above may be mentioned *Briefwechsel Landgraf Philipp's des Grossmüthigen von Hessen mit Bucer*, herausgegeben und erläutert von M. Leuz. 2 Thl. (Publicationen aus den königlichen preussischen Staatsarchiven, Bd. 28.) Leipzig: Hirzel: 1887. 8vo, pp. x, 506. 14 marks. — This offers rich material for a study of Philip's character and of the Reformation in Hessen. — *Augustinische Studien*, von Hermann Reuter. Gotha: Perthes: 1887. 8vo, pp. viii, 516. 10 marks. — Contains seven notable studies of "eines seiner Lieblingschriftsteller," by the famous Göttingen church historian whom common consent names the greatest living authority upon the church of the Middle Ages. The first five studies have already appeared at various intervals during the past five years in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, and are reprinted with a few minor alterations and additions. They are: I. Die Lehre von der Kirche und die Motive des pelagianischen Streits; II. Zur Frage nach dem Verhältniss der Lehre von der Kirche zu der Lehre von der prädestinarianischen Gnade; III. Die Kirche das Reich Gottes; IV. Augustin und der katholische Orient; V. Der Episkopat und die Kirche. Der Episkopat und der römische Stuhl, Das Konzil und die Tradition. Die Infallibilität. The last two studies appear for the first time: VI. Weltliches und geistliches Leben (Mönchthum). Weltliche und kirchliche (geistliche) Wissenschaft (Mystik); VII. Zur Würdigung der Stellung Augustins in der Geschichte der Kirche. The studies are very thorough, and the results reached are in many cases of such a nature as to modify quite materially many commonly accepted positions. Space forbids a discussion of any of the results. The author's method is broad and historical. He does not confine his attention to single and isolated passages, but treats Augustine's works as a whole. — *Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen*

Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments sowie zu den Apokryphen, herausgegeben von Strack und Zöckler. A. Altes Testament. Dritte Abtheilung: *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige*, ausgelegt von Dr. August Klostermann, ord. Prof. d. Theologie zu Kiel. I. Hälfte. Nördlingen: Beck: 1887. Lex-8vo, pp. xii, 304. 5 marks. — The three earlier volumes of this important series which appeared last year were mentioned in the January number of the "Review." The present work differs from its predecessors in the fact that much greater attention is paid to questions of textual criticism, and as a consequence it is both more scientific and more extended (the books of Samuel alone occupy 261 pages). In regard to this, Professor Strack, in a prefatory note, says: "Muss auch leider sonst dieses 'kurzgefasste' Kommentarwerk sich begnügen, in *textkritischer Beziehung* im wesentlichen die *Resultate* fremder und eigener Forschungen mitzuthemen, und darauf verzichten die ganze Einzelbegründung derselben in extenso vorzuführen, so waren wir es doch unsern Lesern, namentlich den zahlreichen Studierenden, schuldig, wenigstens an einem angeführten Beispiele zu zeigen, mit welchen Hilfsmitteln und in welcher Weise die Textkritik die ihr in Bezug auf das Alte Testament gestellten Aufgaben zu lösen sucht." He considers this fullness to be especially needed in the present volume on account of the unusual corruption of the text of Samuel and Kings. The series thus far has been warmly welcomed by conservative scholars, while the liberal school look upon it (to quote Harnack, *Theol. Lit. Zeitung*, 1886: No. 24, col. 554) as the production of that class of workers who "beruhigen das von ihnen erzogene Geschlecht von Pfarrern durch zahlreiche Neudrucke, Handbücher und Compendien;" while Schröter, in his review of the volumes upon the Gospels and Acts, says: "Die Tradition ist der feste Boden auf dem man sich sicher fühlt. Für die auf diesem Boden stehende Schaar schreibt man in echt katholischer Weise Compendien und Handbücher" (ibid. No. 23). The present installment extends to 1 Kings vii. The second and smaller half is to appear within a few weeks. — *Paulus von Damascus bis zum Galaterbrief*, von Gustav Volkmar, Prof. d. Theol. in Zürich. Zürich: Schröter und Meyer: 1887. 8vo, pp. 120. 1.20 mks. — Contains three studies: I. Geschichte des Apostels Paulus und seiner Zeit von Damascus bis zum Galater Brief, in den Grundzügen nach ihm selbst und nach Lucas. Der einleitende und thetische Theil (pp. 1-21); II. Ein Gang durch die beiden Apostelgeschichten, im Bereich des Apostelstreits. Der analytische und ausführende Theil (pp. 22-79); III. Ein Gang durch den Galater Brief in seinen Rückblicken, und ihr Licht für das Geheimniss unserer Apostelgeschichte. Der exegetisch ergänzende Theil (pp. 80-120). — The first two studies appeared in the *Theol. Ztschr.* aus der Schweiz in 1884 and 1885. The last is printed here for the first time. The book represents essentially the old Tübingen standpoint, and defends many positions which are now almost universally abandoned by scholars. Aside from a few minor details the book contains little that is really new, though the old points are brought out with increased distinctness.

Arthur C. McGiffert.

MARBURG, PRUSSIA.

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THE ALLEGED FAILURE OF CHRISTIANITY AS
REDEMPTION.

THERE are two factors in religion. There is a subject — in our usual thought a human subject, and there is an object of supreme regard and devotion. There may be supreme devotion to riches or fashion or art, but in that which is commonly called religion the object is conceived to be supernatural. In the worthiest types it is the one supreme being whom we believe to be infinite, eternal, and holy.

Religion is more often considered with reference to the human factor, and his activity — in worship, and in similar forms of homage, such as prayer, praise, liturgical and ritual service, forms of doctrine on which all these are based, and various corresponding forms of practical conduct. From this point of view it is impossible to speak of an absolute religion. Forms, rites, services, vary with the worshiper, according to his tempers and his stage of development. So also do doctrinal conceptions, ideals, and specific rules of life. The term absolute religion turns chief attention to the object, and has regard to his activity. In all worthier types of religion the conception of fellowship is central; but if there be fellowship between man and God, there must be a divine activity towards man as well as a human activity towards God. The activity will be reciprocal; in its highest form a life-fellowship — of divine impartation, of human receptivity and responsiveness. If it can be shown on the one hand that man is made in the divine likeness, though in finite form, and therefore that he is capable of receiving impartations of the divine life; and on the other hand that the temper of God towards man is one of graciousness and love manifested in self-impartation, the conditions of an absolute religion are supplied. For that is a fellowship in which there

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is continual impartation and reception of the divine life-energy. Forms may vary, human conceptions may be more or less adequate, but amid great diversity of form and conception there may be actual reception of divine impartation.

The impartations will vary in mode, range, and fullness according to the conditions of the human subject, but will be limited only by the capacity of the subject in constitution or condition. Some limiting conditions may be temporary and removable — such as an undeveloped state or a limited development; certain states of spiritual infirmity, disease, or perversion; a certain degree of non-receptivity or non-responsiveness of will. If the impartations be received at all, they necessarily promote development, remove infirmity, restore from perversion to perfectness and rectitude. It is at this point and under these conditions that an absolute religion involves redemption. It is not necessarily involved. Ideally considered, absolute religion has nothing to do with redemption; the very conception of redemption is excluded. But, in the ideal, fellowship is complete according to the constitutional capacities of the subject. In fact, however, receptiveness may be temporarily limited by something other than constitutional capacity, by some abnormal condition; while there is, nevertheless, real fellowship of life. Then there is absolute religion, imperfect in form, upon the human side. And then the divine life-impartation necessarily restores life in man, as well as develops and glorifies it. That is, redemption is then included; the absolute religion becomes redemptive on the way to its own perfectness. If there be not a life-restoring process corresponding to the possibilities of the given condition, that fact is evidence against the reality of life-impartation from God. In the case of Christianity it is evidence against its claim to be the absolute religion, universal in its own nature, suited to all conditions of man, and in all proving itself to be the bond of a life-union and life-fellowship between man and God.

It is chiefly because of the claim of Christianity to be the absolute religion that charges of failure are brought against it, — failure in redemption and in the development that presupposes or involves redemption. Reference is made to such alleged facts as the following: In almost every Christian church there are members who have long been such, but who, in nearly every particular, fall below, and sometimes far below, any worthy standard of Christian life. The so-called piety of some of them is scarcely more than a conventional morality with which a few technically religious forms are connected. With reference to God, to divine

things, and the outworking of the highest spiritual principles, they make no progress in ideas or ideals. Their sensibility gets duller and more limited rather than fresher and more diversified. Their characters are exceedingly faulty, and grow no less so ; their lives are inconsistent, and sometimes conforming rather than transforming. They have fallen below the plane on which their religious profession began. They do not seem to be undergoing practical redemption themselves, still less are they a redemptive force in the community. In almost every church it is a minority of members who give marked evidence that a comprehensive process of redemption is going on in them, and who exert an efficiently transforming power over those about them ; while between this minority and the worst of the class first mentioned there is every intermediate grade of spiritual quality and activity. The condition of the community corresponds to that of the church. In some things there is spiritual progress, in other things degeneration. So inconstant and insufficient is the progress, upon the whole, as compared with the claims of Christianity, that confession of practical inefficiency is frequent, and the consciousness of it a common burden. A great many schemes are devised and put in operation to remove the reproach. But it is to be said that not a few of them are wholly superficial ; that they make their chief appeal to temporary emotion rather than to the forces of permanent character ; that, if relapses do not follow, a superficial type of piety is confirmed, and a disposition to believe in spiritual galvanism rather than spiritual life ; and that after a few years the measures devised fail to have any considerable effect, and give place to new devices which are perhaps no better.

These statements do not represent the whole of the case in any Christian community, nor its best aspects ; but they do represent the aspects which give rise to questions respecting the failure of redemption. On the broader plane of general history, it is indisputable that Christianity is extending its sway in the world, and, on the whole, is a redemptive force elsewhere unequalled. There have been periods when the Christianity of practical life became very corrupt, and in not a few of its prominent representatives positively generated corruption. But in those very periods there was also a relatively pure Christian life, which, though often obscure, was efficient ; and which in time became a power of reformation and of general progress. The reformations of Christianity have come from within itself, and that fact proves the reality of its redemptive power. In the broadest view the complaint is not that

it is devoid of such power, but that the power seems so irregular in action, and on the whole so inefficient, as to give rise to hesitation, if not distrust, respecting the validity of the claim of Christianity to be the absolute religion. With real and permanent fellowship of life between man and God, and with the life-impartations which it would involve, it is said that the redemptive process should be much more rapid, comprehensive, and effective than it has been. Christianity has been in the world for nearly nineteen centuries. It has wrought great changes, certainly; but the larger part of the world is still in name non-Christian. The nominally Christian peoples are those from whom proceed all the progressive forces of the world's life, but only a minority of persons among them are even professedly Christian in character and conduct. Can that really be an adequate and a final system of divine life-impartation of which the practical results seem so partial and meagre? This is the question which we have to face, and to answer as best we may.

To get the case fairly before us we must consider somewhat carefully the actual abnormal condition from which redemption is needed, and then consider the whole scope and meaning of redemption itself. Let it be clearly understood, also, that in such a discussion as the present we have nothing to do with the justification of the constitution of our nature or of the laws that control its forces. The fact is, that, under those laws, sin perverts and radically disorganizes nature, so that redemption must be a process of restoration and reorganization. This fact greatly complicates the problem, but it is a fact in accordance with the primal constitution, which we here merely recognize as fact. In like manner, we are not now engaged with questions of theodicy relating to the liberty of man. The fact is, that, in the estate of formal liberty, or liberty of choice, in which even sinful man continues, redemption is not possible except by his free coöperation both in the beginnings of it and the progress of it; and this fact is a continual limitation upon the possibilities of redemption. Now and here we merely accept it as fact. We are not engaged upon questions of theodicy; we are but attempting to understand certain classes of facts in their mutual relations and adjustments.

Consider, therefore, the abnormal moral condition which is variously called depravity, degradation, organic spiritual disease, incipient moral chaos or wreck; and which is definable in its separate aspects by many other terms. It is commonly assumed that the mischief from which redemption is to deliver is nothing more

or other than a wrong choice of the will, or a wrong governing purpose with the habits it has generated. Will made the habits, and can as readily unmake them. If the preference becomes holy, the habits are easily changed to correspond. On the human side, therefore, the great work in redemption is, by the presentation of motives and the application of influences, to secure first a reversal of the governing preference, and then, secondly, a fixing of that reversal in voluntary habit. These two things done, substantially all is done. The work is not so very difficult, and ought not to take so very long a time. Such is the common conception. It falls so far short of the facts that it almost amounts to complete falsity. It contains one element of truth which is indeed a fundamental one, namely, that the starting-point in man, both of sin and of actual redemption, is a governing preference or election of will. But under the constitution of our nature with its laws, a wrong election speedily has results that are simply tremendous. Only a few of them can here be briefly referred to.

Sin is the essentially unreasonable choice. If there were ever any sufficient reason for it, it would not be sin. Under the laws of our constitution one speedy result of sin is a dethronement of reason, with rapid enfeeblement and, not infrequently, very considerable perversion. Reason announces the right; sin turns from it, tries to forget it, sets life against it; partial insensibility to right follows, with corresponding loss of capacity to recognize the right. Reason is the power of apprehending the spiritual as of transcendent worth; sin turns to the animal, temporal, earthly, and disregards the spiritual. Therefore the sense of the spiritual is first enfeebled, then partly lost. Reason apprehends truth as an expression of the essential reality of things. But in that sense truth is ethical; sin turns from it, so that the capacity for truth is enfeebled and partly lost. In many persons it comes to pass that the wish is often father to the thought; a bias of interest or prejudice is accepted as if it were an affirmation of reason, and is even so considered. In such ways mental dullness comes very profound and universal. Generation after generation stares at facts without once seeing them. Generation after generation makes the most stupid misconceptions — of things temporal and things spiritual, of facts and of truths, in practical affairs, in science and art, and certainly not least in religion. One of the chief offices of education is to wake up mind; one of the rarest of human beings is a man mentally wide awake. No man is wide awake in respect to more than a few things. Minds are not only dull, but are also

inaccurate or perverted in action. Those who try to see truly often fail of doing so. The best and wisest men are the most sensible of their liability to error; they test their judgments and opinions most severely, and are the readiest to revise them.

Facts like these are common, and they show that sin produces radical insanity of reason. It causes no less radical an insanity of the sensibilities, desires, and passions. There is loss of higher sensibility with feverish quickness of the lower, and with conflict between the two. There are greedy appetites, fiendish passions, mad ambitions, wild desires which are often silly and even absurd, unreasonable emotions, perverted affections which are a curse both to the subject and the object of them. In wills there is an evil self-assertion, arbitrary and reckless caprice instead of liberty, rejection of law, aversion to good — not utter but manifold. What is called virtue often has an evil taint in it. Earnestness has forms of harshness, mildness has a side of weakness or sentimentalism, decision sometimes becomes intolerant, charity becomes laxity, toleration becomes indifference and skepticism. Sin works mischief in the body as well as in the mind; and then, in turn, bodily passions and infirmities affect spiritual states and processes, increasing the force and tenacity of evil, hindering every influence for good.

Such, in varying degrees, is the condition of every human being. In function human nature is partly unnatural; the morbid condition is not merely functional, but incipiently organic, in every form of social organism as well as in the individual. Evil tendencies, usages, institutions of society, abound: many of them take their rise in perverted human nature, and cannot be removed except by transformation of nature. Many organizations of society are mal-organizations; in many others elements of good and evil are strangely and almost indissolubly combined; in use an evil spirit perverts many a good institution. Each individual has his peculiarities of unnature, each locality its own social perversions, each race its characteristic types of disorder. The evil of individual and organization often roots in race, and can be eradicated only by slow transformations of the particular race or of the whole race of man.

The nature and malignity of moral disease are sometimes most clearly seen in connection with religion, and with redemptive influences and movements. Through unspirituality, general dullness of mind, or special perversity, God is misconceived — in Christianity as well as in heathenism. The misconception becomes sacred, and very difficult of eradication; it is a central element of religion,

which is therefore so far false religion, but which enlists the whole force of the religious nature in its perpetuation and its mischievous work. In any one of its manifold forms or qualities the right or the good is similarly misconceived, with similar results. An element of good is allied with evil, which it conceals and sanctifies: Paul verily thought he was doing God service when persecuting the church. The religious ideal is misconceived — Christianity is a device by which to get to heaven when we die, or it is a device by which another stands in our stead for penalty while his righteousness is imputed to us in such a way that we need not have a holy character of our own. A good impulse or influence, even the divine grace, is misinterpreted by the dull mind; its aim and purpose entirely misunderstood, and the misinterpretation carried out in conduct. Evil results follow which only a considerable lapse of time can possibly correct.

Minds are often narrow and one-sided in action. One side of a religious truth is recognized, or one aspect of it; the whole truth has a different aspect, and it is constantly assumed that difference means contradiction. Therefore the one side is affirmed and all other sides denied, in the name of truth, of religion, or of orthodoxy; with the result of continual limitation of mind, sympathy, and moral condition; and frequently with that most mischievous perversion which comes from the substitution of a partial truth in place of the whole. That only a part is seen might be the result of finiteness, but the truth-seeing mind would see that part as part. That a part is seen as the whole, or that, in the face of evidence to the contrary, it is put for the whole, is the result of spiritual disease. Thus the conception of religion is framed on the side of intellect, and orthodoxy is substituted for life. Or it is framed on the side of feeling, and emotion is substituted for life. In like manner one truth is recognized and given the place of a number of related and mutually modifying truths. Forms of truth are identified with the essence of it: men cling to the form and let the substance go, with the loss from their lives, thereafter, of the renewing power of all such truth. Some forms are transitory and educational, yet for a limited time unquestionably appointed of God. The time comes when the progress of redemption requires the disuse of them. But minds diseased by sin cling to them as still sacred, ordained of God, and obligatory because they once were so. Thus the Jews clung to their sacrificial system after Christ had come. Thus Christians have often clung to that which has finished its work, with the uniform result of arresting the progress of re-

demption, perhaps in a whole people, even in the world. Under the influence partly of heredity, and partly of the historic transmission of ideas and institutions, converts from polytheistic idolatry carry their previous misconceptions into their new faith, and not a few of them become incorporated with it as a part of historic Christianity. Thus corruptions came into the mediæval church, arresting and perverting the redemptive process for ages.

All these misconceptions and perversions are found in those who are undergoing redemption. They are very difficult of removal, because it often happens that by those in whom they are found they are held sacred, even considered to be results of redemption. They are most serious hindrances to redemption, and frequently make any considerable increase of it impossible until they are removed. But the very progress of redemption may develop new dangers, errors, and corruptions. Just as civilization brings many diseases which are unknown in barbarism, so a partial redemption brings the possibility of many errors and evils to which a lower condition was not susceptible. The evils of that lower condition hindered redemption for a long time; at length they are overcome, only to face other evils and hindrances no less serious. Such are a few of the facts which reveal the nature of spiritual disease, even in those undergoing a process of cure. Many more facts might be presented, but these show that redemption is a very much greater work, of necessity a slower and more diversified process, than in our heedless assumptions we sometimes suppose.

Consider, now, some of the inevitable conditions of the redemptive process. Man is a creature of history, coming and going in many generations, under the laws of heredity and of historic transmission of ideas, institutions, and working forces. His moral disorder is historic, — perpetuated by heredity and all historic forces, affecting usages, institutions, all the processes and forms of life. For such a being redemption must be historic. It must enter into history as a factor, and become a part of the historic process. That means not only that it must conform to the laws of mind, but to all the laws of historic process and result. The fact that redemption is a divine process is the very reason which most of all requires us to expect conformity of redemption to divine law. God is the author of the laws of history, and He himself is not only above history, but in it as its mightiest power, its higher life, coördinating all the working forces. His providence is the work of his indwelling presence; his redemption will naturally be the work of an immanent power. The applications of this principle are very numerous. Some of them will appear in the sequel.

In his constitution, man is a rational and free personality. Therefore, in respect to many spiritual conditions, he is a *causa sui* both in good and evil. The power and responsibility thus defined are indispensable elements of the image of God in him. In order to redemption, there is need of an ensphering, inworking, divine agency, but, with the awful endowment of liberty, actual divine efficiency implies a receptive, responsive, coworking agency of man. Amid diverse influences every man makes his own character; there is a sense in which not even God can make it for him or in him. He must work out his own salvation none the less because it is God who works both to will and to do. For the most part, his action in the matter cannot be a mere blind reception he knows not of what, a blind following he knows not whither, a blind obedience he sees not for what reason or what end. His faith must sometimes be, in part, a trust amid darkness; but more often it must be intelligent, presupposing vision. He must see the truth before he can appropriate it and rule himself in accordance with it. In many things, therefore, his redemption cannot progress far beyond his discernment of facts which affect his spiritual condition and his conduct. He must have true conceptions of the Christian life in general and in its details, or his misconception will pervert his life. His ideals must correspond to the divine purposes, and must rise with his attainments. In the forms of it, in its adjustments and its comprehensiveness, his creed must undergo continual modification, that it may come into fuller conformity with divine facts and truths, and may therefore prompt to better aspirations, purposes, and achievement. That means that in mental apprehension he must go on from one point of view to another, digesting and combining the elements of truth from all points of view. But the beginning of discernment and every increase of it are alike hindered by the dullness and unspirituality of mind already referred to, by the tendency to conventionality of opinion and belief, the limitation of minds to one point of view with rejection of all modifying or completing views as involving heterodoxy or heresy, and by the tendency to an opposite extreme in rejecting all results of previous thought that are found to need modification.

Of the efficient powers no less is required than of the intellect. Redemption is restoration to perfectness; it is not a perpetual acceptance of sinful beings as if they were not sinful, for the sake of what another has done for them. Such acceptance may be necessary in order to redemption, but, properly considered, forms no

part of it. Redemption is not a perpetual imputation of another's righteousness, but the actual attainment of personal holiness through the inworking grace of that other. A love of righteousness is to be attained, a willing perfectness ; so far as outward constraint may be needful the real process of redemption is arrested. There may be rational conviction, motive, impulse, inspiration, but no force ; no carrying by storm, no entrapping through artifice. Faith must be free, or it cannot exist ; personal devotement must be willing, or the process cannot go on. Liberty must be used ; according to truth and right, according to divine revelation and impulse. Then faith in liberty must become a regnant power, subduing the active forces of nature and holding them under obedience. It must be the spirit of courage and of enterprise, of persistence and entire fidelity, aiming at complete conformity to the divine, and increasingly attaining it. Here come the hindrances of inertia of the higher powers, the resistance of every evil impulse, the disloyal self-assertion of sinfulness, the temper of compromise ; while one cherished sin, or the withholding of one sphere of life from redemption, may arrest all progress, preventing discernment, blunting sensibility, destroying Christian self-respect, and courage and hope. Here comes the deadly influence of many misconceptions, especially those which give scope to selfish tempers, — such as that salvation is chiefly a matter of selfish gain in a future life, and the endeavor to secure it a kind of other-world investment.

The race constitution is one of the facts to be accepted in this discussion. In consequence of it every individual is conditioned by his historic environment, so that it is impossible for him to make progress far in advance of his fellows. A higher state of some is necessary to the elevation of the many, but, on the other hand, progress of the best is continually impeded by the low condition of those about them. In spiritual life, as in secular, there are attainments and achievements which are possible only when an age-long development is behind them. Paul would not have been possible in the time of the Judges, the Christ could not come till the fullness of time. The race constitution has its perversions. There is a mischievous dependence upon others, an unwillingness to trust oneself with God alone, to receive his direct inspiration, and go forward in the strength of it ; a desire to deal with Him by deputy, a bondage of the individual to the organism, — as in the Roman church with its world-wide spiritual slavery, or in various schools or sects of Protestantism.

As regards world-saving, in distinction from salvation of the individual, that also is man's own work, under divine inspiration and guidance. This world is our world as well as God's world; many of the forces of history are forces of human life. The principles, usages, institutions, systems, which prevail are man-made, and if ever transformed must be transformed by man. Here come the conflicts of practical righteousness in the world, of personal and civil liberty, of caste, of capital and labor, conflicts for humanity and spirituality, and many such like. They are all problems of a world-redemption. Every evil institution or condition has come from sin; it prevents or hinders redemption, and must be done away as work of redemption. Here, again, come the hindrances of mental dullness, insanity of reason and selfishness. Individual and social redemption must have made considerable progress before the conception of world-redemption can become prevalent or influential. The ideal is at first pitifully inadequate, yet every enlargement or exaltation of it comes only through conflict; while in practice there are the conflicts of interest, the antagonisms of misapprehension and prejudice, the steady hostility of evil-doers. Such are some of the conditions of redemption. They are of three kinds, — essential conditions, under which alone redemption is possible; working conditions, needful for efficiency but obtainable only with time; and the conditions by which redemption is arrested or limited, which are removable only with time.

In connection with these conditions consider now, thirdly, some of the facts in the history of redemption. The first one, seldom recognized in the discussion of the present subject, but of great significance, is the fact that the world's population is wholly changed two or three times in every century. One generation laps over upon another, but since Christianity came into the world there have been between fifty and sixty generations. Each new generation has been, as it were, a new world with which Christianity has had to begin almost afresh. In the case of a few in every generation there has been improvement through heredity, but with many more the influence of heredity has been harmful. Slowly, as was inevitable, Christian ideas and conceptions have been worked out, and thereafter have been perpetuated as helpful forces. Slowly usages and institutions have been established. Not a few of them have been useful only for a time, and perpetuated after their time have been mischievous; some of them very mischievous. Slowly the errors and mischiefs of previous generations have been detected and

corrected ; slowly a higher quality and power of Christian life have been developed in the few. Thus in idea, in institution, and quality of life the later generations have had some advantage over the earlier, especially since the Reformation of the sixteenth century. But, in general, every generation has been a new world of human life. In part, but in increasing measure from century to century, Christianity has already saved between fifty and sixty worlds of men, — not counting those who have been saved because they died in infancy, or any heathen who may have been saved without knowledge of Christ. That is much more than to have saved one entire world in the same time. For if one generation or world had been continuously undergoing redemption, processes would have been accelerated and results would have been cumulative, as with the fifty new worlds they could not be. Besides the confessed disciples of Christ, in most of the centuries, and notably in our own, there has been informal and abnormal redemption. Redeeming influences have reached men through non-religious channels, and have transformed them, but in a manner often unrecognized as transformation at the time.

If we consider the whole course of Christian history, we find that the Roman empire and the civilized races it included were too far gone in corruption to be saved to history by the processes of a spiritual redemption. Under Rome, Christianity established itself in the world, and appropriated what was true and good in the Roman civilization as elements really belonging to itself ; but empire and races went down under the barbarians. New races covered the civilized world ; Christianity had to subdue them, establish in them its own ideas and institutions, civilize and transform them. That process took time, and was a part of the work of the Middle Ages. Under the laws of history it was inevitable that during that process the Christianity of actual life should itself be contaminated by barbarian heathenism, and by various corrupting influences of the older world. Therefore, before any considerable progress could be made after the conversion of the barbarians, these corruptions must be purged away. Reformation must be prepared for, carried through, and its results made sure for coming ages. In each of its stages that work took time ; and the work itself entailed various exaggerations, misconceptions, and imperfections that must also be slowly got rid of. Then a historic Christianity, measurably purified, must have a little time to gather strength and become conscious of it. For the first time in history it had the opportunity to bring forth some of its results upon the

broad theatre of the world's life. These results were necessary as inward quickening and outward warrant in beginning its work of world-wide redemption; and they have been the product of the period since the Reformation. Only in the most recent times has it been possible effectively to begin that world-wide redemption. It was due to the incoming of new life through redemption that, in recent centuries, the world has been mastered, — its whole compass known by man for the first time since the creation, its remotest regions explored, its diverse peoples brought together in the interaction of a life that is increasingly one world-life. Such a unity of human life has not existed before since Babel. The Christian doctrine of the essential brotherhood of men prepared for it; it has been secured by the manifold energies of the Christian nations. A new life has shown itself in the quickening of discovery and invention, in the coming of science, in the development of practical enterprise; and all these have wrought revolutions. Prodigious progress has characterized the centuries since the Reformation. It has all been made in Christendom, and, for the most part, in Protestant Christendom. Demonstrably a purer Christianity has generated progress, and everywhere led it; begetting new ideals and aspirations, new courage and a new hope, new insight and comprehension, new power; in short, a new life, which, with every year, has wider, higher, finer outlook. The discontents of the time are product of it; they come from better ideals and the consciousness of the possibility of greater results. For, one and all, they work themselves out, not in any general pessimism or despair, but in reformations and revolutions, of which our century has seen more and greater than any other century of history. The new life has produced transformation of condition; so that only a comparison of facts in Christendom with facts in Japan has been needed to put Japan into a ferment of change, in which change of religion is prominent, and by which a great nation is undergoing more rapid and radical revolution than ever before took place in history. It is illustration and prophecy of the acceleration of processes as redemption goes on.

As of the redemption of the world, so of the kingdom of God, which is product of it. With disease affecting the intellectual as well as the active powers, a considerable progress of redemption was needful — a certain degree of spirituality of mind and life attained by numbers — before it was possible to grasp the wide and wonderful meaning of Christ's teachings respecting his kingdom. Augustine had some vision of their meaning; partial

glimpses of it, misconstrued, misapplied, furnished one of the forces at work in the rise of the papacy and of the Holy Roman Empire. Protestantism has had its misconceptions of the kingdom, sometimes identifying it with the church and sometimes with the state. In our own day, with a civilization which has some Christian elements working through it, Christ's teachings are attracting general attention, and, for the first time in history, the outlines of a true conception are forming.

In an intelligent consideration of the subject, therefore, has there been any failure of the redemptive forces of Christianity? That depends on what we mean by Christianity. There is the Christianity of Christ and his apostles, of the Holy Spirit, and of Providence, which we may call the divine Christianity. Of necessity, that must enter into human history as one of its factors, and be subject to the conditions and laws of history. It must be represented and propagated in the world by men. The Redeemer came as a man. He must be perfect man; as ideal and as the originator in history of a new, historic humanity. He must represent the immanent divine power in redemption. But after Him Christianity must be represented by disciples, men in whom redemption had but just begun, who were themselves laboring under all the infirmities, disabilities, and perversities of mankind. It is in accordance with the divine method everywhere to make use of second causes. The coral insect builds the reef, the shells of the foraminifera make many of the limestone formations; all physical forces are second causes. In God's provision for other human needs, in the furnishing of food, clothing, truth, in the general guidance and upbuilding of men, use is made of human agency. It would be strange, indeed, if men were not employed in redemption. Such employment is itself an illustration of the fellowship to which redemption restores; it variously promotes the redemption of those who are set at work as redeemers; their proclamation makes stronger appeal because it carries with it the testimony of personal experience; and it enlists the sympathies of a common humanity in those who hear them. But one result of the human proclamation is that there have been many Christianities of practical life, very different one from another, — in varying ways and degrees all of them failures. Partly through his fault, and partly through the power of depravity in him, man has continually made partial failure in the apprehension and appropriation of a divine redemption. Imperfect and unworthy Christians have failed. Their misconceptions have resulted in widespread error, hard to

remove. Their lack of faith has brought paralysis, — lifeless forms, barren and inadequate creeds, degeneration and skepticism, which their self-originated and privately patented gospels could not remove. Their lack of zealous and efficient service according to privilege and opportunity has left multitudes of their fellows without knowledge of the gospel, or without fitting illustration of its fruits. As transitory and transitional, all these facts were to be expected in a redemptive process carried on, in part, by the agency of men. The failures have appeared when the teachings of the New Testament have not been understood, when its precepts have been disregarded, its spirit rejected or corrupted; and they have appeared only under these conditions. So that the very mischiefs of them help to prove the need of that redemption of which the New Testament gives account; since no one can fall short of it without falling short of worth at the same time. In another aspect, also, the failures show the real divinity of redemption. The failures in apprehension show the reality of a divine thought too great for man at once to grasp. The failures in achievement show that men are called to something beyond their common efficiency; are called onward and upward to attainments that exercise their highest powers, and give emphasis to their dignity as made in the likeness of God. That the call is thus worthy of Him is one evidence that it really comes from Him.

In the midst of all these facts, in spite of them or by means of them, has a divine redemption been adequately progressing, or has it been in part a failure? It has not been a failure in so far as it has been merely subjected to the laws of human history. It has not been a failure in so far as in precept or spirit it has been rejected or only partially received. It has not been a failure unless its performance has fallen short of its claims. Christianity claims to be a universal religion, adapted to every race and condition of man, so that it may be received by all. In respect to this claim there has been no failure, for it has worthy disciples in all races and among people of every condition. Its teachings are adapted to all grades of understanding, its provisions and motives to all conditions of life. It addresses the highest spirituality, it confronts the selfish with the certainty that selfishness means loss and wreck. No grander truths or facts, with more of kindling power in them, have ever been conceived or known than those which make up the peculiarity of its doctrine. They have vital relations to all other truths and facts, as continual "conflicts" with science and life make evident. With misconceptions removed on both sides, the

conflicts with science become harmony; the conflicts with life mean reformation, and development. It cannot be shown that any provision could be made for applying greater and more varied pressure to the will without destroying its liberty, and thus making a real and spiritual redemption impossible. Christianity claims to give redemption to those who heartily receive it, conforming to its precepts, responding to its spiritual influences. It cannot be shown that in a single case such a receiver has failed of the beginnings of actual redemption. It claims to make redemption ultimately complete, so that men shall be without blemish and unreplicable in the sight of God. But that 'ultimately' looks forward to the final judgment, and includes all the processes of the intermediate state. Or, if any prefer the phrase, it includes the processes at and after death. Meanwhile processes here, and results actually attained by faithful disciples, are prophetic of just such a final result, for they tend towards it.

"Do you mean, then, that all have been converted and saved that could be?" asks one who is anxious to solve all the problems of destiny beforehand, and to map out a complete theodicy now and here. The question can best be answered by a number of specifications. 1. To be converted does not necessarily mean to pass through a conventional religious experience according to any man-made formulas. It means the beginning of a divine transformation, for which, from beginning onward, a genuine self-committal is needful. Of that transformation, in person and work, Jesus Christ is efficient agent; though for a time, in some cases, He may not be recognized as such. To be saved does not chiefly mean to get into a place of happiness when we die; but it means to get into the divine humanity, increasingly and at length completely. 2. It has never been true that all have been converted that could be. So far as concerns the provisions of redemption, in themselves considered, all men in every generation could be converted. 3. In part it is always a question of 'would be' instead of 'could be.' Or perhaps we should say that in part 'could be' always means 'would be.' "Whosoever will, let him take." Many of those to whom the offer of redemption has come have rejected it. "Ye will not come to me that ye may have life." 4. With the progress of redemption in the world, its motive force over men is greatly multiplied and diversified. Men respond to one class or amount of motives who are insensible to a different class, a smaller and less diversified accumulation. If, in its present development, Christianity could have been presented to men three thousand

years ago, we are warranted in saying that many would have accepted it and been 'converted,' who, in the form in which it came to them, did not accept it and were not converted. "If the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon which were done in you, they would have repented long ago." It is no less reasonable to suppose that, if the more mature Christianity of A. D. 3000 could be presented to men to-day, some would accept it who do not accept it as it is now presented. 5. As a process in history, the proclamation of redemption and much of the application of it have been committed to men. In part by the fault of men, multitudes in previous generations have been without the clear knowledge of redemption and the redeemer. In some forms of conversion, and in their condition, they could not be converted. 6. Two problems are thus presented. One is that of the final destiny of those who have been ignorant of the gospel by no fault of their own, and of those who would have accepted it had it been more adequately presented, with its true nature more fully manifest. With the question of final destiny, or of anything beyond historic processes in the present life, this paper has nothing whatever to do. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" The other problem is that of the slow development of historic Christianity into its ideal strength and beauty, leaving final destiny out of the question. The development is not only among men; in nature it is precisely the development of humanity itself in its higher capacities. Of course that presupposes the hearty reception of redemption by men, and their continuous, unhesitating, and unreserved response to it. That is, it presupposes an altogether right use of liberty, which, under the laws of history, cannot be constrained. If it were constrained, redemption by constraint would no longer be true and genuine. It would no longer be a love of righteousness, a willing perfectness. As already said, it cannot be shown that greater pressure could have been put on the will, and a more rapid development of Christianity thus secured, without violating the conditions of liberty and endangering the ultimate permanence of Christianity. 7. After these statements the question asked comes to this form. Have all been converted who under their conditions of opportunity and influence would be? That question may surely be answered in the affirmative.

The facts stated under the third division go to prove the reality of a divine life-impartment to men in Christianity. It has been germinal rather than complete, for the generations pass from earth before anything more than the incipient stage can be reached.

But if germinal it has been real. Under the influence of Christianity as nowhere else in history the human faculties given in creation are quickened into increasing activity, harmonized in action, and made effective in accomplishing their purpose. Beyond question human minds increasingly think God's thoughts after Him; human sensibilities increasingly thrill responsive to God's feeling; a larger number of human hearts and lives have some quality of his goodness; human personality attains a veritable consciousness of fellowship with the divine personality which increases unto more and more. These are the manifestations of a life renewed from above. Redemption seems to be effected slowly; in part because it is necessarily subjected to the laws of history, in part because it is so great a transformation, in part because we here see it only in its incipient stages. We are reminded of the slow process by which the primeval chaos was transformed into the earth fitted to be the theatre of human history.

In its performance, properly understood, Christianity does not fall short of its claims. There have been many failures of men; but they have been confessedly needless failures of liberty to receive revelation, respond to grace, walk in the spirit; or they have been the temporary and inevitable infirmities of a depravity undergoing removal. As commonly made, the complaint of failure is itself an illustration of redemption. It is product of Christianity, of a better spiritual apprehension, of rising ideals and increased expectation; and therefore it is prophecy of a larger redemption to come. Facts show failure only when compared with growing ideals; when compared with other facts of an earlier time they show the reality of a progressive redemption.

William W. Adams.

FALL RIVER, MASS.

ROBERT BROWNING.

THE best minds still hold the old conception of poetry as a revelation; as containing something more and something greater than the individual poet intended or even comprehended when the creative impulse and energy possessed him. The story he told, the song he sang, convey more than the definite truth, the striking incident, the inspiring vision; they disclose the deeper mind of the singer in his conscious and unconscious relations to his time and to universal life. It is quite conceivable that in one sense the critics

have found more in "Faust" than Goethe consciously embodied in that marvelous drama of human experience. Clearly as the great German had thought his way through all knowledge, and thoroughly as he had rationalized his life, there were forces in his nature whose momentum and tendency he never understood; there were depths in his habitual meditation which he never sounded. His relation to his own time and the character and movement of that time were matters of frequent and searching thought to him; and yet in the age and in his part in it there was much that was invisible or obscure to him. There is in "Faust" a revelation of the time through its most sensitive personality, of which, in the nature of things, the poet was for the most part unconscious. This fact does not diminish the greatness of such an achievement as the writing of a classic drama; it simply recalls the supplementary fact that as every work of art discloses relations to universal principles and to an historical development, so every artist discovers certain far-reaching and highly significant spiritual and intellectual affinities, which are so completely a part of himself that he never separates them in consciousness.

The poet, by a law of his nature, is compelled to open his heart to us; when he plans to conceal himself most securely, he is making the thing he would hide most clear to us. Shakespeare is the most impersonal of poets, and yet no poet has made us understand more clearly the conditions under which, in his view, this human life of ours is lived; while of Byron, who

"bore

With haughty scorn which mock'd the smart,
Through Europe to the Aetolian shore
The pageant of his bleeding heart,"

and of many another of his temperament, we possess the fullest and most trustworthy knowledge. But the poet tells our secret as frankly as he tells his own. We are irresistibly drawn to him not only because he gives us his view of things, the substance of his personal life, but because he makes ourselves clear and comprehensible to us. It is our thought in his words which has such power to bring back the vision which has faded off the horizon of life and left it bare and empty; to restore the vigor of faith and the clearness of insight which have failed us because we have not trusted them. It is this restoration of our truest selves to us which gives the great poets such power over us, and makes their great works at once so remote and so familiar. In its most characteristic singers, each age finds itself searched to the very bottom

of its consciousness. The scientists tell us something of our time, the philosophers, the critics, and the writers of discursive mind more, but the poet alone knows the secret of its joys or its sorrows, its activity or its repose, its progress or its retrogression. All these things enter vitally into his life, and in giving expression to his own thought he gives them form and substance. We learn more of the heart of Mediævalism from Dante than from all the historians ; more of the England of Elizabeth from Shakespeare than from all the chroniclers ; and the future will find the essential character of the America of the last half century more clearly revealed in Emerson and Lowell and Whitman than in all the industrious recorders who were their less penetrating contemporaries.

Robert Browning offers us a double revelation : he discloses the range and the affinities of his own nature, and the large and significant thought of his time concerning those matters which form the very substance of its life. Burns drove his plowshare through his own native soil, singing as he went, and the daisy blossomed in the furrow and the lark sang overhead ; but Browning takes the whole world as his field, and harvests every sort of product which goes to the sustenance of men. A poet of such wide range and such wellnigh universal insight demands much of his readers, and must wait patiently for their acceptance of his claims. He offers that which necessitates a peculiar training before it can be received. The Greeks held it dangerous to accept gifts from the gods ; even at the altar, men must give as well as receive if their relations with the Invisible and the Eternal are to be moral and self-respecting. They only truly worship in whom something responds to the Divine and comprehends it. In the same way the great thinkers and artists compel a certain preparation in those to whom they would communicate that which is incommunicable save to kindred insight and sympathy. The flower by the wayside discovers its superficial loveliness to every eye, but they are few to whom it discloses its identity with the universal beauty which makes it akin with the flight of birds and the splendor of stars. It is only by degrees that the most sympathetic minds enter into the fundamental conceptions of life and the universe which another has reached as the result of long and eager thinking and living. The more fundamental and vital these conceptions are, the more tardy will be their complete recognition by others. A swift, alert, acute mind like Voltaire's makes all its processes clear, and the result of its activity, varied as it may be, is soon measured and

ascertained. But a profound, vital intellect like Herder's, entering into the living processes of nature and of history, finds little sympathy and less comprehension until, by the slow and painful education of a general movement of mind, the range and value of its contribution to human thought are understood. We have already exhausted Voltaire, but the most intelligent and open-minded student of modern life and thought still finds in Herder hints of movements which are yet to touch our intellectual lives with fresh impulse; thoughts which are unlighted torches waiting for the hand strong enough to ignite and bear them forward.

If Browning's genius has remained long unrecognized and unhonored among his contemporaries, the frequent harshness and obscurity of his expression must not bear the whole responsibility. His thought holds so much that is novel, so much that is as yet unadjusted to knowledge, art, and actual living, that its complete apprehension even by the most open-minded must be slow and long delayed. No English poet ever demanded more of his readers, and none has ever had more to give them. Since Shakespeare no maker of English verse has seen life on so many sides, entered into it with such intensity of sympathy and imagination, and pierced it to so many centres of its energy and motivity. No other has so completely mastered the larger movement of modern thought on the constructive side, or so deeply felt and so adequately interpreted the modern spirit. It is significant of his insight into the profounder relations of things that Browning has also entered with such characteristic thoroughness of intellectual and spiritual kinship into Greek and Italian thought; has rendered the serene and noble beauty of the one into forms as obviously true and sincere as "Cleon," and the subtle and passionate genius of the other into forms as characteristic as "The Ring and the Book."

A mind capable of dealing at first hand with themes so diverse evidently possesses the key to that universal movement of life in which all race activities and histories are included, not by violent and arbitrary adjustment of differences, but by insight into those deep and vital relations which give history its continuity of revelation and its unity of truth. It is a long road which stretches from the *Oedipus* of Sophocles to "Pippa Passes," but if Browning's conception of life is true, it is a highway worn by the feet of marching generations, and not a series of alien and antagonistic territories, each unrelated to the other. The continuity of civilization and of the life of the human spirit, widening by an inevitable and healthful process of growth and expansion, evidently

enters into all his thought and gives it a certain repose even in the intensity of passionate utterance. Whatever decay of former ideals and traditions his contemporaries may discover and lament, Browning holds to the general soundness and wholesomeness of progress, and finds each successive stage of growth not antagonistic but supplementary to those which have preceded it. His view of life involves the presence of those very facts and tendencies which a less daring and less penetrating spiritual insight finds full of disillusion and bitterness. Though all the world turn pessimist, this singer will still drink of the fountain of joy, and trace the courses of the streams that flow from it by green masses of foliage and the golden glory of fruit. To carry in one's soul the memory of what Greece was and wrought in her imperishable arts, the memory of the mighty stir which broke the sod of Mediævalism and reclaimed the world for the springtide of the Renaissance, and yet to live serenely in perpetual presence of the Ideal in our confused and turbulent modern life, involves a more fundamental insight than most of our poets possess. For the majority safety is to be found only in tillage of the acres that lie warm and familiar under a native sky; to travel among strange races and hear strange tongues, confuses, perplexes, and paralyzes; the world is too vast for them. Life has expanded so immeasurably on all sides that only the strongest spirits can safely give themselves up to it. Of these sovereign natures it is Browning's chief distinction that he is one; that he asserts and sustains the mastery of his soul over all knowledge; that instead of being overwhelmed by the vastness of modern life he rejoices in it as the swimmer rejoices when he feels the fathomless sea buoyant to his stroke and floats secure with the abysses beneath and the infinity of space overhead. No better service certainly can the greatest mind render humanity to-day than just this calm reassurance of its sovereignty in a universe whose growing immensity makes its apparent insignificance so painfully evident; no prophet could bring to us a message so charged with consolation as this. To see clearly and love intensely whatever was just and noble and ideal in the past, to understand the inevitable changes that have come over the thoughts and lives of men, to discern a unity of movement through them all, to find a deepening of soul in art and life, to bear knowledge and know that it is subordinate to character, to look the darkest facts in the face and discern purpose and love in them, to hold the note of triumph and hope amid the discordant cries of terror and perplexity and despair, — this is

what Browning has done and is doing; and for this service, no matter what we think of his art, those who are wise enough to know what such a service involves will not withhold the sincerest recognition.

Poetry is always a personal interpretation of life: an interpretation, that is, which reveals truth through a personality. For purposes of literature there is no such thing as impersonal or abstract truth; that which makes the expression or embodiment of truth, through the medium of language, literature is always the presence of the personal element. The same truths in the hands of Spencer and of Tennyson will take on widely different forms: the scientist will give his statement clearness, precision, definite relation to kindred facts; the poet will suffuse his verse with imagination, suggest the universal relationship of his truth, and stamp his expression with the indefinable something which we call literature. If we define this intangible something as style, we have really added nothing to our knowledge; for in the last analysis style, as Buffon long ago said, is the man. Turn the thought of the greatest poets — Sophocles, Dante, or Shakespeare — into your own prose, and you will have a valuable residuum of truth, but the quality which made that truth literature has somehow escaped. You have kept the thought, but Sophocles, Dante, and Shakespeare have slipped through your fingers.

The recently published correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle shows the German poet still meditating on a universal world-literature. Such a literature would be produced, not by the impersonal expression of universal ideas and aspirations, but by the clear and noble utterance of powerful personalities of the very substance of whose life these things should be part. The individual genius of the artist must always make universal beauty evident to us, and in literature personal insight and power must always interpret truth to us. Those writers who are predicting the decline of literature in the growing influence of science overlook one of the most profound and permanent processes in nature. Their conception of the relation of the soul to its environment is radically defective in that it fails to take into account that deepest and richest of all the methods by which truth flows into and enriches the common life of humanity as the sun pours its vitality into and enlarges the life of the earth; that method by which, in the simple experience of living, truth is continually revealed and made clear to individual men and women. Life is fed by unseen streams quite as fully and constantly as by those streams whose

courses science traces with admirable precision and accuracy. There are certain truths which never came by observation, which have found their way into the universal consciousness through the secret experiences of countless personalities. Life itself, in all its multiplied forms, — love, suffering, desire, aspiration, satiety, anguish, death, — these are the greatest teachers of men. They have more for us than we shall ever find in the text-books; they penetrate us with their obscure and terrible lessons, — obscure until we slowly grow into harmony with them, terrible until we discover that this education alone makes us masters of ourselves. The potter does not hold the vessel on the wheel hour after hour, under an irresistible pressure, without discovering, in curve and line, something of his design; and humanity has not been held under the terrible pressure of the conditions of its life without reproducing, by a process of which it was unconscious, the general lines of the purpose which is being wrought out through it. Profounder truth has come, unaware and invisibly, into human thought through the pressure of circumstances and the struggle of mere living upon solitary and isolated individual lives than through the activity of the observing and rationalizing faculties. God pours himself into individual souls as nature pours herself into individual plants and trees.

This truth once clearly comprehended, the place and value of personality in life and art are plain enough. Life is the one great fact which art is always endeavoring to express and illustrate and interpret, and art is the supreme and final form in which life is always striving to utter itself. Greek art was, within its limitations, nobly complete, because Greek life attained a full and adequate development; and Greek life being what it was, the beauty and harmony of Greek art were inevitable. The truths and forces which determine the quality of life are always wrought out, or find channels for themselves, through individuals; and the individual temperament, adaptation, genius, always adds to the expression of truth that quality which transforms it into art. Now, of this subtle relation of personality to life and art Browning has, of all modern poets, the clearest and most fruitful understanding. It is involved in his fundamental conception of life and art, and in its illustration his genius has lavished its resources. The general order of things no less than the isolated individual experience become comprehensible to him when it is seen that through personality the universe reveals itself, and in the high and final development of personality the universe accom-

plishes the immortal work for which the shining march of its suns and the ebb and flow of its vital tides were ordained.

To say this is to say that Browning is a philosopher as well as a poet, and that his verse, instead of lending itself to the lyric utterance of isolated emotion, becomes the medium through which the universal harmony of things is translated into song. It would not be difficult to indicate the sources from which Browning has received intellectual impulses of the highest importance; but his thought of life as it lies revealed in his work, although allied to more than one system, is essentially his own. Of all English poets he is the most difficult to classify, and his originality as a thinker is no less striking. It is true of him, as of most great thinkers, that his real contribution to our common fund of thought lies not so much in the disclosure of entirely new truths as in fresh and fruitful application of truths already known; in a survey of life complete, adequate, and altogether novel in the clearness and harmony with which a few fundamental conceptions are shown to be sovereign throughout the whole sphere of being. It is not too much to say of Browning that of all English poets he has rationalized life most thoroughly. In the range of his interests and the scope of his thought he is a man of Shakespearean mould. If his art matched Shakespeare's we should have in him the realization of Emerson's dream of the poet-priest, "a reconciler, who shall not trifle with Shakespeare the player, nor shall grope in graves with Swedenborg the mourner; but who shall see, speak, and act with equal inspiration." The philosopher in Browning sometimes usurps the functions of the artist, and the thought misses that flash and play of the shaping imagination which would have given it the elusive poetic quality. But for the most part it is the artist who deals with the crude materials of life and gives them, not plastic, but dramatic unity and beauty. Other poets give us glimpses of the highest truth; Browning gives something near a complete vision of it. Shelley summons the elemental forces out of the formless depths, and they pass before us — ocean, sky, wind, and cloud — as they passed by Prometheus ages ago; Keats recalls the vanished loveliness "of marble men and maidens overwrought, with forest branches and the trodden weed;" Wordsworth matches the evening star, moving solitary along the edges of the hills, with a phrase as pure and high. But in Browning's wide outlook all these partial visions are included. He, too, can brood, with Paracelsus, over the invisible and fathomless sea of force, on whose bosom our little world floats like the shining

crest of a wave ; he, too, with Cleon, can summon back that perfection of form whose secret perished with the hands that could illustrate but never reveal it ; he, too, with David, borne, he knows not how, from the vision of the far-off Christ, can feel nature throbbing with the beat of his own heart, and the very stars tingling in the sudden and limitless expansion of his own consciousness. If in all these varied insights and experiences he fails to secure the perfection of form with which each great poet matches his peculiar and characteristic message, there is certainly compensation in the immensity of outlook which includes these isolated scenes as a great landscape holds with its limits fertile field and sterile barrenness, glimpse of sea and depth of forest, familiar village street and remote mountain fastness, losing something of definiteness and beauty of detail from each, but gaining the sublimity and completeness of half a continent.

Browning's life and work have never been at odds, nor has there been any serious change in his methods and principles. Born in 1812, he published his first poem, "*Pauline*," in 1832, at the age of twenty. Since that time there has been an almost unbroken series of works coming from his hand ; they have appeared at irregular intervals, but they evidently represent a continuous and harmonious unfolding of his life. He did not begin by trying his hand at various instruments, searching for that which should match his native gifts ; nor did he grope among different themes for one that should vitalize his imagination. On the contrary, the dramatic quality of his genius discovers itself in "*Pauline*," from which, by a natural development, both the drama and the monologue of later years have been evolved ; while in the matter of themes it is clear that he has never waited for the fitting and inspiring motive, but has vitalized, by the virile force of his own nature, such subjects as have come to hand. Following the course of his development from "*Pauline*" through the dramas, the lyrics, the monologues, "*The Ring and the Book*," to "*Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day*," no student of Browning can mistake the great lines of his thought, nor fail to see that thought has expanded out of thought until there lies in these varied and voluminous works an orderly and rational world of idea, emotion, and action. Nor will one have gone far without discovering that he is in a new world, and that the man who journeys beside him is in some sense a discoverer and explorer. Such an one may sometimes blaze his path in the enthusiasm and haste of the search, and leave for others the building of the highway

which shall be easy to the feet of the multitude. Coming to manhood at a time when splendid dreams were in the minds of poets and glowing prophecies on their lips, Browning held resolutely to the actual as he saw it about him; that noble work of his early maturity, "*Paracelsus*," marks, with unerring precision, the limits of human achievement. Living on into a period in which for the moment the aggressive energy of the scientific spirit has almost discredited the authority of the imagination, Browning holds with equal resolution to the real as the completion and explanation of the actual; to the spiritual as the key to the material.

This repose of mind in an age when many minds float with the shifting tides of current opinion, this undisturbed balance maintained between the two contrasted facts of life, show how clearly Browning has thought his way out of the confusion of appearances and illusions into the realm of reality, and how truly he is a master of life and its arts. One will look through his verse in vain for any criticism of the order of the universe, for any arraignment of the wisdom which established the boundaries and defined the methods of human life; one will find no lament that certain ages and races have gone and their gifts perished with them, that change has transformed the world, and that out of this familiar present we are all swept onward into the dim and chill unknown. Nor, on the other hand, does one discover here the renunciation of the ascetic, the unhealthy detachment from life of the fanatic, the repose of the mystic from whose feet, waiting at the gate of Paradise, the world has rolled away. Browning is a man of the world in the noble sense; that sense in which the saints of the future are to be heart and soul one with their fellows. He sees clearly that this present is not to be put by for any future; that there is no future save in this present. Other poets have chosen their paths through the vast growths of life and, by virtue of some principle of selection and exclusion, made a passable way for themselves. But Browning will surrender nothing; he will take life as a whole, or he will reject it. He refuses to be consoled by ignoring certain classes of facts, or to be satisfied with fragments pieced together after some design of his own. He must have a vision of all the facts, and, giving each its weight and place, he must make his peace with them, or else chaos and death are the only certainties. It is only the great souls that thus wrestle the whole night through and will not rest until God has revealed, not indeed his own name, but the name by which they shall henceforth know that He has spoken to them, and that the universe is no longer voiceless and godless.

Professor Dowden, in his admirable contrast of Tennyson and Browning, has made it clear, that while the Laureate sees life on the orderly and institutional side, Browning sees it on its spontaneous and inspirational side. The one seeks the explanation of the mysteries which surround him, and the processes by which life is unfolded in the slow, large movement of law; the other goes straight to the centre whence the energy of life flows. Society is much to Browning, not because it teaches great truths, but because it reveals the force and direction of individual impulse. Tennyson continually moves away from the individual emotion and experience to that wider movement in which it shall mix and lose itself; the fragment of a life gaining dignity and completeness by blending with the whole. Browning, on the other hand, by virtue of the immense importance he attaches to personality, is continually striving to discover in the individual the potency and direction of the general movement. Every life is a revelation to him; every life is a channel through which a new force pours into the world.

Browning has always refused to break life up into fragments, to use one set of faculties to the exclusion of another set, to accept half truths for the whole truth. He discovers truth not only by the processes of intellectual inquiry, but through the joy and pain of the senses, the mystery of love, loss, suffering, conquest; by the use, in a word, of his whole personality. Life and the universe are to teach him, and he is in their presence to learn through the whole range of his being; to be taught quite as much unconsciously as consciously; above all things, to grow into truth. To reveal truth is, in his conception, the supreme function of the visible world; a process as natural to it as the growth of trees or the blossoming of flowers. To learn is the normal activity and function of the human soul. Together, for ages past, the universe and the spirit of man have confronted each other in a mighty and far-reaching struggle of the one to impart and the other to receive; until, invisibly as the dew falls on the blade of grass, there descends into human lives truth after truth according to their capacity. Not by searching alone, but by patient waiting as well; not by intellectual processes alone, but by obscure processes of heart; not by conquest only, but by growth, has life cleared itself to the thought of men. The germs of all truth lie in the soul, and when the ripe moment comes the truth within answers to the fact without as the flower responds to the sun, giving it form for heat and color for light. It follows from Browning's refusal to break up

life into fragments that he never dissociates knowledge and art from life ; they are always one in his thought and one in his work. Knowledge is never attainment or conquest with him ; it is always life expanded to a certain limit of truth. Paracelsus fails because the volume of his life is not wide and deep enough to receive into itself the truth to which he aspires. Truth does not exist for us until it is part of our life ; until we have it ours by absorption and assimilation. This is essentially a modern idea ; modern as compared with the mediæval conception of knowledge. For as Herder long ago saw, before the scientific movement had really begun, all departments of knowledge are vitally related ; so far as they touch man's life they are parts of a common revelation of his history and his soul. The study of the structure of language leads to philology, and philology opens the path into mythology, and mythology ends in a science of comparative religion and the deepest questions of philosophy. Literature is no longer an isolated art through which the genius of a few select souls reveals itself ; it is the deep, often unconscious, overflow and outcry of life rising as the mists rise out of the universal seas. Art is no longer an artifice, a conscious evolution of personal gift and grace ; it is the Ideal that was in the heart of a race finding here and there a soul sensitive enough to feel its subtle inspiration, and a hand sure enough to give it form. Whoever studies the Parthenon studies not only Athenian genius, but, preëminently, Athenian character in its clearest manifestation ; whoever knows English literature knows the English race.

This conception of civilization and its arts as a growth, as an indivisible whole in all its manysidedness, as vitally related to the soul as, indeed, the soul externalized, is the most fruitful and organic of all the truths which have come into the possession of the modern world.

This truth Browning, more than any other poet, has mastered and applied to life and art. He sees the entire movement of civilization as a continuous and living growth ; and from it as a revelation, from nature and from the individual soul, his large and noble conception of life has grown. That conception involves a living relationship between the individual and its entire environment of material universe, human fellowship, and divine impulse. Everything converges upon personality, and the key of the whole vast movement of things is to be found in character ; in character not as a set of habits and methods, but as a final decision, a permanent tendency and direction, a last and irrevocable

choice. From Browning's standpoint life is explicable only as it is seen in its entirety, death being an incident in its dateless being. Full of undeveloped power, possibility, growth, men are to adjust themselves to the world in which they find themselves by a clear, definite perception of the highest, remotest, spiritual end, and by a consistent and resolute use of all things to bear them forward to that end. Browning does not believe for an instant that human life as he finds it about him is a failure, or that the present order of things is a virtual confession on the part of Deity that the human race, by a wholly unexpected evolution of evil, have compelled a modification of the original order, and a tacit compromise with certain malign powers which, under a normal evolution, would have no place here. On the contrary, he believes that the infinite wisdom which imposed the conditions upon which every man accepts his life justifies itself in the marvelous adaptation of the material means to the spiritual ends; and that it is only as we accept resolutely and fearlessly the order of which we are part that we see clearly the "far off, divine event to which the whole creation moves." To Tennyson the path of highest development is to be found in submission and obedience; to Browning the same end is to be sought by that sublime enthusiasm which bears the soul beyond the discipline that is shaping it to a unity and fellowship with the divine will behind it. We are to suffer and bear, to submit and endure, not passively with gentle patience and trust, but actively, with coöperative energy of will and joy of insight into the far-off end. Life is so much more than its conditions and accidents that, like the fruitful Nile, it overflows and fertilizes them all. It is this intense vitality which holds Browning in such real and wholesome relations with the whole movement of nature and life; which makes it impossible to discard anything which God has made. If further proof of his possession of genius were needed, it would be furnished by this supreme characteristic of his nature; he is so intensely alive. Few men have the strength to live in more than two or three directions. They are alive to philosophy and what they regard as religion, and dead to science, to art, to the great movements of human society; or they are alive to science, to art, and dead to philosophy and religion. Genius is intensity of life; an overflowing vitality which floods and fertilizes a continent or a hemisphere of being; which makes a nature many-sided and whole, while most men remain partial and fragmentary. This inexhaustible vitality pours like a tide through all Browning's work; so swift and tumultuous is it

that it sometimes carries all manner of débris with it, and one must wait long for the settling of the sediment and the clarification of the stream.

This vitality makes it impossible for Browning, great spiritual prophet that he is, to mutilate life; to reject a part of it under a false conception of the unity and indivisibility of the whole. No man has a subtler perception of the most obscure and complex spiritual experiences than the author of "Paracelsus" and the "Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," and yet none has greater keenness and joy of sense. The world as it lies in its first swift impression on his soul is as divine a world as that which he finds when, probed to the bottom, it discovers a sublime harmony and purpose. Chaucer did not find skies bluer, flowers more fragrant, than this nineteenth-century poet; Theocritus himself, lulled by the hum of the summer bee and the fall of the pine-cone, was not more responsive to the first, immediate beauty of nature than this subtle thinker within whose vision there also lies that ethereal and transcendent beauty which never deepened the skies of Sicily for the elder singer. Whosoever would possess his life wholly must live richly, joyously, and victoriously in this present.

"I find earth not gray but rosy,
Heaven not grim but fair of hue.
Do I stoop? I pluck a posy.
Do I stand and stare? All's blue."

The young David preparing for the mightiest herculean labors, for the sublimest prophetic visions, mixes his life with the splendid play of life about him, and breeds joy and buoyant strength in the commingling.

"Oh, our manhood's prime vigor! no spirit feels waste,
Not a muscle is stopped in its playing, nor sinew unbraced.
Oh, the wild joys of living! the leaping from rock up to rock,
The strong rending of boughs from the fir-tree, the cool silver shock
Of the plunge in a pool's living water, the hunt of the bear,
And the sultriness showing the lion is couched in his lair.
And the meal, the rich dates yellowed over with gold dust divine,
And the locust-flesh steeped in the pitcher, the full draught of wine,
And the sleep in the dried river channel where bulrushes tell
That the water was wont to go warbling so softly and well.
How good is man's life, the mere living! how fit to employ
All the heart and the soul and the senses forever in joy."

In "Rabbi Ben Ezra," that complete and noble exposition of the philosophy of life as Browning understands it, the wholeness

and the healthfulness of a rounded and full-pulsed life are distinctly and unmistakably affirmed.

Yet gifts should prove their use :
 I own the past profuse
 Of power each side, perfection every turn :
 Eyes, ears took in their dole,
 Brain treasured up the whole ;
 Should not the heart beat once "How good to live and learn" ?

Not once beat "Praise be Thine !
 I see the whole design,
 I, who saw Power, see now Love perfect too :
 Perfect I call Thy plan :
 Thanks that I was a man !
 Maker, remake, complete, — I trust what Thou shalt do !"

Let us not always say
 "Spite of this flesh to-day
 I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole !"
 As the bird wings and sings,
 Let us cry "All good things
 Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul !"

As it was better, youth
 Should strive, through acts uncouth,
 Toward making, than repose on aught found made :
 So, better, age, exempt
 From strife, should know, than tempt
 Further. Thou waitedst age : wait death, nor be afraid.

Taking up the figure of the potter's wheel, the poet adds : —

He fixed thee 'mid this dance
 Of plastic circumstance,
 This Present, thou, forsooth, wouldst fain arrest :
 Machinery just meant
 To give thy soul its bent,
 Try thee, and turn thee forth sufficiently impressed.

What though the earlier grooves
 Which ran the laughing loves
 Around thy base, no longer pause and press ?
 What though, about thy rim,
 Skull-things in order grim
 Grow out, in graver mood obey the sterner stress ?

Look thou not down but up !
 To uses of a cup,
 The festal board, lamp's flash, and trumpet's peal,
 The new wine's foaming flow,
 The Master's lips aglow !
 Thou, heaven's consummate cup, what needst thou with earth's wheel ?

So, take and use thy work,
Amend what flaws may lurk,
What strain o' the stuff, what warpings past the aim !
My times be in Thy hand !
Perfect the cup as planned !
Let age approve of youth, and death complete the same.

The fullest spiritual development involves this joyous acceptance of present methods and instrumentalities of growth and action ; to ignore, undervalue, or corrupt them is to miss the very thing for which they were ordained. One cannot force the process of growth by endeavoring to escape from the conditions of this present life into the region of the unconditioned ; neither by renunciation nor by searching can the laws which determine the unfolding of a soul into power and light be modified or their movement accelerated.

On the other hand, one must not for an instant rest in the life that now is, nor in any of its joys, its arts, its achievements ; there must be an habitual and unfailing perception of the difference between the use and thing used. He only truly lives to whom the falling of the leaf and the fading of the flower are joyous and not grievous, because they speak of a larger and more continuous fertility ; to whom art, when it has matched its divinest vision with faultless workmanship, is still only an unfulfilled prophecy of that beauty which is never wholly present in any work of human hands and never wholly absent from any noble human soul. One ceases to grow the instant he takes a thing for itself and not for its use ; the instant he detaches it from the power which sustains and spiritualizes it. To rest in any joy of the senses or any achievement of the intellect is to become corrupt and to corrupt the good gifts of life. It is the acceptance of things for themselves, or for their uses, which determines character, fixes destiny ; at these points of choice life culminates from time to time in grand progressions or in fateful retrogressions ; in illuminating flashes which make the horizon shine with the glory beyond, or in awful and permanent recession of light, in awful and lasting advance of darkness. These are the supreme moments in which the soul sees in swift glance the entirety of its life, and the sublime harmony of the universe breaks upon it in ineffable vision : —

“ Oh, we're sunk enough here, God knows !
But not quite so sunk that moments,
Sure though seldom, are denied us,
When the spirit's true endowments

Stand out plainly from its false ones,
And apprise it if pursuing
Or the right way or the wrong way,
To its triumph or undoing.

"There are flashes struck from midnights,
There are fire flames noondays kindle,
Whereby piled-up honors perish,
Whereby swoln ambitions dwindle,
While just this or that poor impulse,
Which for once had play unstified,
Seems the sole work of a lifetime
That away the rest have trifled."

Without this clear perception of its larger uses, knowledge itself becomes a snare to the soul; it conceals instead of revealing the secret of life. Boundless aspiration and desire for nobler life must drain the cup of knowledge, but never rest in study of its curious tracery, its rich and varied design. The cup once drained of the life that was in it must be cast aside, as the eager searcher goes on his way refreshed. Browning has made this conception of the meaning of life nowhere so clear as in that noble group of poems which have art as their theme. Certainly no poet has ever had a deeper thought of the functions and limitations of art; none has ever seen more clearly the beauty of the art which died with the Greeks, not because the soul parted with some endowment when that wonderful race perished, but because life has expanded beyond the capacity of the exquisite chalice in which the Greek poured his genius as a gift to the gods. That art attained its perfection of form, because from the conception of life which pervaded it the spiritual was resolutely rejected. The life that now is came to perfect expression under the Greek chisel and the Greek stylus; but this very perfection was its limitation. In the art which shall reveal life in its large spiritual relations, life in its infinite duration and growth, there must be imperfection; the imperfection, not of inadequate workmanship, but of a thought not yet pressed to its last conclusion, of a conception still to broaden and deepen. Antique art found its supreme function in the faultless representation of complete and finished ideals; ideals which secured completion and definiteness of outline by the rejection of the spiritual. Modern art will find its supreme function in the noble expression of that unsatisfied aspiration of the soul which craves and creates beauty, but never for a moment deceives itself with the thought of finality or perfection. This thought of the office and work of art Browning has illustrated again and again

with marvelous beauty and power. In "Andrea del Sarto," the painter of the perfect line, the failure of the artist is evidenced by the faultlessness of manner which he has attained.

"Yonder's a work, now, of that famous youth
The Urbinate who died five years ago.
(T is copied, George Vasari sent it me.)
Well, I can fancy how he did it all,
Pouring his soul, with kings and popes to see,
Reaching, that Heaven might so replenish him,
Above and through his art — for it gives way ;
That arm is wrongly put — and there again —
A fault to pardon in the drawing lines,
Its body, so to speak : its soul is right,
He means right — that, a child may understand.
Still, what an arm ! and I could alter it :
But all the play, the insight and the stretch —
Out of me, out of me !"

The duke, as he lifts the curtain which conceals the matchless portrait of the "Last Duchess," whose life fountain of joy ceased to overflow in smiles when his command suddenly congealed it, is an unerring judge of the technique of art, but to its spirit he is as dead as the ashes he calls his soul. The real artist is never content, however his genius display its splendid strength ; he presses on unsatisfied to that perfect Ideal of which all works of human hands are imperfect transcriptions. Abt Vogler touches his organ-keys, and straightway an invisible temple springs, arch upon arch, in the vision of his imagination, and through it, as through the Beautiful Gate of the older shrine, he passes into the presence of One, builder and maker of houses not made with hands. To reach that Presence, to make it real and abiding in the thoughts of men, is the true office and service of art.

As Browning interprets art, so does he see nature. When he chooses to study and describe landscape in detail, as in "The Englishman in Italy," no poet has a more exact and faithful touch, a more sensitive perception of the thousand and one details which each contribute a charm, an effect, to the completed picture. No man understands more perfectly that the mind is made to see an invisible landscape, not by enumeration of details, but by the few fit words that fire the imagination. But for the most part Browning conceives of nature as a vast symbol of spiritual force, and describes it broadly, not as a thing apart from human life, but as responsive to the soul in its moments of exaltation. The curtain which hangs between God and his creatures is swayed by many an invisible current of impulse and influence ; becomes at times almost

transparent to an eye that "hath looked on man's mortality." In those supreme moments when life touches its highest altitudes, as when David leaves the presence of Saul, nature seems to be on the verge of swift transformation into some spiritual medium and substance, so intensely does the soul project itself into all visible things, so alive and responsive are all visible things to the transcendent mood and revelation of the hour. In the long range of life the material universe is seen to be plastic and takes on the hue and form of thought, answering the soul as the body responds to the mind. Like knowledge and art, nature is vitalized by a power greater than itself; and through the majesty of its elemental forms, — its seas and mountains and continents, — as well as through its finer and more ethereal aspects, — its flowers, its clouds, its sunrises and sunsets, — God presses upon the spirit of man; and in the hours when that spirit aspires highest and acts noblest, this vast appearance of things material is suddenly touched and spiritualized.

Browning's habitual method of dealing with the personal soul is to reveal it by some swift crisis, by some tremendous temptation, by some supreme experience, under the pressure of which its strength or its weakness, its nobility or its baseness, are brought out as by a flash of lightning. Life is never life to him except in those hours when it rises to a complete outpouring of itself. To live is to experience intensely. No poet is so intensely Occidental as Browning; so far removed from the Oriental conception of the world as an illusion, of desire and will as snares and evils, of effacement of personality as the chief aim and end of human existence. Browning holds to personality so resolutely that he constructs life along this central conception: in his view the supreme end of being to bring out whatever lies undeveloped within; to seek action, to strive after love and opportunity, and find an unspeakable joy even in the anguish which does not extinguish but elevates and purifies desire. It was inevitable, therefore, that the master passion of life should find at his hands noble and varied expression. It is safe to say that no English poet has matched the sovereign passion of love with so many and such wholly adequate forms. Indeed, when one has grasped Browning's idea of love as the fulfillment of life, there are few other poets who seem to have touched the theme with anything approaching mastery. Certainly that other poet whose star-like soul moves with his forever in a common orbit could have left no more beautiful revelation of her own nature than that which shines and

glows in Browning's thought of love. In "Youth and Art," in "Colombe's Birthday," in "The Inn Album," in "The Ring and the Book," in those noble self-confessions "One Word More," and "By the Fireside," in a hundred other forms, it is made clear that life touches its zenith only as it surrenders itself to a passion whose spiritual fervor burns away all selfishness and makes it one with whatever is eternal and divine. He who fails to make the last venture, to hazard all for the possible possession of heaven, may gain everything else, but has miserably and finally failed. He has missed the one supreme hour when life would have been revealed to him. So profoundly is the poet possessed by the necessity of surrendering one's self to the highest impulses that occasionally, as in "The Statue and the Bust," this thought dominates and excludes all other considerations, and stamps the ungirt loin and the unlit lamp as the supreme and irrevocable sin against life.

In Browning's conception of the place of personality it was fore-ordained that his genius should be dramatic; should deal with situations and characters and rarely with abstractions. Thought, in his view, has not come to complete consciousness until it has borne the fruit of action. From "Pauline" to the epilogue in "Parleyings" it is always a person who speaks, and rarely the poet; the latter keeps himself out of sight by the instinct which is a part of his gift. The subtle genius of a poet whose mastery of psychology is universally recognized has marvelous power of penetrating the secret of natures widely dissimilar, and of experiences which have little in common save that they are a part of life. No poet has ever surpassed Browning in this spiritual clairvoyance or mind-reading, which has made it possible for him to give us the very spirit of the Greek decadence in "Cleon;" the subtle, confused, but marvelously interesting spirit of the Renaissance in "The Bishop Orders his Tomb;" the soul of debased Mediævalism in "The Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister;" the first dim perception of religious ideas in a possible primitive man in "Caliban upon Setebos." All Browning's poems are dramatic, and all his dramas are dramas of the soul. In "Paracelsus," in "Luria," in "Sordello," in "The Ring and the Book," action is used, not for dramatic effect, but to reveal the soul. And only those who have carefully studied these works know what astonishing power is embodied in them, what marvelous subtlety of analysis, what masterly grouping and interplay of motives, what overflowing and apparently inexhaustible force and vitality of mind.

In one of his luminous generalizations Goethe says that thought expands but weakens, while action intensifies but narrows. The singular combination of great intellectual range with passionate intensity of utterance which characterizes Browning is explained by the indissoluble union in which he holds thought and action. The dramatic monologue, which belongs to him as truly as the *terza rima* to Dante, or the nine-line stanza to Spenser, has this great advantage over other forms of expression, that it gives us with the truth the character which that truth has formed ; instead of an abstraction we have a piece of reality.

In his essay on Shelley, Browning makes a distinction between the two great classes of poets, the seers and the makers. It is conceded on all sides that he himself is a seer ; is he also a maker ? The question involves a good deal more than the possession of the skill of the craftsman who employs approved methods and makes his work conform to the best accepted standards. Art is as inexhaustible as nature, and those who know most thoroughly the history of the development of literature will be slowest to condemn a form of expression which does not at a glance reveal all its content of beauty and strength to them. A thinker of Browning's depth and subtlety will never attract those to whom literature is a recreation simply ; a decorative art which aims to beguile the senses by purely sensuous melody, and to substitute for the hardship of thinking a pleasantly superficial comment on or embellishment of life. Great art will never be easy of comprehension to any save those who have been trained to the point of understanding what it signifies, and whose imaginations are sympathetically awakened and dilated by it. The fact that a writer is difficult, that his meaning does not play like a sunbeam on the surface of his expression, but must be sought in the very structure of his work, does not disprove his possession of the highest artistic power. Sophocles is still the supreme artist among all those who have impressed their genius upon language ; but Sophocles never condescends to make himself agreeable to our easy, careless moods ; he demands our best hours and severest thought. Dante stands by the suffrages of all civilized peoples among the three or four foremost poets of the world, but the " Divine Comedy " was never yet mastered by the wayfaring man. The fact that Browning is often difficult is evidently not conclusive evidence of his failure as an artist. The great body of his work is perfectly comprehensible when one approaches it from the poet's own point of view. It is then seen to be, for the most part, marvelously adapted to the

utterance of his thought, the masterful expression of his purpose. The dramatic monologue is not easy reading at first, but when one has become familiar with it, does any form of art seem so alive with the potency of passion, so compact and yet so flexible and expressive? Does not "*My Last Duchess*" tell the whole story, reveal the whole interior tragedy, in a few swift words, not one of which misses the exact emphasis, the essential and inevitable weight? It lies within the power of no secondary artist to match his thought with an expression that is instantly and forever a part of that thought; not its form only, but its soul irradiating and fashioning the whole by its own impulsion.

In literature, as in the plastic arts, there is not only great variety of type but there is always the possibility of the new type. The genius of each age creates its own expression by the same unconscious but irresistible development which gives its insight new direction or its constructive tendency a new impulse. It is never a question of conformity to accredited standards; it is always a question of adequate and inevitable expression. The form which comes inevitably with a new thought of nature or life is invariably recognized in the end as instinct with the art spirit. The style of "*Sartor Resartus*" is fatal to every imitator, but to convey the set of impressions, to place one at the point of view, which are the essential things in the book, it is thoroughly artistic. The man who wrote "*Sartor Resartus*" and "*The Diamond Necklace*" was a literary artist of a very high rank, although he possessed nothing in common with the Benvenuto Cellini school of literary craftsmanship.

The distinctive quality of an artist is that which leads him to use the one form of expression which gives his thought the most virile and capacious utterance; which not only conveys to another its definite outlines, but those undisclosed relations which unite it to the totality of his thinking. Now, at his best, this is precisely what Browning does; he puts us in complete possession of his conception. He gives us not only the fruit of a great passion in some clear, decisive action; he indicates every stage of the obscure processes which lay behind it. The soil out of which it drew its sustenance, the sky that bent over it, the winds that touched it gently or harshly, shadow of cloud and flash of sun upon it, the atmosphere that enveloped it, the movement of human life about it, —all these things become clear to us as we read such a story as the crime of Guido in "*The Ring and the Book*," become part of the intricate play, become part also of our imagination, until at last

the marvelous drama is complete in a sense in which few works of art are ever complete. Browning's view of life and art and nature is not that of the scientific observer or of the philosopher; it is the artist's view. And those who come into sympathy with it are persuaded that it is a view which enlarges and enriches art on every side, and that the man who has attained it is not only an artist, but an artist in the truest and deepest sense of a great but ill-used word. Browning not only sees life as a whole and sees it in its large relations; he sees it always through the imagination. The bare, unrelated fact touches and inspires him; he feels the warm life in it; he understands it because there is something in himself which answers to it; it begins to glow in his thought; other facts gather about it. It may be a fragment when it leaves the poet's hands, but it will suggest the whole; fragment or complete and elaborately worked out conception, the truth that lies at its heart somehow penetrates us, rouses our imagination, possesses us then and finally not only as true, but as beautiful in some new and deep way. "Rabbi Ben Ezra" will hardly attract those who are content with the sweet and obvious commonplaces of the "Psalm of Life;" but to some at least it will remain one of the incomparable works which slowly distil their meaning to deepening thought and widening experience. Is there not in the sense of incompleteness which many of Browning's works convey a hint of that larger art of the future whose depth of beauty shall lie, not in faultless outline, but in inexhaustible suggestiveness; not in the perfection of form which captures us at a glance and then slowly releases us as its charm becomes familiar, but in that amplitude of idea and of aspiration which slowly wins us to itself by a power which penetrates and dilates our imagination more and more? Life is incomplete; a titanesque fragment as Browning sees it; shall not art also share that incompleteness which runs like a shining line of prophecy across all the works of our hands? "On earth the broken arcs; in the heaven a perfect round."

In what has been said the endeavor has been to lay bare Browning's characteristic quality as a thinker and as an artist, to make clear his distinctive and peculiar message and work. A poet of such vigor, of such intense vitality, will disclose grave faults. It is the work of intelligent criticism, while it takes account of these things, to make it clear that incompleteness is a necessary part of life. The Angelos and Dantes are always somewhat careless of detail; the Cellinis alone are faultless. Browning sometimes sees life on its spontaneous side so clearly that he fails to

attach due weight to conventions and institutions ; he has more than once wasted his force on unimportant themes ; and he is sometimes needlessly and exasperatingly obscure. "Sordello," for instance, is distinctly defective as a work of art, because the conception was evidently not mastered at the start, and the undeniable confusion and obscurity of the poem are due largely to this offense against the primary law of art. The lover of Browning will not shrink from the application of a rigid selective principle to a body of verse which he is persuaded will remain, after all reductions are made, one of the most powerful, varied, and nobly executed contributions to contemporary poetry ; the splendid utterance of a great soul who has searched knowledge, nature, art, and life, and with the awful vision clear before him still sings with Pippa :

"God 's in his heaven,
All 's right with the world."

Hamilton Wright Mabie.

GREENWICH, CONN.

CONDITIONS OF LABOR IN ENGLAND.

PERHAPS the most noteworthy conclusion in the stranger's estimate of the English people is that he finds a nation which has taken its second wind. A boy starts off in a race with wind intact and with muscles firm : soon he tires, and tugs on, if he does not stop, by sheer force of nerval momentum. But if he keeps on long enough the equilibrium of muscle and lung and nerve is established, and he has his second wind. From that time on he can run till the last ohm of vitality is exhausted, without distress. Now the English people appear to one to have gotten the second wind. They have accepted the limitations against which newer nations rebel ; they have accepted gradations of position and of immediate reward as a condition of existence ; in a word, they have accepted themselves. They have learned to plod, and to plod effectively. They all plod : the member of the House of Commons in his speeches, the coal drayman with his basket and his broom, the leader-writers in the daily journals, the fish-boy with his board on his head, the vicar in his Sunday sermon, the dancing-man at the ball, the talker at the dinner,—they all plod, to the infinite weariness of the man accustomed to our less complex civilization. But they plod effectively, and they give the impression that they can plod on forever.

The dray-horses and the serving maids are fat, the coal comes when it is wanted, and the vicar holds his audience year after year. As a nation, they have gotten their second wind. I used to hear at the East a good deal about the two classes: first, the young and enterprising, enthusiastic, God-seeing, all-conquering; second, the young and exhausted, blasé, fainéant, to whom no things are new, and to whom all things are useless. These two classes certainly are common enough in Massachusetts. To find a country like England, where neither class has any standing, nor even appears to have any existence, was a most noteworthy discovery to me.

This conventional, self-respecting, steady, serious pace at which the English people take life has its other side. To the American it has its humorous side. To keep up the procession, and to keep up with — just up with, never forging ahead nor dropping behind — the procession, is a tenet of the English social religion. The convention is the master. They never seem to respect the disreputable, but they bow down before the absurd with a seriousness apparently unforced, and, in his turn, each, though he may seem sufficiently absurd to an American, is worshiped. The convention is absolute, for every man may sometime need it; and who would destroy his own possible refuge? In Chester we drove out to Eaton Hall, one of the seats of the Duke of Westminster. This person has a park four and a half miles long. "Think of that!" I said to myself, till I noticed that it was only an eighth of a mile wide. Now, had I been going the other way, I should not have thought it much of a park. Then I set myself to notice and I found many things in England not so wide (nor so deep) as they were long, so that if one should go at right angles to the usual method he would find them meagre. The noteworthy thing is that no one in England does go at right angles.

Nevertheless, I would like to do so for the moment, and in this brief essay I would like to contrast the straightforward conventional English view with the cross view, and in these two aspects look at the conditions of labor in England. I must premise by saying, that while the observations may have a certain value because they are based upon a long residence and upon careful study, they are yet partial in that only the midland counties of England came particularly under the writer's note, and in that only the tradesworkers and the landworkers are specially considered. Birmingham and the black country (which is, in spite of its name, a most beautiful region) and Manchester, in the north, I did not carefully study.

I will take the cross view first, because the subjects so presented themselves to me: indeed, the English conventional point of view in some cases quite eluded me at first. The first consideration to be noted is the disadvantage under which the laborer performs his work. I suspect that every American has observed this before he has been a day in England. The odds are always against the laborer. We always must take hold of the short arm of the lever. His disadvantage can be summed up in a single phrase, — Vested Interest. Look, for example, at the farmer. One will see the great English cart-horse on the farm, and behind him a cart that weighs three times as much as the horse, and which carries a load of half its own weight. Why is it? Because the cart was one of the permanent fixtures of farming, like the cottage, or the barn, and was built to endure. Its immediate usefulness is an altogether secondary consideration. If the farmer wishes to carry a heavy load he must harness his horses tandem, because the conserving force of vested interest has forbidden the introduction of the American evener; and he must have, or thinks he must have, a driver for each horse. If he plows a field he plows it for the landlord primarily and for himself secondarily. The American western farmer puts a boy on a sulky gang plow and with two horses plows a furrow six inches deep; the English farmer puts three horses on a single plow, — of a pattern ingeniously constructed so that the earth must travel, in turning, on the line of greatest resistance, — and with a plowman and two drivers a single furrow is turned. But the land — the landlord's land — is plowed to a depth of eighteen inches. The farmer's three tandem horses do very well in the open, — and he never finds any open. His fields are paddocks, one or two acres square set apart by hedges and ditches, and at every turn his plowing must be done twice to get a result. The hedges take up sometimes ten per cent. of his land and are of no possible use, but he dare not cut them down even if he owns the land; the vested interest of public opinion will prevent him: the hedges are beautiful.

In other callings the odds are equally against the laborer. If you prefer, watch the mason build his house. When our workman needs a staging, he sets up a pole or two, nails on a strip or two, and is ready. Not so the English workman. He digs a hole in the ground and plants in it a massive upright; then at every four feet of distance he crosses this with equally massive horizontals, lashing the two at every intersection with a perfection and completeness which would not be greater were the staging to last

forever. So he will go on and spend as much time on the staging as we would be willing to give to the building. I watched last spring a gang of painters at work on the Randolph Hotel in Oxford. The hotel is five stories high, and the problem was to paint the cornices. An American would have put v's out from the upper windows, or depended hooks from the roof, and braced up, or slung down, a few planks on which a single workman could have walked and done the work in a week. The English contractor appeared with five men and three ladders. The three ladders together would about reach the cornice. They uprear the first one, a man mounts to its top, the second one is pulled up to him, and with infinite difficulty lashed to the first, and the man — a most courageous person surely it seemed to me — mounts to the top of the second one, and a few hours later, having lashed on the third ladder, reaches the top. Then the whole party go to dinner, but return, and four of them stare in admiring awe while one paints five linear feet of cornice, all that he can reach from his ladder. What, then, shall be done? The cumbrous and three-membered ladder cannot be moved along the many-angled cornice, and in the street cannot be lowered entire. So they took it down, and as I went past at dusk on my way home, I noted with glee that five men, in a long spring day, had painted five feet of cornice. A month later they had painted the whole length. The balance of advantage against labor is noticeable in the household in the absence of what we here call the modern conveniences, — no water laid on; no cook-stove; no clothes-wringer; no careful arrangement of rooms to save steps.

It is apparent on the railway, on which the carriages with numerous and dangerous side-doors require a small army of attendants to open and shut them at every station. I need not accumulate instances. The workman is always at a disadvantage. The vested interest, be it personified in the landlord or represented by society, by law, by trade usage, is always against the worker. Granting all this, what will be the answer. Simply that, first, the vested interest pays the bill, and therefore has a right to dictate; and, second, that the work is thoroughly done. It is true that it is thoroughly done. The land in Virginia is exhausted, and the land in Illinois is less fertile than twenty years ago, but the land in Devon, or in the midland counties of England, after five hundred years of cultivation, is as fresh as the unbroken prairie. The contention is, that it is the method that secures the thoroughness.

It is said that the man who builds his staging flimsily will build

the house flimsily; that the straining after devices to escape labor in the performance leads straightway to the straining after devices to avoid or slur over the performance itself. We have in this country, it will be said, so many contrivances for making a show of work that the honest workman is non-existent, and that honest work is not easily to be had. The workman, as Carlyle once said, has a tendency to become imaginary. Further, they will tell us that we have destroyed a race of workers and reared up a race of shifty contrivers. I will not argue on this point. I simply present the two facts: on the one side, the obstacles of all sorts in the path of labor; on the other side, the worthiness of the labor done; and I leave to others to say how the one fact relates itself to the other. The English view will be that the same necessity which compels the one will produce the other, and that only thus can it be produced.

But from labor considered in the general, we may well turn to the observation of the individual. The first impression that one gets in England is, no doubt, that wretchedness is the lot of the working classes. The streets of Liverpool and of London are full of beggars; the boys in the streets look not only ragged and dirty, but underfed and unhealthy; the streets seem full of men and boys waiting for a casual job which may yield them enough to keep them from starving.

If one goes farther, and follows these people to their homes, one finds a degree of squalor and distress which is disheartening. The slums of London are not interesting localities. But these are not the workers of England, and one comes to the conclusion very soon that the unemployed in England, as in this country, are unemployed because they so choose. Begging is a business, and apparent misery is an essential property for its prosecution; it is part of the outfit. I soon came to know all the beggars in Oxford; they would cheerfully touch their hats to me, and the next moment be prostrating themselves before some stranger in abject, hopeless woe.

Soon after settling in Oxford we began to observe on very rainy days a most pitiable exhibition of poverty in the public streets, — a whole family in rags, and evidently in hopeless misery. The father, apparently far gone in consumption, carried a weeping child; the mother had an infant in her arms; four other children limped along in the rain. The whole family in the middle of the muddy street, in the pouring rain, feebly singing a church tune. For some months after, whenever the weather was

particularly bad, I saw them, each time a little more wretched, feeble, woebegone, than before. One day I missed them, but in their place, when the next storm came, appeared a wonderfully piteous spectacle, — a boy not more than twelve, on crutches, with a gospel hymn-book in his hand, sadly singing away his woe. I was so stirred up that I asked questions about it, and learned from a clergyman that the piteous-appearing parent had sold out his route and the goodwill of his business to the boy with the crutches and the gospel hymns for the sum of fifty pounds. This it is to be in an highly organized society.

In addition to these jolly scoundrels, who clothe themselves with distress as with a garment, there is real misery in many a poor worker's home in England. I am sure there is not so much of comfort in the home of the laborer in England as in this country. But the thinker long ago voiced a very wide-spread opinion when he said that in America we have comfort, but we have no joy. There are many things better than comfort, — the life is more than meat and the body than raiment, — and one of these things is joy.

The working classes in England eat little meat, but they are plump and hearty, and the death-rate is no greater than with us. One finds that the home is a very small and very old cottage, but there is generally a plot of garden ground, and always a church and school close by. No town is so small that it cannot afford a common, a park, or a pleasure ground, and the poor go as well as the rich. In this country our rich men build their palaces and shut up their pictures within them. In England the poorest workman can visit the galleries at Hatfield or Windsor or Blenheim, or can camp down and picnic for the afternoon, if he like, in Eaton Park or Nuneham Courteney. He cannot afford to ride, but public walks are laid for him through the fields in every direction.

I observed all these things, but I could not believe that they were compensations sufficient to offset the loss in material comfort; yet I was compelled to notice that, as a rule, the laborer is satisfied. He does not strike, and he does not complain. If you talk with him, you find him heavy, dull, and stupid; but happy, genial, and contented. He is slow in his work, but he stays on, year after year, in the same employment, and in the same village. He will not leave this employment. For six months of the time I was in England an advertisement stood in the papers for masons to go to Galveston, Texas, to be employed on some large public works. Four dollars a day was offered and passage paid, and

this offer was guaranteed by local capitalists. Yet the men did not go. They were earning only half the wages offered, but they were contented. At all events they did not go.

I afterward met agents for American companies prospecting in England for workmen and workwomen, and they reported great difficulty in getting such workpeople. I do not think this can be explained on the ground that the workman is too ignorant to realize what other regions offer. The English government has an emigration bureau. Agents from Australia, from Canada, are constantly at work urging the people to emigrate. The assisted passage fund offers free passage to all worthy persons. Yet the worthy persons do not go.

I cannot but think that though his food is coarse and his shelter cramped the laboring man finds conditions at home such that his life is made to him worth the living. He certainly seems to be contented ; and yet he does not get so much wages if measured in money, nor so much wages if measured in comfort, as he could elsewhere get.

I have no thought now of quoting from Giffen to show that the laborer in England is vastly better off to-day in material wealth than he was half a century ago. No doubt that corn "was then sixty shillings per quarter, and men got eight shillings per week; while now men get fourteen shillings per week, and corn is only thirty shillings per quarter." I simply looked at the laborer as I found him at this date in England, and I must admit that I found him contented ; that I found that he took pride in his work, and received appreciation for it ; and that he neither organized a strike where he was, nor tried to get away. I asked myself what did he get, beside money, which he so valued ? what were the things which he apparently valued (whether foolishly or otherwise I do not now inquire) more than money wages ? These things I found to be, — security, opportunity, and independence.

And first, what security does he get, and how does he get it ? The cross view of the average traveler is that he gets the security of a prison-house ; that is, that he cannot rise from his condition. To a large extent that is true. He cannot, as a rule, rise from the laborer's condition, nor does he wish to do so ; he glories, in his small way, in the condition and finds it honorable. The security that he gets is security against dishonorable competition. A good workman has no competitors but good workmen ; the carpenter who has worked a week at the trade, and the painter who has worked two days at his, cannot compete against the regular

workman. What prevents him, do you ask? Public opinion prevents him. Past public opinion crystallized into a rank system prevents.

Now I realize that I am on most dangerous ground when I say a word on the rank system of the older countries. For, when one speaks of the rank system of England, one is immediately assumed to be making remarks about the aristocracy, and we, as good Americans, can have but one opinion when we discuss the question of a titled aristocracy. It is true that there is a titled aristocracy in England, and that, as Matthew Arnold has hinted, they were first the founders of England, then the defenders of England, then the legislators of England, then the ornaments of England, and now the amusement venders of England.

But there are only 20,000 of them to a population of 37,000,000, and their influence is said to be small and steadily diminishing. At all events, I have nothing to do with them now, but only with the gradation system below them, which interpenetrates the English social and industrial organism.

This gradation system may be described as a system of conventional recognition of values based upon these three requisites.

First. Established reputation. Most reputations extend through several generations, and this pride of birth is as potent in the family of the mason who has half-a-dozen generations of well-reputed masons for an ancestry, as it is in a duke.

Second. Industrial competence. If in finance, capital; if in the leisure class, fortune; if in trade, ability; if in labor, skill in the special branch.

Third. Social competence. That is, the character of the individual.

Now, men are rated in England in accordance with a fixed standard based upon these three requisites. In this country we keep the rank idea, but we have lowered the conditions, and instead of the three we insist upon but one requisite, the second, and we rate that in money only. Perhaps, by and by, we may have to raise our standard; perhaps not. At any rate, at present in England, the humblest workman has an established position and gets security in his position. His position becomes a vested interest, and vested interests are protected.

The laborer, in addition to security, gets opportunity. Opportunity to learn his trade in the first place, an opportunity I fear not always open in this country. Opportunity to work at his trade in the second place. The right of the competent laborer to

the patronage of the vicinage is absolute and undisputed. The "goodwill" of an establishment in London — a most impalpable asset one would think — was lately sold for £400,000. In the same way the humblest laborer has his opportunity; the community will render to him the things that are his.

To the settled community estimate of relative social values called rank we must, I think, look for the reason of the existence of the third possession of the English workman, that is, independence. A good English workman is the most independent individual on the face of the earth. He has a department, and in that department he is supreme. The "under housemaid" will not do the work of the "second laundry," nor will the lead-pipe plumber be any other than a lead-pipe plumber no matter how pressing the emergency in the iron-pipe department in your kitchen, and no matter how far off the iron-pipe plumber may be. I do not by any means propose to argue that this independence is pleasing, but it contributes to excellence of performance; the workman feels a responsibility for the work he does.

To sum up, then, I may say that I found the English workman getting less wages than the American workman and living in a less comfortable manner. But I found him doing stable work, in the main contented, certainly in possession of security, opportunity, and independence. The study I made of his condition tended to make me ask the question if laborers in this country were not putting too great reliance on the bliss-giving function of material advantages. A man's life — perhaps even in this country — may consist not in the abundance of things which he possesseseth.

Francis H. Stoddard.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

SOME SOBER AFTER-THOUGHTS ON LITERATURE AND CHARACTER.

THE smoke of the battle has at last cleared away in the Carlyle controversy, and we may sit down and try to discover what is left to us. Apparently we have come to the end of the long series of volumes in which his fame is commemorated or destroyed. At least we have reached a sort of flag of truce under which, for a brief space, we may consider our gains and losses. The battle has been so sore, and withal so tedious, that it seems hardly worth

while to survey the field at all, and certainly it is too soon to determine the final result. There is, therefore, little or no reason to weary the public with a fresh discussion of the original issue, but the whole controversy suggests certain other thoughts very profitable for consideration, and well illustrated by the fluctuations of this man's reputation. We have heard much of late, and that in many quarters, of the relations of literature to life. We may well stop and ask ourselves what are the true relations of life to literature, and there can be few better opportunities than this, for which the Carlyles furnish the text.

In the years since Thomas Carlyle died his fame has suffered a curious succession of experiences. First apotheosized by the general consent of mankind, then hastily and mercilessly condemned on the ground of his own words, and now resurrected from his too sudden destruction by the pious labor of Professor Norton, there has never perhaps been such a series of literary overturnings as these which we ourselves have witnessed. The last word in the controversy is still with Professor Norton in the lately published "Letters" and the short paper of Recollections¹ (in some respects his most valuable contribution) which preceded the book. These present his hero in quite a different light from that which has been popular of late. Instead of a brute and a dragon, we are bidden to see a somewhat rough and altogether unrefined companion, of varying moods, and of a temper not easily pleased, but a man strong in his thought, kind in his nature and intention, purposing those best things to which he did not always discover a clear path. It is more than desirable, it is necessary, that we should learn this of him, and somewhat modify our estimate both of the man and of the brilliant woman who was his wife. Professor Norton had indeed a duty to the memory of his friend, and it is well it was not longer delayed.

But a question quite apart from the verity of either one or the other of the contradictory presentations of this author forces itself upon us. To what purpose has been all this outcry over the domestic relations of the Carlyles? Is *Paradise Lost* any the less a great poem because Milton could not live with his wife at all, or *Hamlet* a weak drama because Shakespeare conducted himself somewhat wildly now and then? One of our foremost novelists stood without the pale of recognition, and that by her own choice. Domestic life for Byron and Shelley and Dickens, for Molière and Rousseau, and the pious Hooker, was, for each and

¹ *New Princeton Review*, July, 1886.

all of them, a sin or a pain, but their work has stood the test of death and time.

A singular and unaccountable result followed the publication of the Carlyle correspondence. A great cry was heard that a god had fallen to the earth and was irremediably shattered. Men who had listened unto the "sage of Chelsea" for life or for death would no more of him. All that he had been to their intellectual and moral development could not be destroyed at a single blow, it was true; but, so far as might be, they tore up, root and branch, the growth that had sprung from the seed of his planting. A great indignation pervaded the whole reading world, and, of a sudden, to admire Carlyle required the courage of a martyr and the argumentative power of a trained disputant. It was noticeable, however, that no one claimed that the nature of his *work* had been in the least affected by the so-called "revelations." His right to speak at all was gone, but his gospel of work was as forceful and as needed as of old; his heroes were as great for good and evil; his shams were as truly shams as when they were first exposed to an admiring world. All this was to go for nothing, however. Nay, more; it was to be execrated and put in the *index expurgatorius* beyond recovery. What had happened thus to change the brilliant sunlight to the darkest night? We had heard that our prophet lacked the manners of a gentleman. We had learned that he did not like every one about him, and privately called them ugly names. We had discovered, or thought we had, that his wife did not find him a very comfortable person to live with. We had found that his opinions were very strong on many subjects, and differed entirely from those held by the popular mind. We had not found any other thing that was new! Indeed, it may be doubted whether to the thinking person these could be called new conclusions. And yet these, and these alone, were the crimes for which one of the greatest writers of modern times was to be banished from Parnassus! The phenomenon is difficult to account for, and no satisfactory explanation has yet offered itself. Certainly one need not be attempted at this late day, for now it is discovered that although the facts remain exactly the same, a new and softer interpretation should, in justice, be put upon them. This man loved his wife, we find, and often spoke kindly of his friends, only now and then allowing himself the freedom of criticism. What are we to do? Conclude that his work is good after all, and put his books back on the chief shelf in our libraries? If literature is to be made and unmade after this fashion, verily the lot of the scholar is a hard one!

Let us look at the indictment itself for a moment, and ask how serious it is. Much is made of Carlyle's personal habits, his little frugalities, his coarse manner of life, his neglect to save his wife labor, or to regard small sensitivenesses on her part. It is hard to find anything in this more than the habits natural to a man of the peasant class without high breeding, and to whom strength is more than delicacy. We seem to have forgotten Dr. Johnson, with his dirty linen and his coarse judgments. And when we come to the charge — always uttered with bitterness — that he sometimes abused his friends, is this a something unique in the world; or are we so sure that these distinguished aspirants for intimacy ever were his *friends*? The worst storm fell upon the publication of Mrs. Carlyle's letters. On a sudden, a chivalric sense appeared in literature quite unknown to the admirers of Charlotte Brontë, or Caroline Herschel, or George Sand. Because life was hard it was immediately proved degraded, even criminal. Mrs. Carlyle was overworked at one time, was, in her own opinion, at all times unappreciated except outside her home, was never contented; therefore, Carlyle wrote nothing worth reading. A sapient conclusion, truly!

Of Mrs. Carlyle herself the last word has not yet been said; and since she is largely the excuse for this outburst of fury upon her husband, it may be well to interrupt the general tenor of the discussion to briefly consider that phase of the situation. It is not necessary for our present purpose to consider its details. The voluminous records of the life of this wife and this husband, and the various judgments already pronounced thereupon, have given us a sufficient ground for inference without special testimony in the matter either of old boots or flirtations. Certainly it is an exaggerated tribute to a great name to call her letters brilliant above other correspondents of her sex. In their best parts, even, they might be matched from many stored-up collections, but there are few of these less eminent sisters who would so burden their friends with the most trivial — not to say disgusting — details of ordinary domestic affairs. This woman suffered from an undue estimate of her powers, growing out of an extraordinary personal charm. As John Sterling moved men infinitely his superior in ability, and became a force in literature which his writings sadly fail to explain, so Jane Carlyle, by a like marvelous attraction of personality, left behind her the impression of large intellectual power. It is by no means a hard saying — it is from her own showing — that Mrs. Carlyle appears as a woman of much beauty and charm, who married for a love that was three parts ambition,

whose chief happiness was to be the centre of all about her whether big or little, and whose greatest pleasure was social success. The young woman who (for whatever reason) had refused Irving to marry Carlyle felt that she had stepped down a trifle for the sake of a possible future, and was bitter and burnt that her sacrifice did not at least set her upon a household pinnacle. It was not possible that she and her genius-ridden husband could both of them be the centre of the family. The natural consequence ensued that neither was satisfied. She felt herself unappreciated when her husband forgot to inquire for her multitudinous ailments; she was injured by the necessity of devoting herself to the ordinary labors of mending and housekeeping, and she was deprived of her rights when she was shut up in Scotland. If she was the able as well as brilliant woman which her admirers would have us believe, why did nothing come of the solitude and opportunity of that time? The Brontës found such soil the mother of wondrous growths. Or is, perhaps, an English heath less deserted than a Scottish moor, or ironing at Hawarden a different matter from scrubbing at Craigenputtoch?

In London it was little better. A bad-tempered, moody, impracticable man, who could see nobody in the world but himself, and think of nothing but the creatures of his own brain, who had a dreadful genius for frankness, and whose very character was as stern as it was strong, was married to a beauty who felt that every attention was due to her, who was possessed of nerves which she nursed into exasperating prominence, and who lost no opportunity to make herself dramatic or picturesque in the eyes of her friends. She was, withal, so thoroughly fond of the society of men that she could not live without a succession of devotees, and, by the same token, could not endure that any attention should be paid at another shrine. Moreover, it is sufficiently evident that she was one of those glow-worm women who lavish on society a brilliancy that turns to very earthly things in a closer companionship. Mrs. Carlyle never learned that genius must be cushioned by homely care, Mr. Carlyle never discovered that to marry a beauty one must be always a beau.

Some of those who had been wont to admire Carlyle have tried to mend the situation by making a scapegoat of Mr. Froude, and impugning his lack of judgment as an editor. Evidently there is ground for much that is said on this point, but the main fault is, after all, a lack of judgment in the reader. It would seem that the power of discrimination is no longer a part of culture. Mr.

Froude is, by the bent of his mind and by the training of a lifetime, a historian. To him every bald detail is precious. It is out of such trifling minutiae, and the exact study of domestic as well as public annals, that he constructs the brilliant theories he calls history. But Carlyle had nothing of the historian in him. Like all prophets, his was the dramatic genius. He was true to the soul of things, and he diminished or exaggerated the course of events as best showed what he felt to be the strong heart throbbing underneath. Froude felt he must in truth give *all* the facts, and by the constitution of his mind he could not discover that Carlyle had left a record not at all of facts, but only of impressions of facts. The unfortunate result of this intellectual discrepancy was not unlike the mental confusion of Don Quixote.

But whether Mrs. Carlyle was abused or not, whether Froude was mistaken, or Carlyle amiable, really concerns us very little. The more important question for us is the relation of life to literature. Are we to give up all the work of all the men whose lives we cannot admire? Alas for learning! Since the dawn of letters it has been the gift of genius that its work should overshadow its creator. Strangely greater than anything we know of the authors are the *Paradiso* and the *Jerusalem Delivered*. The world cares nothing about the biographer's vain search for William Shakespeare's house and farms. The admirers of *Faust* insist that the poem shall not be measured by Goethe's dalliance with life. Bacon was the soul of dishonor. The best thinking of our time is the direct offspring of Coleridge, but his life is clouded over by his own indulgence. Rossetti's beautiful poetry marks the mistakes of a life quite as much as its genius. Whether the man himself be forgotten or frowned upon, still the work of genius remains. Its continued power depends upon another standard than that of daily detail. Immortality is the child of the closet, not of the hearthstone. We cannot afford to abandon our great teachers to the literary microscopist.

This is not saying that the personal equation does not rightly enter into our judgments. It is well to know all we may of those at whose feet we sit to learn wisdom, and our opinion of the worth of their words must and should be affected by this knowledge. We should seek the pages of the most acrid and disappointing biography to learn more exactly what manner of man we are following. But we are equally bound to *discriminate* in the judgment we form on the basis of those facts. The question of how far we shall give up to an author our intellectual freedom

depends upon the character he bears no doubt, but still more upon the deeper question of the relation of that character to his teaching. Does he propose to teach mathematics, it is of little moment that he is a Pascal in insight. Would you learn diplomacy, you are not troubled about Talleyrand's fidelity to truth or friendship. But if, on the other hand, you seek spiritual growth, you will hardly find that in the pages of the brilliant prince, albeit he was once a bishop, while you forget entirely that the author of the *Thoughts* ever excelled in the exact sciences. To go further; if a man is rotten through and through with the selfishness that warps all vision, he cannot safely be taken as a guide or critic of life. But, nevertheless, for that very reason he may know well for what temptation a man will sell his soul, and tell that story in words that shall live after him. Unless, indeed, we allow that genius is an objective faculty, entering in and possessing the seer, we may, we must, in some sense, judge a man's work by the spirit he puts into it. But we must judge it by that *spirit*. Our new way is to judge the work by the life and not by the spirit. This would put Oscar Wilde above Shelley, and Tupper above Milton. It is not to be denied that Longfellow's beautiful character is the true foundation of his exquisite work, but it was the *character* producing the gentleness, not a hollow mask of courtesy, which gave value to the *Psalm of Life*. It is not so much the only half-realized Bohemian career of Byron that makes his already forgotten verse dangerous, as it is the spirit of license which possessed the man; but the well-known excesses of poor Burns, overwhelmed with temptation, cannot take away the holy piety of the *Cotter's Saturday Night*. It is genius multiplied by character that gives power, but genius divided by habits is not weakness. The spirit which is in a man concerns us more than his daily life. Nowhere in all literature is this duty of discrimination illustrated and emphasized more strongly than in this case of Carlyle. This prophet of repentance verily found little sunshine in the desert, but let us see to it that we do not reject his rebukes, because he was clothed in camel's-hair and fed on locusts. "What went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold they that wear soft clothing are in kings' houses. But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet."

And if the least in the kingdom of love is greater than this rough messenger of doom, still the world has not yet outgrown its need of the Baptist. This age of ease and luxurious idleness

needs to hear the gospel of work. This day of show and extravagance must listen once more to that fierce denunciation of shams. We who worship only success are in no danger of over-exaltation of heroes. We who are in the midst of a Babylon of commercial prosperity may well read once more the terrific story of destruction that followed upon the greatest apotheosis of luxury the world has yet seen. Does Carlyle worship force? It is the force of eternal righteousness. Witness these words newly given to us by Professor Norton: "I've been much misunderstood in my time; lately now I was reading an article written by —, who says that there's a great and venerable author, meanin' myself, who's done infinite harm to the world by preachin' the gospel that *Might makes Right*; and he seems to have no idea that this is the very precise and absolute contrary to the truth I hold and have endeavored to set forth, namely and simply, that *Right makes Might*. Well do I remember when in my younger days the force o' this truth dawned on me. It was a sort of Theodicy to me, a clew to many facts to which I have held on from that day to this." And again: "I've had but one thing to say from beginnin' to end o' my books, and that was, that there's no other reliance for this world or any other but just the Truth, and that if men did not want to be damned to all eternity, they had best give up lyin' and all kinds o' falsehood; that the world was far gone already through lyin', and that there's no hope for it, save just so far as men find out and believe the Truth, and match their lives to it."

Absolute sincerity, a moral earnestness that brooked no interference with its efforts, a devotion to truth that would bear no sort of evasion of what he felt to be the absolute and eternal, an enthusiasm for the right in its deeper forms and unpopular expressions, an entire disregard of the opinion of friend or foe, so he delivered his message, — we cannot afford to give up all this because, forsooth, we do not like his manner, and are not pleased with his judgment of *Vanity Fair*. The generation that listened to Thomas Carlyle were better men, and stronger, for his teaching. We of to-day have not so many prophets that we can afford to lose the greatest of his kind. There is need enough for his lessons still. Let us give over the question of his relations to his fellows, — he and they are "but the children of a little day," — and attend once again to the message, the bitter but needed message, the grand, divine message for our blind eyes and hardened hearts. And do not let us any more imagine that our prophets are also our saints.

Anna Laurens Dawes.

PITTSFIELD, MASS.

EDITORIAL.

THE PREVALENT AVERSION TO THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY.

THEOLOGICAL controversy seems foreign to the spirit of modern times. Surprise is often expressed that persons can be found nowadays to engage in heated discussion of religious doctrines. Some can scarcely understand the appearance of theological factions in this period of tolerance and progress. The feeling is common, also, that those who excite and promote controversy are deserving of blame, that they go contrary to the true interests of society, and that they have failed to learn the lesson of history or the character of the religion which is only injured by the measures they take to defend it. One of the significant contrasts between the present and a past not yet remote is this aversion to theological disputes, which is now almost universal, as compared with the eagerness of whole communities, formerly, to foment the doctrinal controversies which were conducted by ecclesiastical and political leaders. Yet controversies still arise in the religious world and assume large proportions, till the interests of institutions, the progress of humane enterprises, and the organized life of religious bodies are seriously disturbed. Strong feeling is excited, which does not abate until the existing generation of combatants has disappeared. As increasing disapproval of war is not accompanied by the cessation of warfare among civilized nations, so the almost universal disapproval of theological controversy does not avail to prevent the outbreak of energetic and, in some cases, bitter contests concerning opinions in religion. We shall seek some of the reasons for this prevalent aversion, and shall also look for the conditions under which the conflict of religious beliefs promotes the progress of Christianity.

One reason for this aversion is the feeling that the most sacred truths and hopes should not be made the occasion of strife. This reason has more weight than any other. The gospel is a religion of peace and love, of meekness and gentleness and forbearance and magnanimity. How, then, can those be justified who in alleged defense of the gospel become embroiled in clamors and contentions? Also, the most sacred feelings are awakened by the gospel: penitence, in which the contrite spirit ventures to expose its impurity to the searching gaze of the holy but loving Father of spirits; faith, in which a limited, ignorant child of earth walks humbly and courageously forth with the vision of God and of eternity; love, in which selfseeking man turns from his selfishness to obey and serve his God with a reigning devotion. And shall repentance be required to exhibit its characteristics to the scrutiny of metaphysical dispute? Shall faith submit to analysis that irreverent debate may gain or lose a victory? Shall love furnish a catalogue of its constituents that a claim of orthodoxy may be triumphantly vindicated? The truth of the gospel and the

feelings produced by it are too sacred to furnish material for intellectual combats. The strifes which are permissible in politics when men compete for earthly rewards, and in socialistic conflicts when pecuniary values are chiefly involved, cannot be welcomed or even tolerated in the sphere of religion. How sad the spectacle, it is said, when in some village the ministers of Christ use their pulpits as positions for attack and defense, and when animosities are aroused among neighbors on account of sectarian differences. This reason for aversion to controversy in respect to religion has great force, and at the same time illustrates the degree to which Christianity, in spite of the follies of its adherents, has exhibited its true character in the world.

A second reason for the aversion which prevails is the impression that theological controversy has usually been injurious to society and to religion. Bad results, it is urged, are seen all around. The multiplication of sects, for example, is a result of theological differences, and in nearly all cases of theological disputes; and sectarian subdivision of the church of Christ is generally regarded as a disgrace and a menace to the gospel. An arid orthodoxy, which is the severance of opinion from conduct, is a result of the importance which theological contention ascribes to correctness of intellectual belief. The growing disregard of religious observances and increasing indifference to the church are results of bitter and angry contentions concerning doctrinal opinions, by which religion itself has been cheapened in the estimation of multitudes of men. Neither can it be forgotten, we are reminded, that behind these results which appear in modern life is the dark background of the centuries of the Christian era, which sometimes with singular appropriateness are called the centuries of conflict, for not only has there been the conflict of Christianity with heathenism, but also the internecine conflict of parties, sects, and factions within the church itself. The history of persecution, martyrdom, religious wars, ecclesiastical usurpation, and the like, illustrates the evil of theological controversy. Combatants of today, if they lived among the conditions of the past, would resort, it is thought, to the old methods of physical torture, sequestration of property, and execution of the death penalty in order to accentuate the correctness of their belief. Tempers and motives which worked such havoc in the past cannot, it may well be supposed, find expression at any time without bringing injury to society and weakening the supports of religion.

Another reason for the aversion which exists is an impression that love of the truth is not usually the controlling motive in theological controversy. Doctrinal controversialists, it is declared, are no more free than political partisans from misrepresentations, innuendoes, acrimony, personalities, and unfairness. The capital of a sect or faction is invested in the doctrinal opinions of which it is representative, and its prosperity, indeed its existence, depends on the maintenance of those opinions. Property in churches, colleges, seminaries, endowed societies, is a prize to be held. The employment of clergymen, secretaries, agents, editors, professors, is

dependent on the continuance and growth of a sect, or even of a party within a sect. The reputation of individuals for consistency and ability in support of the distinguishing tenets of the denomination or wing of the denomination is at stake. Pride in the extension of a sect pervades the great body of adherents. Competition with other sects incites to a more strenuous support and a more zealous propagation of distinctive beliefs. So much enters in which is temporal, secular, and personal, that motive is largely compounded of elements other than simple and earnest love of the truth. Abstract theories are put forward, indeed. Exegetical, historical, and philosophical reasons are urged for the truth or falsity of given opinions. An uninitiated observer might perceive nothing but unalloyed desire to ascertain the truth, and apparent disregard of consequences. But a more intelligent scrutiny discovers selfish motives and assigns them the principal value. Behind abstract opinions are concrete persons. Behind spiritual doctrines are carnal passions. Thus, to understand the religious epochs of the past, biography must be sketched as well as doctrine. Certain effects, apparently trivial, such as a *filioque* added to a creed, or the phrase "all men" pushing out the phrase "the elect," are highwater marks produced by torrents which were swollen by the rush of personal rivalries, and the forcefulness of worldly interests. Personal names have become attached to various theological systems not so much because for distinguished intellectual services such designation was agreed on afterwards, as because certain men who were leaders of thought had also the skill and force necessary to guide personal, social, and political affairs to chosen issues, and because desire for their own personal success directed their energies through many channels which converged to the conspicuous result. The final issues of theological disputes, as expressed in abstract statements of doctrine, are algebraic formulæ, which when developed are found to stand not only for intellectual honesty and devotion to the truth, but also for various unsanctified motives and ambitions.

And yet another reason for the prevalent aversion to theological controversy is an impression that the contention is with regard to matters of which there is little positive knowledge, or concerning distinctions which are unimportant. The essential truths of religion may require defense as against the attacks of atheism, infidelity, and skepticism. The monster errors of materialism and of false philosophy and ethics should be opposed vigorously. But theological controversy is within the circle of revealed truth, and even so is concerning that which is vague and non-essential. Precise shadings of theory concerning the threefold distinctions of the Divine Being, the exact manner in which the writers of the Bible were inspired, the approach of God to souls in the disembodied state, and the mysterious conditions of eternal destiny, are subjects about which, in the nature of the case, but little can be known, and which, even if they were better understood, could have no vital relation to duty and character. Also, since theological theorizing so often proceeds on the slenderest basis of ascertained facts, the result is not highly esteemed in

an age which has become familiar with the positive and solid results of the methods of scientific investigation.

It should not be supposed that aversion to theological contention is confined to those who have not become involved in controversy. Adherents of a party, and even leaders in the combat, may be decidedly averse to strife and debate. It is often the case that circumstances which were almost accidental, and were certainly beyond control, forced them into public discussion. It was not expected that the utterance of given opinions would produce a commotion. It was believed that theories would be argued out in the serene region of scholarship, and under the conditions of Christian courtesy. The evils incident to controversy are deplored. It is only because interests are at stake which seem too important to be deserted that leaders in a discussion are willing to proceed farther. There are persons, it is true, polemical by nature, who have the complete and agreeable use of their faculties only in the excitement of controversy. But they are exceptions, even among those who have the influence of intellectual leadership. And with the mass of intelligent people at the present time aversion to disputes in theology is so prevalent as to amount almost to indifference concerning religious opinion. They will sacrifice opinion for the sake of peace and quietness. Anything, they say, is better than controversy.

It must be asked, however, if all the weighty considerations relative to theological controversy have been brought into view when some of the reasons for dislike of it have been recognized. Are there conditions, in modern times, which make the carrying of opinions into the shock of attack and defense salutary? We proceed, therefore, to consider some of the good uses of controversy in respect to theological opinions.

It cannot be denied that progress in doctrine has usually been conditioned on controversy. Almost every epoch in the development of religious belief has been marked by commotion. For religious opinion is not merely speculative. It furnishes end and motive to life. It creates organizations in society. It gives ideals to society itself. The evolution of personal and social life towards higher conditions cannot go on independent of beliefs in religion. Opinions which stand in the way of progress, whether by prohibition or repression, are questioned and attacked, to be first defended and finally modified. Conservatives and progressives almost necessarily come into opposition, because they hold antagonistic theories of life as well as of truth. Arius and Athanasius might have been directed to go aside and discuss their differences till they should reach some conclusion, and afterwards to come back and let their own and others' lives go on as usual. But the meaning and use of life for themselves and for their generation were involved in the issue of their controversy. The doctrine of God as Three in One, which Athanasius brings forward, would be extreme and unreal, and if Arius did not attack it as dishonoring God, or as an intellectual contradiction, it would not receive those modifications which were needed. Paul always had a

theological controversy on hand with Judaizers or philosophers, or with the apostle Peter himself. The enlargement of the doctrine of Atonement out of arbitrary limitations into universality meant the enlargement of the conception of God. It was an immense gain to the beliefs, hopes, and motives of men. The advance was opposed at every step. The bitterest passions were aroused. But in view of the emancipation which remains, while the incidental evils have passed out of sight, it will not be said that the price was too great. Theology makes progress by development, and conforms to the method of development in all spheres of thought and action, which is the method of struggle. At all events, the gains of the centuries of Christian thought have been made under conditions of conflict, and the general verdict is that the gains are indispensable in personal and social life. The judgment that controversy is always injurious to society and to religion needs to be modified.

It is to be remembered, again, that difference of opinion in theology comes to expression in concrete conditions. Truth gets rooted in life. It shapes character, institutions, and occupations. Principles do not exist in abstractions, but in realities. The principles of physics have no existence apart from bodies, nor of botany apart from plants, nor of chemistry apart from substances, nor of religion apart from man and his institutions. It is not possible, even in thought, to separate a principle from the realities in which it must be embodied. The divine method is to embody truth in a visible world, an actual history, a throbbing life. Therefore it must be in some concrete form that opinions in religion come into aggressive or defensive attitudes. As a principle of law is established by the trial of some case which involves a real interest, so doctrine is defined through the living interest of an institution, a denomination or a religious observance. Although these interests sometimes intrude selfish motives into inquiry for the truth, it is also to be remembered that truth cannot be abstracted from life, nor so much as discussed out of its actual relations. No surprise need be felt because the present controversy within the Congregational denomination affects the interests of a missionary society and of a divinity school, for although the methods adopted by some who are engaged in the strife cannot be justified, it is by reason of such concrete results, actual or threatened, that people are led to think and decide, and that truth wins its way into firm possession. If religious truth were confined to the realm of abstractions, and depended for its acceptance only on intellectual apprehension, it would, perhaps, have made its way with inconceivable speed. But as its function is to create character, to establish customs, to produce literatures, and to cultivate the very power of apprehension on which its influence depends, there seems to be no method possible but proof, experience, and advance through painful conflict.

And, once more, the essentials of truth can stand out in their commanding proportions in distinction from non-essentials only under the processes of testings and overcomings. Under attack the non-essential,

as well as the erroneous, yields, and that which cannot be shaken remains. While controversy rages, it seems as if nothing were secure, and as if doctrine would be reduced to a worthless minimum. But it is only the needless and the irrational which are reduced. The process is one of adjustment and of strengthening.

These considerations are of more force than the reasons which justify aversion to controversy under all circumstances. It is not, however, by such balancings of evil and good results that a judgment can be made up. A duty is laid on any one who through knowledge or vision gains new light concerning Christian truth. He cannot foresee all the consequences, nor is he required to foresee them. He has truth which is inspiration to him, which is intended to be inspiration to many, and it is his bounden duty to explain and defend it. The probable effect on average opinion should be considered, but should not be made decisive, for average opinion may need to be disturbed and even revolutionized. Not every fancy or notion should be proclaimed, but settled conviction, indisputable fact, and reasonable interpretation should not be concealed for fear of a commotion. Religious leaders, and pioneers for conscience' sake, it is often said, had no expectation of the great results which were finally wrought out. Luther had no thought, at first, of the Reformation which convulsed society, nor the apostles of a Christianity which should supplant Judaism, nor the Puritans of the dangers and blessings to coming generations of the religious liberty they established. And for ultimate results which cannot be foreseen the man of ideas and convictions is not responsible. But his present duty is unmistakable. If he has light he should let it shine before men. J. S. Mill's advice is applicable here, that one should make known ideas which dominate him, so that if true they may be put in service, and if mistaken, they may be corrected. Aversion to controversy may be distrust of the power of the truth to maintain itself. Honest endeavors to enlarge men's vision of truth can do no harm either to men or to truth. Let not dislike of commotion induce moral cowardice.

The caution which needs most to be observed is concerning the method employed in theological discussion. Every one who finds himself engaged in controversy with others by reason of differences in religious opinion should guard himself scrupulously against dishonest methods. He should avoid misrepresentations, misconstructions, unfairness of every sort, the imputation of unworthy motives, and the indulgence of personal feeling. He should use the most painstaking effort to understand the opinions he controverts, to understand them as a whole and at their best, and to understand them with sympathetic insight. Not only is nothing gained by putting into or taking out of opinions that which is really no part of them, but also he is morally culpable who is consciously unfair and untrue in conducting his oppositions. There are no interests, even of religious opinions, or rather, especially of religious opinions, which can justify one in doing evil that good may come. But provided there is

strict compliance with the injunction to speak every man truth with his neighbor, one should encourage all honest endeavors, at whatever cost, to know God better in his works and in his word. And it may even be the case, in view of the prevalent aversion to theological controversy, that it will become necessary to guard against indifference rather than against zeal in respect to honest opinions.

TWO MONTHS BEFORE SPRINGFIELD.

EVENTS have shown that the meaning of Des Moines was the return of Mr. Hume. The indications now are that the meaning of Springfield will be the commissioning of Messrs. Noyes, Torrey, and Morse.

This is the common-sense settlement of the controversy. Why should such men be excluded from service? By universal consent they are of the best missionary stuff. They are sorely needed. Under long and severe trial they have shown that their spirit is conciliatory and coöperative. Their opinion or hope which has been called in question would not create the slightest difficulty in their receiving ordination from the churches sustaining the Board. In its every phase it is recognized as admissible by foreign missionaries in the field in the employ of the Board. In its most pronounced form it is held by pastors of churches gathered and commended by agents of the Board. The laymen of our churches, as they are coming to understand these and other facts in the case, are impatient of a discrimination against such candidates for reasons so insufficient.

The practice of the churches which contribute to the treasury of the Board is to the same effect. About the time that Mr. Torrey applied for appointment, a classmate, who had desired to go with him to Japan, was constrained to abandon the project, at least temporarily, and to preach as a candidate to one of these churches. A committee of a church in Massachusetts addressed to him a letter of inquiry, which elicited this statement: —

"I believe only what I know to be absolutely true; consequently I believe but few things, while I hold opinions about many things. Now this question that you ask about 'the doctrine of a future probation' touches a matter of opinion. I have never heard such a doctrine taught at Andover. I have heard the opinion, the inference, set forth here, that those who in this life had no opportunity whatever to hear the gospel would possibly, or even probably, have some sort of an opportunity hereafter.

"It seems probable that, since Christ died for all men, all will have some chance to know Him, and to accept, if they will, his atoning sacrifice. So far as I am aware, there is no plain and unmistakable statement in Scripture that probation ends with this life, or that it may go on to the life beyond. I do not know about these things. I wish I knew some one who did. If you wish my opinion it is this: I think it possible, or even probable, that every soul of man will have a chance to know Christ the Saviour, — a chance either to accept or reject Him. I at all events hope that there will be withheld from no soul the

offer of that love which moved you and me to turn from our sins and give our hearts to God. This is merely saying that I hope every man will have a Christian probation, not a second probation.

"To my mind the question as to those who have not the gospel is a matter of very little importance to us; we all have the gospel. I pray God that I may always so preach that no hearer of mine shall have need of a future probation."

The church immediately extended to him a call. Subsequently it convened an Ecclesiastical Council to advise respecting his ordination and installation. An officer of the church read to the Council the statement we have given. The Council unanimously approved the action of the church, and ordained and installed the candidate. This is a representative fact. Everywhere, throughout the entire fellowship of the churches which provide the funds with which the Board sends out missionaries, men who hold the opinions of this candidate receive the approval of these churches as religious teachers. There has not been, so far as our knowledge extends, since the present discussion arose in the Committee, a single instance of refusal to ordain. A consensus of action of this sort on the part of the constituency of the Board must inevitably in the end control its action. Its influence will be powerful at Springfield.¹

The tentative course of the Prudential Committee during the past few months, with its results, points in the same direction. For a time the Committee — we mean always a majority of the Committee, for in respect to the present controversy it has never been united in its action — practically agreed with the Home Secretary that the tenet of the universally decisive nature of this life is an explicit teaching of Scripture, and is of primary and vital importance; in a word, that it is an essential Christian doctrine and cannot be waived in the appointment or support of a missionary any more than can a belief in the divinity of Christ, or in his atoning sacrifice. Taking this view, the Committee consistently refused to commission several applicants who declined to say that the Scrip-

¹ Since writing the above paragraph our attention has been called to the following statement by the Chicago correspondent of *The Christian Union*: —

"A very large council, to which forty-two churches and twenty-four clergymen were invited, and at which sixty-two pastors and delegates were present, met at Plymouth Church on the 27th ult., to consider the action of the church in dissolving its relation with Dr. Scudder, and to advise regarding the installation of the Rev. F. A. Gunsaulus. The pastor elect read a carefully prepared statement of his theological views as they formed a part of, and had grown out of, his religious experiences. . . . His paper was rather a declaration of truth, which he had personally learned to rest upon, than the unfolding of a system. It was broad in spirit and tolerant toward new truth. Questions of eschatology were declared to be still open for investigation, and the arguments for and against a possible probation after death for those who had not heard of Christ were set forth with great force, the whole matter being left undecided as one on which God had not made his purposes known. It is no slight indication of public sentiment that the council, without asking any questions, unanimously declared the examination satisfactory, and advised the installation of Mr. Gunsaulus. The sermon was by the Rev. N. H. Whittlesey, of Evanston, and other parts by Professors Boardman and Wilcox, Dr. Noble and T. P. Prudden."

tures are thus explicit ; it also withheld from Mr. Hume permission to return to India.

The "case of Mr. Hume" was rapidly understood by the public at large. The meeting at Des Moines was unmistakably sympathetic with effort to secure his return. After long negotiations the Committee yielded, most wisely. Mr. Hume consented to the publication of the memorandum which defined his position to the Committee and was the basis of its action permitting his return. It affirmed his belief "that no man need be finally lost for lack of a gracious opportunity of salvation through Christ, *but only for refusing it*," and that as respects the method of this opportunity "*the Bible is not explicit*." It also affirmed his liberty of opinion on this subject. In an introductory note Mr. Hume further stated : "This memorandum briefly indicates my theological position and my distinct understanding that, if I should return to India, I should go free from pledges, and *with the same liberty of thought and speech as is enjoyed by Congregational ministers at home*." After the publication of these statements an effort was made to secure a reconsideration of the vote authorizing Mr. Hume's return, but it failed. The Committee has thus tried the experiment of sending out one man who rejects the tenet that the Bible teaches explicitly the decisive nature of this life, and who regards himself as at liberty to adopt the opinions entertained by Messrs. Noyes and Torrey, and by their classmate, to whose installation we have referred. What, now, has been the effect of this action by the Committee ? Those who opposed it predicted almost unimaginable evils. Have any of them come to pass ? Are they threatening ? So far as appears, the return of Mr. Hume is matter of almost universal congratulation. There can be no question that any representative assembly of Congregational churches would indorse — we think it would emphatically and with great unanimity approve — the Committee's vote. But if this is so, there cannot long be a question concerning Messrs. Morse, Torrey, and Noyes. By consenting to the return of Mr. Hume the Committee definitely abandoned the position taken by the Home Secretary in his correspondence. It refused to make an acceptance of the so-called doctrine of the universal decisiveness of this life an indispensable test of qualification for service. It has stood by its decision, and repeated it in another though less pronounced case. This action and its acceptance by the Christian public will have weight at Springfield. So long as it is maintained, as a matter of conscience and principle, as a fundamental doctrinal obligation, that this life is decisive for all, there is no basis for adjustment. But when this ground is abandoned the question becomes one of expediency. Are the applicants likely to be useful and efficient missionaries ? Reduced to this, the problem in the pending cases is easily solved. The Board has rarely commissioned men of whose good promise more could justly be said.

Wise friends of the Board will desire to avoid a policy which will

bring it into collision with Congregationalism. Congregationalism recognizes and uses voluntary societies as its agents in missionary work. It can never consent to their becoming its masters, or to any encroachment on its prerogatives. The tendency of the present Home Secretary's policy is strongly in the direction of an *imperium in imperio*, of an aggrandizement of the authority and power of the Board at the expense of control by the churches. In that portion of the Report of the Prudential Committee for 1885 which relates to the Home Department, and which was prepared by the Home Secretary, the increase of the general permanent fund of the Board by legacies is warmly commended. Such a policy tends directly to centralization of power. Unopposed it would soon make the Board a powerful moneyed institution, able to conduct its affairs on a large scale independently of the will of the churches. In former years even its indirect suggestion brought out vigorous and effective remonstrance. In that conversation in New Haven which the Secretary still permits certain journals to ignore, — journals which undertook to censure this REVIEW for referring to it, — the Secretary said that the Board had money as the Presbyterian Seminaries men. If there was now available, besides the Otis and Swett legacies, the income of large permanent funds, we should be far less hopeful than we are that the Board will soon return to its catholic traditions. More significant still of antagonism between the Board and Congregationalism is the action of the Secretary in sending out a particular creed and making it a test for applicants. We raise no question now as to the necessity or the expediency of a doctrinal examination by the Committee through the agency of the Home Secretary, or the secretaries jointly. Granted that the Committee should have information gained in this precise way of the men whom it is asked to appoint.¹ The deviation of the Home Secretary from the traditional policy of the Board, and the collision which he has made imminent with Congregationalism, lies not in his having questioned the candidates as to their doctrinal position, but in his having set up a doctrinal standard not common to the churches which sustain the Board, and which had become the recognized symbol of a theological party. A comparison of the case of Mr. Torrey's classmate, to which we have referred, with his own, will make our point unmistakable. Here are two men, classmates, entertaining on the theological question raised precisely the same opinion. One applies to the Prudential Committee, through the Home Secretary, for appointment as a missionary. The other appears before an Ecclesiastical Council, composed of churches neighboring to the one which desires that he should be its pastor. The former by a divided vote is refused appointment; the latter is unanimously approved and fellowshiped. The contrariety of result is due to a diversity of theological

¹ In all discussions of this question it should be remembered that candidates never appear before the Committee. The Committee simply receives a report, with documents, from the Home Secretary, or from the Secretaries. Its deliberations, moreover, are strictly private.

standards. That is, the Secretary and those of the Committee who sustain his policy set up a standard of doctrinal soundness different from that set up by the churches. What right has the Secretary, what right has the Committee, to erect such a standard? Who has given to either this authority? We are referred to instructions given at Des Moines. Waiving the question whether or not the Chapin resolution gives any such instructions, the charge remains: *the policy of the Home Secretary, and of those who sustain him in it, is putting the Board into collision with the churches.* The antagonism is the more palpable in consequence of the particular creed chosen by the Home Secretary as a test of candidates. It embodies the precise proposition which he tried in vain to persuade the Creed Commission to adopt. Two men out of twenty-four made a minority report. The creed statement insisted on by this minority, or by one of this minority of two, is set up as a vital part of the theology of the American Board, and made a test of the appointment of Messrs. Morse, Torrey, and Noyes. These men can be ordained anywhere by any representative council of the churches that sustain the Board. One of them, we believe, has entered on the service of the Home Missionary Society. But they cannot accept Dr. Alden's creed; therefore they cannot be allowed to enter the foreign missionary service of the very churches which stand ready to ordain them and to employ them as religious teachers. Nor is this all; those who favor their rejection oppose referring the question of their appointment to the churches. They not only insist on doctrinal examination by the Home Secretary, but also that this shall be final and decisive. He (or at most the Committee) is to decide on the doctrinal standard. He is to prescribe the test. He may adhere to it although the churches employ a different one, although if the matter were referred to them there is no doubt that the men would be approved.

As we have intimated, those who believe that upon the whole the present organization of the Board is worth maintaining, if they are wise, will not be likely long to hesitate in deciding whether it is desirable to put this organization into such an opposition. If the question between council and committee is seen to be a question whether the churches or the Board shall decide upon the doctrinal standard for their missionaries, the Committee will soon be discarded with whatever else in the organization of the Board is found to shelter such a usurpation of ecclesiastical power.¹

¹ The style in which friends of the present management of the Board discuss the proposal that the theological soundness of applicants for missionary appointment shall be determined by the same agency which decides that of pastors and home missionaries, shows plainly the danger there is of an alienation of the Board from its natural constituency. Thus the author of a recent pamphlet circulated through the mails says that "a council and the American Board do not belong to the same body," "do not represent the same constituency," "belong to separate and independent systems." The proposal from a corporate member of the Board, Dr. Samuel Harris, favored by its late honored President, Dr. Hopkins, is thus characterized: "Now, for persons to step in and propose to take an essential and critical part of the work of these

Another consideration which is gradually changing men's minds and will be influential at Springfield, is the impracticability, or at most merely temporary and imperfect practicability, of the Home Secretary's policy.

We speak of the Secretary's policy, rather than that of the Prudential Committee, for good and sufficient reasons. He early became a special champion, in connection with the Creed Commission, of the central dogma of this policy. He subsequently used his official position and advantage as Secretary for its dissemination. He privately and without consultation with the Committee made it a test of qualification for missionary service in his intercourse and correspondence with applicants for appointment. He discarded, as insufficient, statements which hitherto had been deemed adequate, forced men to define their attitude to the dogma he advocated, practically assured them that they could not be appointed unless they explicitly consented to it, and all this *before the question in its present form had been so much as raised in the Committee*. Since the discussion thus originated and compelled by him has arisen he has maintained steadfastly, in every *opened* case, his original position. The Committee returned Mr. Hume. The Secretary, as we understand, opposed this action to the last. We can give other reasons, if necessary, but these we think will be deemed sufficient to justify our language.

That our meaning may be unmistakable, we will also explain what we intend by the phrase "the Home Secretary's policy." It covers these propositions: (1) The present life is decisive of human destiny; (2) This is an explicit teaching of Scripture; (3) It is a doctrine of primary and vital importance, to be ranked with the essential articles of Christian belief; (4) Assent to it must be required of every candidate for appoint-

men [the Prudential Committee] out of their hands and consign it to a piece of ecclesiastical machinery belonging to one of the denominations whose members coöperate in the missionary work, is a strange incongruity. . . . A voluntary society . . . to go outside of itself to a neighboring ecclesiasticism!" . . . Councils are throughout treated as a mere "piece of ecclesiastical machinery." They represent at most "only the particular churches constructively present." The author overlooks the fact that it has never been proposed to require Presbyterian applicants for whom so much solicitude is now shown — and we bid them hearty welcome — or those from other evangelical denominations, to appear before Congregational councils. He argues, also, as though it were proposed that councils should select, appoint, and send out missionaries, and that the Committee should be so deprived of the means of information that they would be at a loss to know whether an applicant is a pagan or a Christian. For ourselves we have seen no necessity, as yet, for a complete withholding from the Committee of its traditional prerogative to inquire into the doctrinal character and spirit of applicants. What we resist is something very different, namely, the imposition of a creed unauthorized by any competent power, the setting up a doctrinal standard at variance with that required by the churches, the putting the action of the Committee into antagonism with that of councils, the refusal to appoint as foreign missionaries men who are acceptable as pastors and home missionaries, and to whom only a particular theological objection is raised. We concede, however, that if the present perversion of power by the Home Secretary and his supporters cannot otherwise be corrected, it would be better to relieve him and the Committee of the duty of theological examination *in toto*.

ment either as a missionary or assistant missionary. We presume that no one will question the Secretary's insistence upon these several tenets. We will, however, offer some of the evidence at hand that there may be no possible doubt.

Before the question of a Christian probation for all men had been raised in the Committee, the Secretary wrote (March 18, 1886,) to a theological student, whose offer of service had been earnestly desired by the senior Foreign Secretary in order to meet a pressing exigency, and the Prudential Committee had made a special and probably unprecedented arrangement to promote:—

MY DEAR SIR:—I was happy to receive last week your application, and have already written for testimonials to the persons named, from several of whom I have received reply.

I enclose health inquiries . . .

Will you also be so kind as to send me in the same envelope a brief statement as to the topic presented in the XIIth article of the enclosed Declaration of Faith. It is a matter regarded by members of our Committee and by the Ministers and Churches of our Constituency as well as by our Missionaries as a matter of prime importance.

Hoping for several more applications from your class,

I remain, most truly yours,

E. K. ALDEN, *Home Secretary.*

Again, March 21, the Secretary wrote:—

MY DEAR MR. —:—Your favor of 19th inst. is at hand, with health papers, etc.

The design of my inquiry in my note of 18th inst. was to meet a question which, without doubt, will be suggested to members of our Committee by an omission of your statement of belief, viz: Does the statement "all who refuse thus to accept Him" (Christ as Son of God and Divine Redeemer) "have no hope of salvation," mean to imply that those to whom Christ as Son of God and Divine Redeemer has not been proclaimed during the present life will receive this offer of salvation in the life beyond the grave? This is a practical question of vital moment as related to our missionary work abroad in the view of our Committee and of the churches we represent of our constituency, as well as that of our missionaries abroad.

Please review the whole matter, particularly in conference with ———, and I cannot but hope your mind may become settled as to the Scriptural teachings upon the question. I shall be glad to hear from you to this effect if you see your way clear to an additional statement on this subject, before presenting your papers to our Committee. Hoping so to hear in due time,

I remain, most truly yours,

E. K. ALDEN.

Again, March 23:—

MY DEAR MR. —:—I should be glad of a personal interview with you at your convenience. Your favor of 22d inst. is received, and I do not like to accept it as your final statement for our Committee. I do not think it will quite do you justice in their view. The Scriptural statements upon the

subject are so clear, and our churches and ministers and missionaries, as a whole, are so united upon them, that it seems to me that your candid review of the whole matter will give you the settled convictions needed for the best work either at home and (?) abroad.

I feel drawn toward you, from what I saw of you in our recent interview and from the testimonials I have received, and I should be glad to be able to give some additional statement to our Committee, for I am pretty sure they will immediately instruct me to secure it if I present only what has been received.

Please therefore send me word in enclosed envelope, when you can conveniently call upon me here in No. 18.

. . . Hoping to see you,

I remain, yours fraternally,

E. K. ALDEN.¹

Writing shortly after to the first man who was formally rejected (that is, indefinitely postponed) by the Committee on his advice, the Secretary characterizes "the authority of the Scriptures, the sacrificial Atonement, and the present earthly life as the decisive period of human character and destiny," as "fundamental teachings of the Bible." At Des Moines the Secretary grouped as proper subjects of inquiry of candidates: "The infallible inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, the vicarious propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, and the decisive nature of the present earthly probation, as related to the issues of the final judgment."

The Secretary's position plainly is that the decisiveness of this life, for all mankind, is a fundamental Biblical doctrine, and must be required of all whom the Board commissions. The whole matter hinges on the explicitness of Scripture. The Secretary insists that no doubt can be entertained on this point. But men, in constantly increasing numbers, are recognizing the fact that the Bible is not thus explicit. The declarations of Scripture are prophetic, and while certain essentials and relations of salvation are made perfectly plain, such a position as that maintained by the Home Secretary is fast assuming, to the minds of the most reverent and intelligent students of the Bible, the character of dogmatism. The

¹ It will serve to put the Secretary's letters in proper relief to quote a few sentences from the applicant's letters.

On March 10, in answer to the first question in the Manual, the applicant wrote: "Man's salvation depends on his faith in Christ as the Son of God and the Divine Redeemer. All who refuse thus to accept Him have no hope of salvation." To the second question: "Have you doubts respecting any of the doctrines commonly held by the churches sustaining the missions under the care of the Board?" he replied: "I have no such doubts." March 19, on receipt of the Secretary's letter of the 18th, he wrote, after remarking that he did not know that the Board required subscription to any creed other than that implied in connection with one of the churches of its constituency, but that he was quite ready to state his belief in regard to the article mentioned: "While I see no practical necessity for such a theory [that of continued probation] I also see no impossibility in it, nor any contradiction to Scripture. I do not say that I accept it. I say that I know nothing about it. That the tendency in this life is to permanency of character, and that many doubtless arrive at such a state, I firmly believe; that all do, I cannot say. . . . I have no right to teach a repentance after death, but I likewise have no right to deny the possibility of such repentance in the case of some."

great trend of thought for some time has been adverse to his attitude on this subject. A policy, therefore, which admits of no liberty of opinion where it is more and more evident that doctrinal rigidity is unauthorized, can have only a temporary success. But wise men will ask whether it is worth the while to hold on longer to a position which must inevitably be abandoned sooner or later. Admitting the importance of conservatism, what is now the true conservatism? Is not the position taken by Councils on this subject a true indication of the path of wisdom? No possible logic can harmonize the Secretary's policy with the Committee's action in returning Mr. Hume. Is an inconsistent and wavering policy likely to secure respect?

We desire to emphasize the fact that no thorough-going attempt has yet been made to carry out the Secretary's policy. Even those who agree with him in principle, and he himself, must admit this and acknowledge that any such endeavor would greatly extend the present controversy. It would involve not one Hume case, but many. It would require instructions to missionaries in the field which would involve the resignation of not a few, and these among the most efficient in service. It would transfer promising churches in mission fields and honored native pastors to other connections, and reduce the Board at home to the mere organ of a theological party.

That we may not be suspected of exaggeration we will quote a few testimonies from missionaries in the employ of the Board, not one of which has been solicited.

One of the foremost of these missionaries writes us as follows:—

While I cannot accept that theory [future probation] myself it is quite evident that almost every one of my—colleagues¹ does accept it; and I would not lift my hand for the sake of bringing them to my view, for it is clear that they derive much comfort from it; while it is equally clear that it does not lessen in any degree their evangelistic power. It is not true that a difference of opinion on this subject is likely to produce friction and disagreement, for it has never occasioned the slightest difficulty in our mission, and I cannot conceive of any possibility of its doing so.

Another missionary writes from another field:—

I trust that we who are abroad may have grace to honor our Master. I fear that in some respects we missionaries have fallen upon sad times. At least our Home Secretary and the Prudential Committee are doing their best to reduce the poor missionary to a mere puppet who has no will of his own, and no theological ideas save *their* own, and who must humbly and sweetly pronounce their shibboleth after their own fashion. I feel strangely and badly on this subject, but should feel worse still (if not resign my post) did I not repose confidence in the sound sense and love of liberty which prevails in our body at home, and which will surely put an end to the present inquisition. We are reduced to great extremities in reference to men, and we cry for men, only to be mocked by the echo of our own voice, while at the same

¹ The reference we understand to be to the pastors of native churches, — churches owing their existence to the Board, and more or less dependent on it.

time a number of young men, of scholarship, ability, and piety, desire to come out to us, and offer their services to the Board, only to be rejected simply because they won't swear to that which no one can clearly prove to be true. I had always felt that in serving the good Board my lines had fallen into pleasant places, but if our Board has come to be a theological makeweight, and its chief officers are to exhaust themselves and the Board in their still hunt for heresy, I am not sure that it is not time to reconsider my position. The fact is that this subject of "continued probation" concerns us missionaries infinitely less than it does Dr. Alden and his votaries believe. And as to harmony in missions, they talk as if missionaries did not know how to differ in love as much as they at home. Another thrust at the missionary.¹

From another mission comes this testimony :—

The Prudential Committee are on the "wrong tack" this time, surely. They are fast losing their right to that title, at least in the minds of most missionaries on the field (and they are the ones best qualified to judge of the fitness of any man to be a missionary).

If their policy should be carried out strictly, it would strip the missions of the Board in North China of at least two thirds of its best men. I know of five men who believe as Mr. Hume does in this mission, and five men of equal ability and zeal in the mission cannot be found. They are men of consecration and conscientious men. They have not thought it their duty yet to send in their resignations to the Prudential Committee, because their work cannot spare them, and they have no desire to leave it. Should Mr. Hume's case be decided against him, however, they would, in strict justice, have no more right to remain under the support of the Board than he has. The only difference in their case is that they have not made any public utterances on the question of theology now being used as the test question in the rooms. I know of one member who has written out his resignation, and says he intends to send it in case Mr. Hume is not allowed to return to his field.²

We have reason to believe that, notwithstanding the great effort which has been made to form the opinions of missionaries and to obtain expressions from them in support of the Secretary's policy by one or more of his supporters, the disaffection is great and important. It is likely to increase. It cannot be gradually overcome by selecting for appointment men who are ready to subscribe to the Secretary's creed. Contact with the missionaries of other societies, the freedom gained in new conditions of religious thought and life, the general progress of Biblical interpretation and religious inquiry, will constantly affect and change men's earlier prepossessions. Already we hear rumors that men recently appointed from one of the strictest of the schools are ranking themselves in opinion with some whom the Secretary has repulsed or advised should be rejected. There will be trouble, and that continually, until the missionary has the same liberty with his brother minister or missionary at home. Meanwhile, if the present policy continues, many of the very best men will be lost to the service.

This is a point which deserves serious attention. Already in several

¹ *The Christian Union*, July 7, 1887.

² *Ibid.*, June 30, 1887.

leading educational institutions a most encouraging desire and willingness to enter the service of the Board has been put down to the whole extent of the influence of the Home Secretary. We know of men not a few who might now be under appointment, members of these leading schools, who have gone into the home work without approaching the Board because of the Secretary's well-known policy. They are all sorely needed in the foreign fields, even if the applications were far more numerous than they are. They would not only increase the number of appointments, but heighten the quality of the service. They certainly have some rights as members of Congregational churches, as approved by these churches, as a part of the constituency of the Board. And yet so long as Messrs. Noyes, Torrey, and Morse are kept back such men have no encouragement to offer themselves. It is not enough to reply that others are offering. They are far from being all that are needed, and if they were far more numerous these men deserve regard. A missionary writes : —

We are now wofully and helplessly weak. And yet there are many young men of excellent character, piety, and ability who are vainly knocking for permission to enter into the work. That Prudential Committee, and especially Drs. — and —, will have a great deal to account for in the judgment. They think they are gaining a point by having many applications from the Presbyterians. But to me this only complicates the matter more than ever. . . . I hope that . . . wiser because more moderate counsels will prevail at Springfield. I observe that the Yale professors are coming out strongly on the subject, and not in vain. I think that the next six months will see the sentiment moving decidedly towards liberality.

Still another missionary, not himself coinciding in opinion with the candidates, whose rejection he nevertheless heartily deplores, sends us a tract that we may procure its publication. He entitles it "The Life-saving Station on Beacon Hill." He pictures a fleet of vessels caught by a storm and thrown on the reefs. The night is wild and dark, but a few brave men offer to go out in life-boats. A few are rescued, but most are still in peril. The few men work on, while upon the beach kneel men and women praying. As the morning draws near more of the ships become accessible, but the rescuers are too few. A young man from one of the vessels succeeds in reaching the shore. He pleads for aid, and himself joins the men in the boats. He says there is hope. But just then a discussion arises on the shore. Some who are volunteering to aid are pushed back. Those who might send them think more about their theories than about saving the perishing.

We favor no lax theology. We do not ask that any shall be sent forth as missionaries who doubt whether men are lost in sin and are in need of a Saviour; whether Christ is a real, a divine Redeemer; whether "the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord." But we do ask — and the question will grow, we believe, in urgency and importance till the Board meets at Springfield — whether there is any sufficient reason why men of the Christian faith,

spirit, and purpose manifested by Messrs. Morse, Noyes, and Torrey should be excluded from the missionary service of the churches which support the Board. Can it be supposed that a great constituency and denomination of free churches will long consent that men whom it is ready to fellowship as pastors and home-missionaries shall not be permitted to serve it as foreign missionaries? And can the American Board do a wiser or better thing at Springfield than to consent, if not to use the agency, at least to follow the example, and apply the doctrinal standard, of ordaining and installing Councils? Such a concession would end the strife.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

NOTES ON THE NAKSHIBENDI DERVISHES.

THE question how best to present the gospel of Jesus Christ to Moslems is one which has pressed upon the missionary world for more than half a century. It is a question which has yet to be answered, if we judge from the lack of large success in moving the hearts of Moslems to yield themselves to Christ. All who have tried to arouse Mohammedans to an interest in the gospel have noticed the strange readiness to acknowledge the need of personal piety, often found among them, but they have also encountered an equally strange deadness to the need of help in the attainment of the piety which they seem to desire. The nearest approach to an interest in the teachings of Christian truth which they manifest is often a sort of wonder that a Christian considers such things at all, or a patronizing commendation of the Christian for beginning a course of inquiry that has nearly brought him to the acceptance of Islamism. Such experiences at once suggest some of the barriers which hold Moslems at a distance from the gospel. It is evident that one of the barriers is their possession, in the Koran, of a book which contains some of the truths of God. Another bar is evidently the bad quality of the Christianity from which they have formed their ideas of Christian doctrines. Taking the two together, we easily see that if among the truths accepted by Moslems there are any which satisfy their spiritual cravings, the fact that they have used these truths under conditions hostile to Christianity must form a most effectual obstacle to their attention to offers of the gospel. The man who knows that his religion has fed his soul will not readily heed an invitation to abandon it.

Knowledge of these facts does not answer our question of how to reach Moslems with the gospel, but the solution of this question is advanced if we have the problem fully before us. Hence time is well spent which is given to the study of the inner facts of Islamism. The object of this paper is to record a few notes on the well-worn subject of the doctrines of the dervishes. In offering them I do so with the more readiness since the purpose in mind is to propose rather than to solve difficulties, for which purpose very crude and desultory statements will suffice; and since these doctrines, as I believe, offer the observer the best view of what spiritual life may exist among Moslems, they must be of interest in

themselves, without question of their relation to the problem before the missionary to a Moslem people.

To one taught under the spiritual system of the gospel few sights can be more repugnant than the exercises of the howling dervishes, viewed as a form of worship. And yet, to the Christian, few subjects in connection with another system of religion are more interesting than the doctrine which the dervishes declare to be at the base of their religious exercises. The dervishes, of whatever name or ritual, declare that they have for their common creed the doctrine that God is the natural refuge of the soul of man, for did not the soul come from God? The Almighty will reveal himself to those who diligently seek Him; life in near communion with God is the one thing desirable in this life; to abide under the shadow of the Almighty is the one thing to be craved by weak and sinful man. The development of a spiritual life, then, the dervishes claim to be their object, with freedom from the dominion of the animal nature, restoration of the heart to God, and life in God. All the different methods by which this object is sought by the dervishes are simply different ways of reaching the same goal. Since the degrees of ability in man are many, the ways in which he can walk are many, but all the ways, while subject to the law of God, lead to God.

According to the dervish tradition, at first there were only two classes of those who seek spiritual life: Those who recite the name of God audibly, and those who recite inaudibly. Afterwards twelve orders arose, each from one of the twelve imams who succeeded the first caliphs. Four of these followed the inaudible method of recitation taught by the Caliph Abu Bekr, and eight followed the audible method taught by the Caliph Ali. From these twelve orders there have been numbers of offshoots, some of which, particularly those found in Persia, run into every conceivable extravagance. None of the orders, so far as I can learn, are able to carry their history back of the twelfth century, although they all claim a regular spiritual pedigree which reaches to Mohammed himself. The orders in Turkey best known to foreigners, are perhaps the following: 1. The Mevlevis, or Whirling Dervishes, whose chief writer was Jellal ed Din, the author of the "*Mesnevi*," and to whom belonged the Sheikh Edebali, whose interpretation of a dream gave to Osman the idea of founding an Ottoman empire, to his own daughter the honor of being the mother of Sultans, and to his male descendants the duty of coming from Conia to Constantinople to gird the sword of Osman upon each successive Sultan of Turkey. 2. The Rufayis, or Howling Dervishes. 3. The Bektashis, or Free-thinking Dervishes, most detested in Turkey of all the orders because of their Shi'ite doctrines, their secret rites, and their ultra-liberal interpretation of the saying that all paths lead to God. 4. The Kadiris, who resemble the howling dervishes in their rites. 5. The Shazilis, of whom was the late Mahdi of the Soudan, as well as Sheikh Zafer, now one of the powerful men in the palace of Sultan Abd Un Hamid. 6. The Nakshibendis, of whom was the poet Jami, and, in more recent times, Sheikh Obeidullah, of Persian fame. Each one of these orders has a separate "*way*" (*Tarik*) of spiritual culture. The "*way*" is derived from some good man of old, to whom it was permitted thereby to reach great piety. The founder or founders of each system receive the title of *Pir*, or elder, and are almost worshiped by the members of the order, because they are supposed to have the power of intercession, much as the Christian saints are regarded in the

Eastern churches as potent intercessors in times of trouble. The members of the order are *Ikhvan*, or brethren, in three grades: (1) The *Mureeds*, or novices; (2) the *Saliks*, or walkers in the way; and (3) the *Ehl Ullah*, or men of God, who have reached the gardens of truth to which the "way" leads.

Dervishes are not monks in any sense, although some voluntarily devote themselves to celibacy; not all dervishes live under the same roof who worship in the same *Tekkiah*, or chapel. Such is the thirst for what is more spiritual than the ordinary doctrines of Islam that thousands of Moslems are members of the fraternities who only go to the *Tekkies* for the weekly worship. Some go through the whole course of culture in one order after another in their thirst for the teaching that shall satisfy the longing of their souls. Many of the highest Pashas of the empire are dervishes, and keep their own special Sheikh, or spiritual guide, in their houses. How far they profit by alternation between the spiritual and the political is a question not to be decided in this place.

The head of each *Tekkiah* is a Sheikh, also called a *Murshid*, or guide. If he is extraordinarily holy he is called a *Veli*, or saint, and is believed to have miraculous powers. All dervishes believe in theurgy, that is, they hold that communion with God has the effect to give the favored one miraculous powers, the only condition being that the Veli or saint so endowed be truly cleansed by his spiritual gifts from all sinful passion, and be in spiritual communion with God at the time of the exercise of these powers. The books are full of the most extraordinary stories of feats of mind-reading, of magnetism or mesmerism, and of telepathy performed by the ancient saints of the dervishes. When Sheikh Obeidullah was in Constantinople hundreds flocked to see him and receive the benefits of his presence. Men of all ranks would throw themselves at his feet, and sit there for hours with closed eyes, drinking in his spiritual influence. But I was solemnly told that sometimes one would appear there who was a mere hypocrite or a spy, and that the Sheikh would know him instantly, and without a word would drive him from the room by the simple power of his will. Of course these pretensions, be they founded on the mysteries of personal magnetism or merely on the imagination of the subjects, invite all kinds of jugglery and charlatanism to an open field. A few years ago a Sheikh in Constantinople announced to his followers that Riza Bey, a great man in Damascus, had the previous day taken the vows of a novice in their order, and that the next mail would bring letters reporting the fact. The promised letters duly came, and the fraternity rejoiced over this proof of the miraculous power of their Sheikh. But some misbeliever suggested the telegraph as an explanation of knowledge of a distant event less mysterious than the one which they had adopted. From that day to this the members of that order are tormented by the thought, "Perhaps it was the telegraph after all."

The exercises of the dervishes consist of the *Zikr*, or "recitation" of the name or attributes of God; the *Tevejjuh*, or "inclination" of the heart toward the object which they desire to approach; and the *Merakebe*, or serious "contemplation," wherein the thoughts are restrained from leaving the God whom they seek. These exercises are assisted by the *Jeube*, or "attraction" believed to be exercised by God toward the devotee, and by an effort of the imagination called the *Rabita*, or "bond," which holds the dervish to the Sheikh who leads him, or to God. The

nature of the bond to God is thus set forth by the Nakshibendi writer Shems ed Din: "It has been noticed that there is no flavor in worship or in prayer or recitation where this bond does not exist. Now if you think to yourself, 'I cannot see God, but God sees me, and knows all that I do, for he encircles the universe,' and if you think this without forgetting it for a moment, until after a month or so you have made it the state of mind in which you live, and from which you cannot depart, to this state they give the name of *Rabita* (bond), through it you will find pleasure in worship, and the flesh and the devil will be disappointed in their tricks and their evil." In another place the same writer says that the *Rabita* is really merely a figurative intimacy with God.

By the *Zikr*, the dervish frees himself of the worldly thoughts which he dreads; by the "inclination," he acquires a special relation to God which opens the way for the outpouring of divine grace into the heart; and by the "contemplation," he arrives at the experience of an attraction that draws him into a spiritual union with God.

It is not necessary to remark of the theories or of the exercises of the dervishes, that they are largely based upon the usages of that strange mysticism which has ever fascinated the Asiatic mind, and which is responsible for so many of the heresies of the Christian Church in its earlier ages. This fact may diminish the interest with which we receive from the dervishes their statements of doctrine and of the object which they seek. If by the knowledge of God they mean the visions of a disordered mind; if by communion with God they mean the ecstatic state into which a much abused body may fall as the result of purely physical exercises; if by freedom from the dominion of the animal nature they mean an exaltation that permits them to fancy their souls no longer responsible for the deeds of their bodies, — they are simply following ancient pagans into an abyss of mental and moral hallucination from which there is no escape, and which certainly offers nothing new for the study of the Christian. Some dervish fraternities have no higher definition of the words which they so freely use than these. Some fraternities are gross pantheists, holding that union with God makes man one with God in attributes and power, and reveals everything as God. But the more we study the mysticism of the dervishes, the more shall we see that we cannot from the tenets of one order frame a system of doctrinal definition that shall apply to all. We cannot say that the dervishes are pantheists because some of the orders are so. We cannot frame a sentence that shall truly characterize all dervishes in their religious belief.

In order to the better explanation of the teachings and the objects of the more moderate of the dervish orders, I propose to give in some detail the course of training of a novice in the Nakshibendi *Tarik* or "way." It is necessary to remember, however, that, so far as I know, this is the most spiritually disposed of all the dervish fraternities. The theories of this order must not be given any greater extension than is implied in their use to illustrate the general plan of the methods used by dervishes to train the inner man.

The Nakshibendi order claims to be derived from the Caliph Abu Bekr, and therefore its "recitations" are all silent. Its name signifies "The way of the artists," for its votaries see at every stage of progress lights and forms and glories before their closed eyes, and they regard these pictures as proofs of high value. The chief of the ancient teachers of this order lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Central

Asia. One of its greatest lights, Khoja Obeidullah, of Tashkend, is buried at Merv in Turkestan. The books from which the following statements are derived are the "*Reshihat I ain I Hayat*" (Drops from the Fountain of Life), written in 1492; the "*Miftah ul Kuloub*" (Key to the Heart), the "*Merakebe*" (Contemplation), and the "*Resale I Pendie*" (Advice) of the Sheikh Shems ed Din, who lived in Constantinople about fifty years ago; the "*Hidayet ul Talibin*" (Guidance for Seekers) written by the Sheikh Ebu Said, of Delhi, in India, together with a tract of a certain Hafiz Mehmed, of Constantinople, and the Hymns of the Moslem poetess, Sheref Hanum, also of Constantinople.

The fundamental principles of this order are set forth in the *Reshihat* (p. 26) as the following: 1. Save every breath; that is regarding the exhalation of breath, as the pronunciation of the name of God, made by every living creature, always have God in mind when breathing. (The letter H, the last letter of the word Allah, is used by mystics as the symbol for the whole name.) 2. Look to the feet; this being interpreted as implying both carefulness as to all actions and entire attention to the "way." 3. Journey at home; that is, be a traveler from evil morals and human qualities to pure morals and angelic qualities, and regard the state of a pilgrim as the natural state of man. 4. Have your private room in society; that is, have your heart so full of God that in society you are still with God. 5. Recite with both tongue and heart; that is, let your heart be more occupied than your tongue in prayer. 6. Use discrimination between right and wrong; that is, see that you constantly turn to God with desire to find Him. 7. Keep your mind; that is, keep it in the line of the return to God. 8. Never forget God; that is, be always in his presence and so acquire firm continuance.

In what follows, much will be said of annihilation, of union with God, of communion with Him, and of knowledge of Him. These terms are explained in the "*Hidayet ul Talibin*" to be: Annihilation, the putting away of self through the inclination of the heart to God, just as the lover who is thinking of the object of his affections or of being with her knows nothing of his bodily surroundings. Union with God, attaining to God, and seeing God are defined as being different terms for the same thing, in no sense a personal union, as some hold; for, says the author, "It is against the law of God, against sense, and against logic that a personal union be possible; it is merely the annihilation of the natural desires and selfishness and the egoism of the disciple, and his absorption in the contemplation of God. When we say that a man has joined himself to or is united with another, we do not mean bodily union, but the union of interests. This is the meaning of union with God. There is no divergence between man and his God." The theory on which are based the exercises of this order is set forth in the "*Merakebe*" of Shems ed Din in this way: The soul of man has two natures, the animal nature and the royal spiritual nature. The one responds to the natural (literally, glorious) attributes of God, and dreads Him; the other responds to his moral (literally, beautiful) attributes, and would love Him. The animal nature has made insurrection against the royal spiritual nature, and insists on avoiding all thought of God, and gratifying the animal passions. Before man can come into communion with God and enjoy his moral perfections, therefore, the animal nature must be brought into subjection to the royal and spiritual nature. This can be accomplished in two ways: first, by direct attack on the animal nature by ascetic practices (the way

followed by the purely Arab orders of dervishes); or, second, by culture of the spiritual nature. The first way is hard, and few make any real progress before death stops the struggle. The second way is easy, for if the spiritual nature is brought into its true relation to God, the heart has no room for other wishes than to know Him, and the animal nature has to submit. This culture of the soul, according to the "Hidayet ul Talibin," should be entered upon with this thought, "Whatever believing man, or believing woman, seeks the mercies and limitless gifts of God, with love and fidelity, God forbid that the Lord, the giver of gifts, should leave such a one without the guidance which he needs. Fix this in your heart, and try to keep your heart, which is the abode and treasure-house of God, and of which you are the doorkeeper, from the warriors of devilish desires, and from all anxieties for the body."

The process by which these dervishes seek this cultivation of the spiritual nature is as follows:—

The man who wishes to become a Mureed in this fraternity must find a perfect guide. Directions are accordingly given as to how the perfect guide may be known, and directions as to what the man must do to find the "way" if no perfect guide can be found in his vicinity. In the latter case the hope of the postulant must be in the fact that God will not suffer any one to fail of finding Him who shall sincerely and diligently seek Him. Having found his guide, the postulant asks to be initiated, and the Murshid, or guide, tells him to pray that night for guidance by a dream, he himself also praying for guidance as to the course to be pursued. The dreams of that night are supposed to contain some indication as to whether it is well for this particular postulant to follow the "way" of the Nakshibendis, for different natures require different treatment. The answer being favorable to the admission of the postulant, the Murshid, that is to say the Sheikh or a man delegated by him, places the novice in front of him, both kneeling, knee touching knee, for the exercise called "inclination." This consists in the effort of the novice to incline all his thoughts toward the heart of his guide. The Sheikh also fixes his own thoughts on the heart of the novice, in an ardent desire to impart to it a glow of spiritual fervor; and in order to increase his personal influence he places his forehead against the forehead of the novice. This exercise of "inclination" continues in perfect silence for ten or fifteen minutes. Then the Sheikh takes the right hand of the novice in his own, and administers to him the covenant of the fraternity. This consists of five articles: 1. To keep up the ablutions prescribed by the Koran. 2. To perform the regular Moslem services of worship. 3. To make up all past neglect in the matter of fasts or of worship. 4. Absolutely to refrain from saying what is not true, and from calumny or talebearing. 5. To be against no man, but to continue in prayer for the forgiveness of sin, regarding Mohammed as the one mediator with God. Aside from these articles of the covenant the novice has to remember that he has taken the Sheikh to be his spiritual guide, and the Sheikh being actuated only by the desire to aid him in the spiritual life, he must learn to pay absolute and unquestioning obedience to every command of the Sheikh.

Every day the novice must exercise the "inclination," by kneeling, in a state of ceremonial cleanness, in a private place, facing Mecca, and strongly directing his thoughts upon the object to which he wishes to become assimilated. Every such sitting begins with the prayer, "I

beseech thee, O great God, to pardon me, thou like whom there is no other. I repent of my sins to him. I ask him to pardon me and to accept of my repentance, to lead me in the true 'way,' and to have mercy on all those who repent of their sins." The sitting of "inclination" lasts from a quarter of an hour to an hour, according to the ability of the novice, for in this fraternity the fact is everywhere recognized that the men have diversity of gifts and cannot be bound by iron rules. At first the whole object of the "inclination" is to establish a bond between the Sheikh and the novice. For this purpose the whole attention of the novice is directed during the "inclination" to the thought that he is placing his heart by the side of the heart of the Sheikh, receiving from it streams of God's grace, or enveloping himself in the being of the Sheikh for the same purpose. At the same time the novice has to cultivate the feeling at all times, no matter what he is doing, that his hand is in the hand of his Sheikh, and the Sheikh's eye is upon him. After a few days, or longer in some cases, during one of the sittings for inclination, while the novice is sitting with closed eyes and with the Sheikh in his heart, he sees in his silent thought the whole of his being absorbed in the being of his Sheikh. He himself is not longer existent, his Sheikh is in his place. This is the first step in his spiritual life. If this experience is too long delayed, the Sheikh examines the man to see if some part of his heart is reserved from the purpose to find God. He also gives the man extra sittings for personal contact and "inclination," always taking care to rest his forehead against that of the novice, and to incline his heart strongly toward him, with the unspoken prayer, "O Lord, direct this man in the true way." Besides these private exercises the novice takes his place in the weekly assembly for the service of recitation, receiving the same aid of the personal "inclination" of the Sheikh as the others; each one in turn in these assemblies being favored by the Sheikh sitting in front of him and touching his forehead for several minutes while praying for his benefit.

After the novice has once become lost in the personality of his Sheikh, seeming to be annihilated as above described, he becomes a *Salik*, or walker in the way. He now adds to the prayer for forgiveness the recitation of the first chapter of the Koran: "Praise be to God the Lord of all creatures; the most merciful, the King of the Day of Judgment. Thee do we worship. Of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious; not of those with whom thou art displeased, nor of those who go astray." The object of his "inclination" is now no longer the Sheikh, but the prophet Mohammed. The process goes on until the novice has in his meditations a vision of the person of the prophet, and has lost himself in the being of the prophet. Then commences the work of restoring his soul to its right functions. Again the Sheikh sits with him, and tells him to turn his thoughts on his own heart, describing it to him as a conical object situated two inches below the left breast. The novice must try to suspend all motions of the body, to hold his breath as much as possible, and while in this posture to repeat the name *Allah* three thousand times in his heart. He is to try to make his heart say it. He is on no account to allow any worldly thought to come into his mind, and if he follows the rule, his Sheikh helping him by silent prayer and strong will power directed upon the heart of the novice, he will suddenly see before his eyes a brilliant red or a rosy color that will surprise him with its beauty.

This color shows that the heart has been restored to its original state, and he can hereafter alone and unassisted bring the red color to view whenever he takes the proper means. In the same way the man is made to bring his soul (which, by the way, is located two inches below the right breast), his spirit, his consciousness, his mind, and his whole nature into the new relation of answering to the spiritual impulse produced by the silent recitation of the name of God. Each one of these parts of the nature has to be taken in turn,—five hundred recitations being added to the list at each step of progress,—so that at the last the Salik must repeat the name of God six thousand times before he can see by the change of the light before his eyes from red to yellow, to green, to white, to black, and finally to orange, that all parts of his inward nature have been affected by the spiritual influence, and have come back to their original relation to God, and are ready to respond to his moral perfections. At the close of this series of experiences he can hear with his bodily ears, says the book, every member of his body saying “O God, O God.”

The “walker” in the “way” now seeks to feel himself ever in the very presence of God. His downsitting and his uprising, his sleeping and his waking, are with God’s presence felt in his heart. His soul has begun to return to its original likeness to God, he has by this means to reach communion with God. This can only be a gift of God, in answer to the persistent cry for it. The desire must be in the heart in all circumstances, while busy with the daily occupations, in the street, in the house, in the private chamber of contemplation. The exercises so far performed have given the dervish control over himself to some extent. He has now to seek a proper understanding of what God is. To this end he has changed the object of his daily “inclination” to God; and his “recitation” becomes the phrase of the unity: “There is no God but God.” At the beginning of the course this phrase means to the Salik “there is none to worship save God.” At a later period it means “there is no object to seek save God,” and finally it means to him, “there is none existent save God.” At this part of the course the Salik adds to his daily prayers the 112th chapter of the Koran, which is in these words: “God is one God; the eternal God; He begetteth not, neither is He begotten, and there is not any one like unto Him.”

In order to have a true sense of the unity of God the Salik must at the time of his “inclination” imagine himself to be writing the declaration of God’s unity on his person. With breath held in, lips firmly closed, and tongue turned back on his palate he must strive to write it (*la ila il Allah*) three times before he draws breath. At the writing of “*la*” he must think all, even himself, to be annihilated. At the word “*ila*” he thinks ‘there is naught but God,’ and at the “*il Allah*” he feels ‘but God is.’ Then in the release of his breath he says, “Mohammed is the prophet of God.” Remembering that Mohammed is his means of access to God, and at the end the aspiration, he says in his heart, “I seek thee, O God, thy favor I desire.” This should continue through twenty-one breathings, and if the exercise fails to lead to any manifestation of God’s presence, the man must try to repeat the phrase of unity as before seven times in each breath. Then if he is truly free from desires save for the presence of God, he will suddenly find himself visible to his own closed eyes, entirely bathed in light from head to foot.

The Salik must now more completely banish the idea of pleasing himself, must annihilate himself if possible. "He has not two hearts that he may occupy one with the world while he occupies the other with God." He must see to it that he cleanse his inner man from all sins, else all that he does in the way of religious exercises will only make his state worse than before. But if he turns his single heart to God, a window will be opened in his heart toward God, and through that window the sun of God's grace will begin to flash its rays. (Reshihat, p. 148.) The Salik must avoid all quarrels or discussions with others, observing his regular religious duties with scruple, and reading books that will help him. Yet he must be careful to avoid letting his reading take the place of direct communion with God. If he does this, remarks Saad ed Din in the "Reshihat," (p. 149), he is a greater fool than the man at Bagdad who lived in the palace in constant converse with the king, but who, hearing that the people of Damascus had been much benefited by certain letters from the king, left the king's presence and journeyed to Damascus for the sake of reading the letters.

The Salik may now take up the exercise of contemplation (Merakebe). In the "contemplation" the Salik must kneel as in the "inclination" with the face toward Mecca, and remain without motion or thought, leaving himself as though dead in the hands of his God, from one to three hours each day. While in this exercise, he will suddenly see that his words and his thoughts are from outside of himself, — that he is merely an interpreter for God. Then he will perceive that every sound which he hears is from God; that the beasts and the birds and the trees and the rocks and the hills, down to the smallest atom of matter, are interpreters, speaking for God. But he must still keep fear in his heart and be faithful to his duties. And again, while, lost in love and desire, he is busy with his meditations, he will perceive by the grace of God that he himself is like a tree, moved only of God, and that he and all creatures are merely instruments in the hand of God. At another time it will be manifested to him that he is a mirror in which the character of God is reflected, and again all created objects will be seen to him to be mirrors, reflecting each in its own color the attributes of God. And as he goes on in his meditations with more earnestness and desire, and asking more spiritual aid from his perfect guide, there will come a time when he shall see himself seized as with a great earthquake, shaken to pieces, and burned to ashes. Self will be annihilated, and only God will be seen to be in the whole universe. Then he will hear voices saying to him, "With thee I am well pleased. Thou hast worked well, and thou mayest rest from thy labors." But the faithful Salik will cry, "Have mercy, have mercy. It is meet that thy servant while clothed in garments of flesh should ever serve thee." And with more perfect attention and homage to God he will continue his "inclination," his "recitations," and his "contemplation" with a sincerity and perseverance beyond anything that he has before known. "At last," says the author of the "Miftah ul Kuloub," "with a tenderness and a grace which no man can understand, the Almighty admits the Salik to the position of feeling, wherever he is and whatever he does, that he must cry out, "Behold God, God is there." His increasing love and earnestness and pure homage and uprightness of heart then make it possible for God to show the man to himself as he is, in a vast plain of annihilation, without family, without goods, without good works, or obedience, or service, a bankrupt on the mercy of God. In bright sun-

shine all will seem to be annihilated in nature ; there will be no rocks, no trees, no hills, no people, no friends, and even no self. For by the side of the revelation of the presence of God, all that is seems but as a breath, and even that comparison puts too high a value upon things created. When God is revealed, all else that is, is set aside as perishable and as nothing.

Still the Salik presses on in his work, with new earnestness and ardent love, and new cravings for the spiritual aid of his perfect guide, until he can see himself as with God in all things. And therefore he is able to do anything. "It is an indescribable experience as if all that is were obedient to him, not for himself, but for God. And once more he hears the voice in his heart, this time from the glorious one himself, saying, "I have given thee the knowledge of the ancients and of the moderns, go teach my servants, and bring them to me." Then a garment of righteousness is wrapped about him, and the law of Mohammed is placed like a crown on his forehead, and he has learned the secret of the verse of the Koran, "All that is returns to its origin."

The Salik continues his work until to some few men it is given to reach in this life the experience of becoming swallowed up in the sense of God's personal being. The drop is received in the ocean of God's being. And yet he is not known to others to be in this state save from his works. As the writer of the "Merakebe" says, to show how entirely these experiences are of the inner life, "Joseph we sought in the land of Canaan, Joseph we found, but never Canaan." A state cannot be told in words ; this gift of God is not to be told in words ; to him who knows, the hints of which language is capable are sufficient."

This manifestation of God is the end of the Salik's career. It is the end of the walk with God. But it is the A-B-C of the walk in God. For the Salik now becomes a man of God who takes all his thoughts and all his wishes from God alone, and truly walking in him ; whatever he does or wherever he is, in the market or in the house, in company or alone, he is ever in the fullest communion with God, receiving new manifestations of his glory. And to the man of God who walks in God, there is no possible end of progress. Were he by the favor of God to live a thousand years, and to have a manifestation of God's glory at every breath, each such manifestation would be a new one. Of the knowledge of God there is no end. Hence at this stage the man of God has but just commenced his growth. The "way" has been completed, the Salik is in the garden of truth, but he has an eternity in which to taste its fruits, and to enjoy its flowers.

These rhapsodies seem to refer to some state of mind that can be fully accounted for on the ground of strong appeals to the imagination throughout the strange course of training adopted for bringing a man to God. Yet that this is not all which some at least of the dervishes are led to know of God in spite of the manner of their effort to devote themselves to him, will, I think, appear from their writings.

The idea that the near relation to God with constant turning of the thoughts to Him will finally give man miraculous powers belongs to all the dervish sects. The old dervish writers speak of it as a fact well known, but recommend moderation in using such powers lest they be misused. In the writings of Shems ed Din, theurgy is treated as a real danger to the seeker after God, as tending to produce self-conceit and self-deception. While warning his readers against the danger of coveting

miraculous powers, he adds by way of argument "The Christian priests can do these same things, and every one knows that their Sheikh is Satan himself; hence the possession of the powers to work miracles does not necessarily prove any special gift from God." On the same subject, the Nakshibendi Sheikh Obeidullah of Kourdistan, whose flight from Constantinople to the Persian frontier was at the time supposed by many of the common people to have been accomplished in a single night, and in the disguise of a small green bird, and whose beard-trimmings are yet in demand as a local application in cases of infantile colic, said to me, "The worst thing in the world is this belief in the acquirement of miraculous powers by nearness to God. If our Sheikhs can do miracles, why don't they change bad men into good? If they can kill a demon in the bottom of a well, why don't they kill the devil and done with it? Miracles, to be from God, must be of some value." But if the dervishes are warned to avoid the idea of making the acquirement of such powers an object of their exercises, they are urged to seek by these exercises a change of the nature, that shall lead to control of the animal passions and to purity of life. The point insisted upon is the necessity of living for God alone, and of a reform of the sinful nature. Throughout the exercises the man is warned that he will need to have divine help to make his declaration of devotion honest. He is warned that he must have the help of a perfect guide, not only for moral support, and safe instruction, but for the sake of having a model to whom he can conform his own principles of life. He is to try to follow the life of Mohammed, but as this is perhaps too far away for him to understand, he is to take the life of his *Pir*, and try in all things to conform to it. And all the time he is to remember that the help of Mohammed as intercessor is his if he will ask it. The "Miftah ul Kuloub" gives at this point a prayer which might almost be the prayer of a Christian adapted to this purpose: "I know that thou art the truth. Thou art all in the whole world, thou art the king of the two worlds (material and spiritual). Intercede, oh sent of God. Who finds thee finds God, who sees thee sees God. Thou art the mine of truth, intercede, oh sent of God." (Miftah ul Kuloub, p. 14.) By seeking to gain the knowledge of God, by the aid of an intercessor with God, and by the copying the pure life of a perfect guide, the *Salik* is expected to reach the goal thus described by the Hoja ala ed Din, who lived near Bokhara about 1370, "the object is that the *Salik* shall put away, by his own choice, everything that is a hindrance in the way to God. To accomplish this every bond to the earth must be set before the eyes. Those bonds which the *Salik* finds that he is able to sever are not hindrances in the way to God, and they need not be attacked. But whatever one of these bonds is tied about the heart so that it cannot be cast off, that is a hindrance to remove which measures must be taken." (Reshihat, p. 97.) The same old teacher used to tell his disciples that their only hope of success lay in their knowing their sinfulness, and regarding their weakness and folly as a reason why God will give them his help, and then to take refuge in the mercy and grace of God. (Reshihat, p. 101.) It is a surprise to see the sense of sin in Moslem writings, but the idea is repeated again and again that the nearer the man comes to God the greater will be his sense of his own sinfulness, and the greater the terror of falling. When the *Salik* has his first revelation of light, he will consider himself already almost a saint; but as he advances, he will learn how far he is from this point. Still he must press on, basing his hope of success upon

the principle that God is ever ready to hear the repentant sinner, and to show him the divine beauty in order to save him from the power of sin.

In this same line of the sense of sinfulness is a prayer which I am told is used by the Kurds of Jevanrud, among whom the Nakshibendi doctrines have considerable vitality. These children of the ancient fire-worshippers are said to stand wherever they may be at the going down of the sun, and to say: "O Lord, this is the greatest of thy creatures, and now it passes from our sight. We know not if we shall ever see it again; but until it again comes to light the world, keep us safe from harm. Its light has fallen on my sin; O Lord, in mercy let my sin go from me as the sun goes to the depths of the sea. While life continues, as we see thy great sun from day to day, so let us see with every sun new mercies from thy hand."

This same feeling of unworthiness and of hope only in God is interesting in the writings of the Turkish poetess Sheref Hanum, an ardent Mussulman, evidently taught by some of the Mystics. One extract will suffice.

A PRAYER.

"Should'st thou not show me pity, Lord,
Who then will gifts of grace afford?
My every state is known to thee;
Oh make thy grace a guide to me.
My Lord, oh my Lord!

"The portion of my life is pain,
No day but brings me grief again;
In daily round of groans and tears,
The soreness of my strait appears,
My Lord, oh my Lord!

"Oh source of kindness and of love
Who givest aid all hopes above!
'Mid grief and guilt although I grope,
From Thee I'll ne'er cut off my hope.
My Lord, oh my Lord!

"Thou, King of kings, dost know my need,
Thy pardoning grace no bars can heed,
Thou lov'st to help the helpless one
And bidd'st his cries of fear be done.
My Lord, oh my Lord!

"Should'st thou refuse to still my fears
Who else will stoop to dry my tears
For I am guilty, guilty still,
No other one has done so ill;
My Lord, oh my Lord!

"The lost in torment stand aghast
To see this rebel's sin so vast.
What wonder then that Sheref cries
For mercy, mercy ere she dies.
My Lord, oh my Lord!"

But this state of feeling is not the natural feeling of man, according to the dervish ideas. With the Oriental love for minute classification, they have six stages of moral progress recorded in their philosophy.

The first condition of man is that of the imperious nature; it is one of complete deadness to God and to moral purity, "and the man who is in this state," says Shems ed Din in the "*Merakebe*" ("that is, most Moslems, and," he is careful to add, "all Christians"), "is unaware of any pleasure but the pleasure of the senses." When the *Salik* has begun his work, he passes into the stage of "reproach," or what we should call conviction of sin, a state where he is beginning to wish to control himself, but finds that he falls repeatedly into sin, and is terrified by the fact. In this stage his tears are like boiling water. When the man has reached the gardens of truth, he reaches the stage of divine control, where his animal nature is held in restraint by the power of God, but still rebels, and causes lapses that bring tears to his eyes, but these tears "are of the temperature of lukewarm water." After the *Salik* has made more progress, the sight of God's perfections brings him to the stage of submission, where the animal nature submits to be governed by the spiritual nature, only rarely trying, by diverse tricks, to overthrow the throne of its sovereignty. When it succeeds in such attempts, the man falls back only to the stage next below (that of divine control), and hence the tears which he sheds at his lapses are only "of the temperature of ordinary cold water." Next the man reaches the stage where the animal nature is ready to serve the spiritual nature in content, and only makes occasional rebellions, when Satan makes some determined effort to destroy the man. The last stage of progress is moral perfection, which no man can reach by effort, but which four or five men in each century do reach by the special gift of God. The power which produces these changes of nature, according to the dervish theory, is the revelation of the perfection of God. "Man's will," says Shems ed Din, "is like the star, which is extinguished when the sun rises. When man is granted the gift of union with God, his will is swallowed up in the manifestation of God's glory. After such an experience the man again acts by his own free will, but it is no more the same as that which we mean when we speak of the free will of man; it is a new will that can never bear to be taking one step away from the favor of God."

This change of nature, from sin to purity of life, is urged upon the reader with considerable force by this same writer. When he would call out the feeling that should drive man to God, he says: "Remember that you are sick, that all your friends have given you up, and the only friend who is willing to stay by you is God." The horrible condition of the sinner, and the folly of regarding the effort to abandon sin as too great to be made, he sets forth by the likeness of a wretched outcast burning without and within with a leprosy, to whom comes a man with tidings that the king has set apart a palace expressly for him, and that he can be admitted to it as soon as he can submit his body to inspection, and show it to be free from the smallest pimple, and to whom this bringer of good tidings offers an ointment, composed of the four ingredients, fear of God, love of God, obedience to God, and patience in God, — an ointment warranted to cure, but which the wretched leper rejects because it burns a little when first applied. The folly of expecting God to disregard sin is set forth by the declaration that the man is making his heart a dung-hill, every day throwing into it things that he would not expect his best friend to look at without disgust, and which he nevertheless expects God to look at and give his blessing in spite of its filth. The uselessness of hoping to build up holiness without a change of heart is enforced by the illustration of a

man building a palace on a powder magazine. He gets his house done, and the magazine explodes and blows the whole to atoms. Again the man builds, and another explosion knocks the house to pieces as before. The only way to build that house is to first clean out the powder from under the foundations. But in man's heart are any number of bags of powder : pride, malice, lust, envy, etc., and these will explode and destroy the fairest structure of good works unless to the last one they are carefully removed. To try to build a holy life by prayers and fastings while the heart is unchanged, is like trying to cure boils, due to bad blood, by wiping off the matter with the handkerchief. They may be dried, but they cannot be cured until some medicine that will correct the blood is used internally.

The Sheikh goes into particulars of the method of curing the internal ills by the "shortest cut." He says, "Make these four things the habit of your life : 1. Know yourself to be the lowest of God's creatures, and act accordingly in your relations to others. 2. Put all your faults and your sins before your face, and wait upon God for forgiveness. 3. Hold your own impotence before you, that you may see the power of God. 4. Cry for mercy, cry with the cry of the man whose ship has sunk in the middle of the ocean and left him on a bare rock, with all help cut off and his business finished unless God takes pity on him. As that man clinging with both hands to that rock cries, so cry in every breath for the mercy of God. The way to form this habit of life," says the Sheikh, "is to perform your ablutions, sit down in a quiet place on a prayer rug, and imagine your clay returned to its several elements, and you left face to face with your soul in the midst. Then say, O soul, long time have we been doing these many wrongs and sins. We have never once been ashamed of ourselves ; we have never once thought of our sins, nor have we ever asked forgiveness. Come, now, let us this day make an agreement together before the Almighty. Let us acknowledge ourselves the lowest of his creatures, set our sins before our face, and taking our weakness in our hand, let us stand before the gate of mercy, and never cut off our hope from the tender mercy of God, letting the thing we most covet be God and his favor. Having made this agreement with your soul, be constant in holding to it, and may God give us all success. Amen."

As we read these books we cannot fail to be struck with indignation on seeing how fully the character of Christ is attributed to Mohammed ; how Mohammed is made the perfect example for all men to follow, to be distantly imitated, but never copied, in actual fact ; how he is made the mediator between man and God, the daily helper of his people, and how, in the visions of the prophet, the dervish sees him on a throne surrounded by saints and angels, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob at his feet, and all looking to him as the one to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth. As we read the lives of the Dervish Fathers we cannot fail to be filled with disgust at stories to match the wildest flights of fancy of the Christian hagiographers of the Middle Ages. We cannot keep up our interest when asked to wade through pages of minute details of a physical treatment for spiritual ills. The whole philosophy of this part of the system is from pagan sources. And yet with all this there is much to attract the heart of the Christian. I promised, on beginning this paper, to raise, and not solve, questions. On rising from these readings I confess that my mind is a reiterated interrogation point. The people who have written these books are Moslems. They believe in the

Koran as the revealed law of God, in Mohammed as the one prophet by whom in these days men are taught the truth, and they regard this belief, with observance of the worship, fasts, pilgrimage, alms-giving, and general system of morals prescribed by the Koran, as the essentials of salvation, and they are certain that the non-fulfillment by any man of the whole Moslem law will subject the culprit to punishment in hell to the extent required by retributive justice. But between the doctrines held by these writers and those of the ordinary Moslem there is a marked difference. The ordinary Moslem regards religion as something mainly important as a means of escape from perdition, and as entirely distinct from character, the character of every man being fixed by the eternal decrees of God. He believes that the verbal profession of faith in God and in Mohammed as his prophet, will ultimately give any man access to Paradise, after he has by good works done in spite of the character which God has seen fit to give him, offset his sins, or after he has suffered in hell punishment in proportion to the amount of unrepented sin which is not balanced off by good works.

These dervish writers, on the other hand, regard religion as the natural expression of homage and sincere love to God, and as of the greatest importance in opening the door of escape from the dominion of sin in this life. They seem to have some idea of the worthlessness of man's highest merit in the sight of God, feeling that what will save the sincere servant of God is God's mercy, in spite of sins that pollute the record of the purest life,¹ and they believe that since man knows not the decrees of God, he must hopefully turn to God, with the expectation of a change of character by the divine grace.²

¹ See *Merakebe*.

² See *Miftah ul Kuloub* on Predestination, p. 59 seq.

All the best writings of the Moslem mystics centre about the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The writers were men from Central Asia or East Persia, — from Balkh, Samarcand, Bokhara, and Khorassan. Now in the fourteenth century Christian missions had already existed in Central Asia for a thousand years, with mission houses at Balkh and Samarcand. In the thirteenth century, under Jenghis Khan, Christians and Moslems alike were tolerated in those remote regions, on condition of their living together in peace. In fact, in Central Asia only has Islam ever been in close contact, on an equality, with a living Christianity. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, mysticism and the quietism to which some of the dervish theories bear so strong a resemblance were rife in the Christian church. As we find among the egregious follies of the dervishes the attitude and usages of the omphalo-psychoi of Mount Athos, with the Taboritic light which John Cantacuzene incorporated among the doctrines of the Greek Church; or when we see in some orders the license of the brethren of the free spirit, we would prefer to discover in such perversities signs of a reverse process of derivation. But when we find among some of the dervishes purer notions of spiritual piety, with desire for reform, and confidence that God will change the heart of him who seeks the change in humility and sincerity, we cannot avoid wishing to see here, at least, a heritage from the Christians of Central Asia, among whom the dervish great men lived until Tamerlane wiped out Asiatic Christianity as with a sponge. This field is a tempting one for research. Perhaps it was not a mere coincidence that when Abd el Khalik, the Nakshibendi of Bokhara, was leaving as his dying injunction to his disciples the words: "Let your prayers be humble, your companions the poor, your house a house of worship, and your intimate friend the Almighty God," at almost the same time the followers of Thomas à Kempis were placing on his tomb the words:—

"Oh where is peace, for thou its paths hast trod?
In poverty, retirement, and with God."

It is hardly needful to call attention to the advantage possessed by the Moslem who has faith to ask of God a change of his heart and its desires over the Moslem who, without such faith, sees no door of escape from the dominion of sin in this life.

When Sheikh Obeidullah was in Constantinople I had a talk with him on the subject of the change of heart which God's spirit can effect. He was fully as much astonished to learn that there are Christians who believe in the necessity of regeneration as I was to hear him say that he had seen repeated instances of it through the spirit of God working in the hearts of his own followers, the men having been turned from vice to purity and piety. Afterwards he remarked to one of his Moslem friends, referring to this talk, and to his acquaintance with American missionaries in Persia: "To say that these Americans are not the people of God's guidance is to confess one's self a fool. Yet if we believe the Koran, we must say that these people are unbelievers, or be unbelievers ourselves. For my part, I hold that in the sight of God an unbeliever of this sort and a Moslem are both one."

Now I do not wish to be understood as overestimating the importance of the emotions and aspirations set forth in these Nakshibendi writings. We all know how often, as we come into closer relations with these people, the whole mass of such religious expression becomes like a picture without real substance. Yet, in view of the strain of piety that seems to run through these dervish manuals, and in view of the unquestioned fact that there are isolated cases of Moslems taught by the dervishes who seem to be pure and godly men, I would ask: Is it disloyalty to Christ to believe that Moslems who throw scorn upon the Christian theology, but who go to God in the trembling faith that the giver of all good will not disappoint and break the hearts of those who seek Him in humble sincerity, is it disloyalty to Christ to believe that such men may find God when they seek Him, and that the searcher of hearts may acknowledge them as his own?

Again, if there is a spiritual life outside of Christ in which God feeds the soul; if that life is built up under circumstances which fill the mind of the devotee with the bitterest contempt for all that is Christian; if the form of Islam which such devotees follow is, and the only form of Christianity which they know is not, seen to yield fruit in spiritual piety; if the whole mass of the people see and know this, have we any particle of hope of influencing the mass of Moslems to seek salvation in any other way than the one which they know to be effective; at least, is not that hope vain until a living and pure Christianity is aroused in the dead churches which surround them?

Once more, if any of these dervish systems do, or in times past have done, anything to turn the hearts of men to pure life and godly faith, may we, in seeking to show Moslems the better way of simple dependence on Christ, use the terminology or the literature of the Dervish Fathers for Christian purposes, and if so, how far may we do it?

And, finally, since Asia, from time immemorial, has been moved by the tempting claim of the mystics to show the soul a way to the hidden things of God, shall we err, if, in seeking to show Christ to Asiatics, we sometimes begin by showing Him as the door to spiritual life on earth, as the one perfect guide whom they seek, and the revealer of the hidden mysteries of God, instead of beginning by preaching the doom of the sinner and the atoning sacrifice for sin?

The existence of a single instance of apparently pure, spiritual, and godly piety in a Moslem convinces Moslems who see it of the divine mission of Mohammed. Hence the occurrence of one such case suggests to the Christian missionary many hard questions. These, however, will suffice for this time. For myself, I have not, as I said, passed beyond the stage of feeling the difficulty of giving satisfactory answers to such questions. The only positive position which I seem to be near to reach on this subject is the belief that the key to the door by which Christianity may enter the Moslem mind is lost not far from the habitation of the dervishes, somewhere in that rubbish heap which covers so many jewels of truth.

Henry O. Dwight.

CONSTANTINOPLE, TURKEY.

A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS.

VI. JAPAN (*continued*).

IN accordance with our general plan, of gathering notes of each society from the beginning of the preceding year, we go back to the "Missionary Herald" for January, 1886, in which we find a note justifying the remark often made, that the Chinese and Japanese do everything in exactly the opposite way from us. "We learn that the First Church of Kioto, which had a pleasant edifice near the homes of its members where they were well accommodated, have just gone off three quarters of a mile and hired a building in a densely populated section, where they can better reach others with the gospel." What a curious people, to care more for the spreading of the gospel than for their own ecclesiastical ease! — The "Herald," speaking of proposals made in Japan to send Buddhist missionaries into Christendom, well remarks: "We do not expect to see many apostles of Buddhism in the United States, but were Japan to send them we have little doubt that her own temples would see more worshippers, and that the national faith would not lose its hold so rapidly as is now the case. Would that all Christians throughout the world understood the truth that the best way to conserve their faith at home is to propagate it abroad." — In November, 1886, the "Herald" says: "The Japan Missions have suffered greatly the past year for want of men to improve opportunities everywhere open for enlarged effort. For several years there has been no increase, but rather a falling off in the number of missionaries connected with the American Board. . . . Yet three new churches were organized during the year ending April 1, making the total number 31, of which 26 are self-supporting. To these churches were added 866 new members on confession of faith, making an aggregate membership of 3,465. Their contributions for Christian objects amounted to between nine and ten thousand dollars. Since April several other churches have been organized, bringing up the number to 35 or more, and the church membership at this date is probably little short of 4,000."

— A letter from "a fellow-laborer," describing a journey he had made to baptize a knot of converts gathered in by a converted noble of the illustrious and ancient house of Kusunoki, which in antiquity, if not in rank, rivals that of Savoy or Bavaria, says: "The trip was attended

with one of the pleasantest incidents of my residence in Japan. For the first time in my life I preached in a Buddhist temple, and at the invitation of the priest himself. I feared it was an impulsive action, the full meaning of which the priest did not understand, and I hesitated to do an act that might embarrass him and produce strife. But one of the Christians with me said, 'I've already preached there once, and the priest knows what he's about. He personally owns the greater part of the temple, and says that he is getting along in years and cares very little what people think; and if there's anything better than what he has learned heretofore he wants to know it.' So we rode to the village, took tea on the mats in a romantic parlor shaded with a Japanese maple that would have made an American nurseryman green with envy, and then we started for the *Temple of the Three Monkeys*. . . . The temple-hall was crowded, and the attention from first to last was excellent. . . . Since then I have noticed that a native newspaper had in its column of news the statement that in front of a temple near Osaka was a great signboard, on which was written: '*Christianity taught here.*' I will only add, in closing, that Buddhism in Japan is breaking down much faster than Christianity can take possession of the wrecks." — Mr. Atkinson, speaking of the revision of the treaties, says: "America stands ready to turn over its citizens and their interests to the care and keeping of the Japanese, but neither England nor Germany has yet reached that frame of mind. Because of this friendly attitude of the United States American missionaries meet with a kindly reception by almost all classes, and it is a string that can be pulled with good effect on such a crowd even as the one I met at Sakaide. The Apostle Paul did not hesitate to make use of his Roman citizenship on occasion, — and with good effect, — so I see no reason why we should not do the same with our American citizenship." — It appears that only one fourth of the professed Christians in Japan are females. As the membership increases this disparity decreases. The early notices of the Acts seem to agree with a similar assumption respecting the days next succeeding Pentecost. — Dr. Davis thus describes a mountain parish: "It is west of Kyoto fifteen miles, and consists of a rich alluvial plain ten miles long and half as wide, with a mountain district to the north, of equal extent. Eight years ago . . . there was not a Christian in it. Last Saturday a journey of four hours brought me to the house of the evangelist who works in this region, who gave up the mayoralty of his village to become an evangelist and Bible-seller. I sat down to dinner with this brother in his humble home; it consisted of boiled rice, boiled radishes, and boiled mountain potatoes." He then speaks of a leading farmer, whose house is much more elaborately finished than Dr. Davis's in Kyoto, and who, from the various tenant farmers of his twenty-five acres of land, receives about \$500 a year, making him the richest man in his village. "Sabbath morning we went on three miles farther to the centre of the parish, where the church has put a little building, 15x30 feet, in the plainest style, without outside aid. The church now numbers fifty members; they have never had a pastor. . . . One branch of this church is still nine miles farther north among the mountains. There are twenty members, who have of their poverty already fitted up two churches, the first one being burned down by hostile Buddhists. Among these twenty Christians is one old woman who has been a paralytic for many years, and she is now not able to move at all, and yet she is happier in her

new-found love and hope than any millionaire. Seven were baptized and received." The church at this time received a legacy from the mother of the evangelist, who divided her estate equally between it and her little granddaughter. Each moiety amounted to seventy cents. — The Rev. Dwight W. Learned, of Kyoto, pleading for new men, says: "Some young men may perhaps have been deterred from coming to Japan by the thought that the missionary work there is so far advanced that soon there will be no more need of foreigners. This is quite a mistake. It is true that Christianity is rapidly advancing, and that the Japanese are able to take a prominent place in the work, but no one who comes out now, or for several years to come, need fear that he will be discarded with his life half spent, if he is the man for the place. It is safe to say that for many years to come there will be work enough here for all workers who can be obtained. . . . The missionary here reaches all classes of the people . . . a people intensely patriotic, not ready to admit the rule of foreigners, but, in general, quick to learn, and easily influenced by sincere love. He addresses a people who, though not possessing great wealth, are not, in general, sunk in abject poverty, and who are ready to contribute to the support of Christian institutions. He addresses not a race of savages or barbarians who must be slowly and painfully elevated to civilization, but a high, intelligent race, and though he does not become a bishop over the flock, he has the better position of a fellow-elder and a fraternal helper and adviser. . . . No young man of Christian ambition need desire a nobler or more satisfactory work than to have a share in the establishment of Christianity in Japan." That there should be young men, eminently acceptable among the churches commonly contributing to the Board, and heartily desirous to go out, who yet, for some reason or other, cannot find their way out does not seem to be a contingency contemplated by Mr. Learned.

— Mr. Neesima speaks of having visited a sick old man, who had built a meeting-house and a primary schoolhouse for four hundred children, besides other gifts. "He was very weak, and could hardly speak, but he told me what peace, what trust, what comfort he had in Christ. He is ready to go, and leaves no anxiety behind him, because his home friends are all Christians and living at peace one with another. . . . I closed our happy conversation with my parting prayer." — Mr. Atkinson speaks of a physician who had hated Christianity with peculiar bitterness, but having witnessed the marriage rites of the Christians, illustrated in the wedding of a friend, was melted at once and has been baptized.

— The Rev. James H. Pettee gives some geographical parallelisms, which help us to realize Japan better. The empire, with its 38,500,000 people, has an area about equal to Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, and is about nineteen times the size of Massachusetts. It ranges from the latitude of Key West to that of Northern Newfoundland, and in longitude extends as far as from Boston to Denver. Of its 146,000 square miles one ninth is under cultivation. The Japanese, whom Mr. Pettee derives from Korea, "develop early and are short lived." They are "intelligent, polite, cheerful, cleanly, cautious, curious, imitative, kind-hearted, honorable, intensely patriotic, and fairly persevering. They incline to be fickle, deceptive, improvident, suspicious, and somewhat superstitious and sensual." Since 1850 the foreign commerce of Japan has increased almost three hundred fold. Mr. Pettee, in a later communication, re-

marks, that out of 300 foreign missionaries in Japan 250 are American, and that so far as Japanese Protestantism has taken on any foreign type, it is decidedly American. — Mr. Learned, in the April "Herald," writes from Kyoto: "During the latter part of the Week of Prayer we were favored with a visit from Mr. George Müller, the eminent pastor and philanthropist of England. He made two addresses to the students of the two schools in the college chapel, and his earnestness and straightforward appeals, combined with the vigorous age of the old man, now in his eighty-second year, but with his natural force unabated, made a great impression and must do much good. In addition, we have had another stimulus in the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the college church. The Japanese are fond of such commemorations, and this one was a most pleasant and profitable one. The large chapel was filled, a striking contrast to the time of the organization, when the little house in which Mr. Neesima then lived easily accommodated all the school and all the believers in this city, and when we could not hold religious services except in private houses." — Mr. De Forest writes from Sendai, January 26: "The daily paper here has recently published two editorials upon Christianity, after the style of Mr. Fukuzawa, urging all young men to press forward, be baptized, and become openly members of churches; asserting, however, that real belief is unnecessary — 'only become *nominal* Christians, and that's enough.' Our scholars, at least, know that no one can successfully play that game." — Mr. Atkinson, of Kobe, writes: "The attitude of the upper classes toward Christianity is increasingly friendly. I trust there may be an advance movement from that position." The April "Herald" says: "The Reformed Church in the United States has a vigorous work on the island of Kiushu." The wife of the governor, having died suddenly, was, as usual, buried with Buddhist rites, held in a Buddhist temple. The governor, who speaks English fluently, earnestly requested Mr. Stout to make an address in English. "Mr. Stout, though wondering at the strange request, consented, and Sunday afternoon, in a Buddhist temple, in the midst of Buddhist funeral ceremonies, a Christian missionary addressed the audience, ending with a prayer to Jehovah God."

— The "Missionary Herald" for May, under the title "The Call from Japan," says: "Within the last few months a remarkable interest in Christian education has been developed, wholly without precedent in missionary history." It appears that schools of all grades, vernacular and English, have ceased to satisfy the more thoughtful Japanese. "The character formed in mission schools, under the influence of Christian teachers, is now seen to be of a higher type. . . . It is not secular education that is wanted, as that can be had of equal quality, and at far less expense, in government institutions. It is an education that elevates and purifies character that is wanted; an education pervaded and controlled by Christian ideas. Men of high station and influence in their several communities, not known as Christians, nor specially interested personally in the gospel, are yet moving to secure such a Christian education for their sons and daughters. . . . The last mail reports a native banker giving ten thousand *yen* — the *yen* corresponds nearly to our silver dollar — for one of these schools."

— The Rev. Mr. Woodman, of the American Episcopal Church, writes in the "Spirit of Missions" for January, 1886, from Fuchiu: "Sunday evening, October 11, we had forty persons present at the preaching.

This is more than double the usual number. On Tuesday evening we were invited to a neighboring village to preach. Over fifty present. On Wednesday afternoon we were invited to preach in the house of one of the very best families in Fuchiu. We were astonished at the invitation. We accepted, and found over fifty of the most attentive listeners I have ever addressed. The native preacher and myself taught for three hours. The house is directly opposite a large temple, and the invitation to preach came, in spite of the protests of the priests. The Buddhists are greatly exercised about our work. I was told that if the lady of the house we visited (her husband is dead) and one other person in the town should become Christians the town would be won for us." The next time they had 100 hearers, the next again 178, — exactly reversing, Mr. Woodman remarks, the usual experience in a new place. — Rev. T. S. Tyng writes, in the "Spirit of Missions" for February, 1886: "At Kokawa the landlord of the hotel where we stayed got together some fifty of the principal men of the place to listen to our teaching. One of these informed us that they wanted to 'taste' the teaching and see what it was like before it spread among the common people. They seemed to like the taste, for a number of them have since endeavored quite zealously to help us in our work." — The Rev. John McKim writes: "On the first day of this month I went 150 miles down the coast to solemnize the marriage of my senior catechist, Tanaka Ukichi; his bride, who had been previously instructed by him, was baptized immediately before the marriage ceremony. About twenty persons were present, who expressed themselves delighted with the beauty and solemnity of the marriage service, so different from their own bacchanalian customs at such times." This reminds us of the above-mentioned physician's conversion by means of a wedding. Among the pagans Christian burial services, through the joy of hope which mingles with their mourning, and Christian marriages, through the chastened moderation which tempers their mirth, seem both to exert a quasi sacramental effect. — Mr. McKim, who is in Osaka, says: "I have a lesson in 1 Corinthians every morning for catechists and Bible-women, and every Thursday evening a class for instruction in the Prayer-Book. Last night twenty-three persons were present. Every Saturday night there is a general Bible-class. Last Saturday night the attendance was thirty-six.

"I have what I consider a fine opening for new work, — a night-school, numbering more than eighty young men, all over twenty years of age. Medical and law students, school-teachers, etc., have asked me to teach them English for two hours two evenings in the week, with the privilege of teaching them the Bible afterward, and of preaching to them at the school every Sunday evening. I have asked the assistance of two of the English Church missionaries. If they consent to join in the work I shall do my best with it." — Writing April 9, 1886, Mr. McKim says: "I have had two Japanese funerals lately. One was of a paralyzed doctor, whom I baptized upon his bed about three months ago. Some would have considered the funeral very 'ritualistic.' The coffin was carried on a bier, borne by six men, for more than two miles through the city, and was preceded by a Japanese holding aloft a large wooden cross. About fifty physicians followed the bier, riding in *jirikshas*. The procession was a very long one. You can always tell the graves of Christians in the Japanese cemetery, for they are all marked with crosses. Episcopal, Congregational, Presbyterian, Roman, and Greek, — all have

the cross for a headboard." It appears, then, that in Japan Christians of all names are not afraid of the *signum salutare*, for the freer and more fearless use of which, especially where the cross is despised, we remember that an article of some years back, in the "Congregationalist," so eloquently pleaded.

— Another instance of the queer Japanese contrariety to the ways of the enlightened Occident, quoted by the "Spirit of Missions," from Charles Lanman: "A church which some of these poor people attended was under the special patronage of a rich Japanese lady, who stipulated that all the women who made their appearance there should come dressed in cotton clothes, so that the poor might not be mortified by being seated with the rich in their gay attire, — the result of this mandate having been to convene large and greatly interested assemblies. And thus it is that the derided heathen exemplify their devotion to the Christian religion!" — The "Spirit of Missions" for August, 1886, says: "The Rev. Henry D. Page, who, with his other work, has for some time past been teaching in one of the high schools of Tokio, has recently begun to teach in another and larger school, where the promise of leading his pupils to Christ is greater. The school in which he is now at work was founded and is patronized by a Japanese nobleman, who, while not himself a believer in the Christian religion, desires that the students of his school should know what Christianity is. About 350 heathen scholars attend the school, and they are of a greater age than the pupils of most of the high schools of Tokio. Mr. Page was invited to teach Christian moral philosophy in the school, and every facility for teaching the Christian religion itself is given to him, such as the use of the lecture-rooms, out of recitation hours, for church services, and the right to free publication among the students of the hours for Christian or other public instruction." — Mr. John H. Molineux writes from Tokio: "One of the most encouraging features of mission work here is that people are everywhere asking for Christian teaching, providing houses for preaching, and everywhere the missionary goes he is well received. A spirit of unity pervades all bodies of missionaries, and it is recognized that the one thing needful is unity." — Mr. Woodman writes, April 20, respecting the Fuchiu lady several times mentioned: "Some time ago I wrote to you that it was said that if this lady and one other person in Fuchiu should become Christians the town would be won for Christianity. Praised be God! She has become a Christian. On Sunday, May 2 (D. V.), I am to have the unspeakable privilege of receiving her into the church by holy baptism. She is my first female convert. I have baptized fourteen men, but no woman as yet in the country. This lady's aged mother is almost ready to follow her daughter. Other women, wives of the men whom I have baptized, hope to receive baptism next fall. So the good work goes on.

"The Fuchiu lady has met with a great deal of opposition from her male relatives, but God gave her grace to stand firm. You cannot understand her difficulties as we can. In Japan every woman is subject to some man, — father, husband, or older brother; but here is a widow, with three children dependent upon her, who dares to brave all the opposition her male relatives try to put in her way. I have learned that they have even threatened to take her nice house away from her if she would not forsake the 'Christian way.' She refused to do so, no matter whether she had a house or not. God will surely reward her." — An article quoted in the "Spirit of Missions" says that in Japan, while woman "enjoys

many liberties and advantages of education," and "is not kept in ignorance to the same extent as in India or China," still "the husband is compared to heaven, the wife to the dirt under his feet. The husband is the day, the wife the night. A woman may have every beauty, grace, and virtue; still she is lower than the lowest man." Yet there have been nine female Mikados. — The three Episcopalian societies in Japan, two English and one American, namely, the Protestant Episcopal Board, the Church Missionary Society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, have succeeded in forming a native church, which is to be called "Nippon sei Ko-kwai," "Church of Japan," a title doubtless satisfactory to themselves, but hardly likely to be agreeable to their fellow-Christians. — The "Spirit of Missions" for April, 1887, has some wise remarks by a missionary: "Some years ago at a missionary conference of theological students the writer heard a young speaker say, 'the age of romance in missions has passed;' some weeks ago a seminary professor of wide reputation and profound scholarship observed, in a conversation about missions, that he supposed something romantic must enter into the make-up of a foreign missionary. Tested by actual experience, the matter seems to stand thus: the romance of missions is an article of home manufacture, and the supply usually carried abroad is soon and completely exhausted in the foreign field. Yet it seems hard for people to understand how, in places where it is day when it is night here, the usual economy of every-day life is not likewise turned upside down, and that in so curious a place (judging by names) as Tsukiji dishes have to be washed just as in the old cross-roads heard of all our life. . . . How did *you* happen to go as a missionary? is one of the questions which open the subject. One fellow-passenger on board the steamship for the three weeks required to cross the Pacific was a young Russian officer. A love affair, detected by his father, had ended in Siberia, and then was to be further stifled by China, whither he had been sent by his government. Some common chord seemed struck between us, and after some days and much watching, he broke out with 'What did *you* do for to be sent away from home?' Once arrived in Japan, you find some of our fellow-countrymen resident there ready with a reason: 'Oh, these missionaries could not get a place at home, or they knew they could have an easy time of it here.' *You* know we have not found the reason yet; but let me say that as there is no happier life than the missionary's if the motive be right, so there is no life more miserable if entered upon for the romance of the thing, to see the world, or any other than the one true motive. Go ask the man in Christ what brought him to Him; ask the minister how he was called to his sacred office, or yet him who waited on God for guidance how it came, and you will understand that in divers manners, in these latter days, God sends the message to one and another: 'I will send thee far hence to the Gentiles,' and so they are sent.

" . . . How do you live? Oh, what a stumbling-block this has been. The home romance makes us live one way, and a very different one from the way in which we do live, and so the romance and the missionaries suffer accordingly. Good people come out to the East, and seeing missionaries living in houses, with all the outward forms and semblances of ordinary life at home, say, 'Are these the missionaries we have heard about? How strange! why, we thought they — thought they' — Well, they are unable to say what they thought, only that everything was very different. If they *would* stop and think a moment, they would remember that no

one had ever denied the way in which the missionaries lived, or given any other impression; but Englishmen will come to New York to hunt buffalo, and people will come to Japan to hunt for missionaries who live under trees and wander about in goatakins. The best answer to this question is that we live just as we do at home. Our houses are about the same. Those built by our mission are very good. Our clothing is the same, and purchased in the same way. Our tables are abundantly supplied by an excellent market, in which pheasants are as cheap as beefsteak, and fish and fowl abound. Much pleasant society, too, exists among English and Americans in Japan, and of course among the many missionaries. . . . Tastes and preferences vary, as at home. One man thinks himself well off in Japan with certainty of income and many privileges; to another the brightest hue of a foreign sky cannot vie with the sombrest shadow of his native horizon; nothing can take the place of friends, and great is the trial to know that a pastor to these people in every sense he can never be. He never can enter into their homes and lives as he would into those of an American congregation; to them he is ever, though respected and esteemed, an alien. So much for the likes and dislikes of the man; the minister *must* like his work. If it be not to him a constant joy, yet the note of duty must fall welcome on his ear. To name Christ where He has not been named, to endure failure and heathen malice, to see the light breaking in the darkness and with success to decrease himself as Christ increases, and to give up the ingathering to men called of God from their own race, is fullest, deepest happiness. Our liking the people, climate, the life, may vary with our several temperaments, but our liking the work must be part of the work itself." — Mr. McKim reports that the number of communicants connected with the two English and one American Episcopal societies has in seven years increased more than twenty-fold. — The missionary work in Korea is so closely connected, like the country, with both China and Japan, that in its present incipency it comes in very well as an appendix of either. We find it mentioned in the "Baptist Magazine" for April, 1886, that a colporteur who had labored two years at Seoul, the capital, had seventy applicants for baptism; in one direction from it, over twenty; in another, eighteen. As is natural, these seem to be all men. The Church Missionary Society had just taken measures to establish a thoroughly Chinese mission in Korea. Mr. Ah Hok, a wealthy Chinese Christian, contributed \$1,000, and his personal presence to set it in motion. — The Rev. E. H. Jones, of the Baptist Mission in Sendai, Japan, writes of the climate: "These houses, which resemble the playhouses of our youth, are one of the things which indicate the butterfly kind of life this people has been living. They live for the warm summer days," — like the Italians, — "and bear the shivers of winter with a patience which might have been spent in a better cause. Japanese houses are not adapted to cold winters, nor to people lately from the comforts of civilized life. . . . Yet the winter was pleasant. The sky was bright nearly the whole time, and the air was clear and bracing. The evergreens, for which Japan is justly celebrated, made the muddy old town really beautiful. The camellia, with its thick, glossy, dark green leaves, glistened at you over every wall. The cryptomeria, — a magnificent variety of our own cedar, — with its abundant foliage and its tall, straight trunk, proudly held up its shapely head by every house. Then the pines! no Japanese landscape would be perfect without its pines. You have seen them —

stretching weird, misshapen arms over the straw thatch cottage, or by a roadside resting-stone, or leaning over a cliff as if before it took its last leap it flung up its arms in terror. Well, such trees are not only in pictures; you see them everywhere. I called them misshapen, — rather say shapen, for they are very carefully trained. You find there is a peculiar beauty in their fantastic shapes, that it takes a little familiarity with Japanese art to appreciate. So altogether we had a happy, comparatively comfortable, and positively beautiful winter.” — The Rev. H. H. Rhees speaks of one among doubtless many Japanese localities, on which the growing interest in Christianity has as yet made no impression. “We have felt that it was wise to abandon Ikeda, for the reason that, though the people did not oppose, they were supremely indifferent to Christianity. The audiences were always good, but the same persons did not seem to hear twice.” — At the last year’s meeting of the American Baptist Missionary Union, the Committee on Missions in Japan presented a report, of which the last paragraph is as follows: “Of the claims of Japan upon American Baptists, as compared with the claims of the other nations where our missions exist, your committee do not care to express a judgment. It is, however, clear to them that, were all our present efforts expended upon that one field, there would be ample opportunity for it, with a chance for indefinite increase. We can, therefore, recommend that the work in Japan be pressed with all the vigor consistent with the claims of our other fields.” — The Baptist Mission reports one important accession, in the person of a judge. But as he was already a baptized Protestant Christian, the gain to the Baptists was a loss somewhere else. — In the report from Japan we find this: “The very fact that a large number have been excluded from the Yokohama church, not through malice or envy, but through love of a holy church, is an evidence of vital piety somewhere.” — The “Magazine” remarks, that “notwithstanding all the cholera epidemic in Osaka, Kyoto, and Kobe, not one Christian has ever yet been known to fall a victim to the disease. Inquiry elicits the same statement with regard to Yokohama. So powerful is the effect of this knowledge upon the native mind that one native pastor, in the beginning of the epidemic in this region, said in his sermon one Sunday morning that all those who were Christians need have no fear of cholera, because no Christian would take it! When asked why Christians do not have cholera, one reason given is that they do not drink either domestic or foreign wines.” Roman Catholic and Greek Christians are probably not to be understood as included in this exemption, as they are usually less abstinent from wines and spirits. — We find in the “Magazine” the following narrative, quoted from elsewhere, respecting a lady living in Japan, who had gone into a shop to buy cakes: “While waiting for the cakes, she saw that the walls were papered with leaves from the Bible. This was so strange that she asked the old woman about it; and she told the lady that one day, passing by a book-shop, she saw a pile of papers thrown by as worthless. As her shop needed papering, she thought this was just the thing, and took some of it home and pasted it up over her walls. One evening her grandson came in, and began reading aloud from the paper on the wall. The old woman was so interested in what she heard, that she listened eagerly, and got all who would to read it to her. One day a young man came who asked whether she understood it, and whether she was a Christian. She told him how much she enjoyed hearing it, but she did not

understand it much; so he promised to take her to church the next day. After this she attended regularly, and became an earnest Christian." — The Rev. A. B. Hutchinson, of the Church Missionary Society, writes from Nagasaki, in the "Intelligencer" of September, 1886, under date of December 28, 1885: "When I compare former experience in China with the present, here, I am amazed to find that in the two years, during which I have been left practically alone in Kiu-shiu, I have been able, with every satisfaction as to the individual cases, to baptize more people than during seven years of similar solitary work there. In part, this indicates a greater readiness to receive the gospel amongst the Japanese than amongst the southern Chinese; but this alone will not account for the great difference. I am rather inclined to attribute it to the fact of our having three energetic workers, well established in central out-stations, from which they have diligently itinerated, evangelizing the surrounding districts. Could we but increase the number of such out-stations in the immediate future, I am confident that we should, by God's blessing, reap yet larger results. A spirit of inquiry is spreading on every side; requests are frequent for preachers and for preaching; the number of listeners in the large towns is trebled; disturbance and violence have given way to quiet and orderly attention. The present is emphatically the time for increased evangelistic effort; it only remains for our friends to enable us to take advantage in Kiu-shiu of this day of opportunity."

— The Rev. G. H. Pole, of Osaka, gives an account of the great flood of July, 1885, the greatest ever known there. The waters, which remained on parts of the lower plains for two months, reached in some places the depth of twenty feet, and although less than a hundred were drowned, besides several scores driven insane by fright, yet "thirteen whole villages (to say nothing of hundreds of portions) in the neighborhood of the city were so completely washed away that no vestige remains of them. The entire contents of the lower story of tens of thousands of houses were irrecoverably carried away, and during the period of the flood (and for a long time after, in the large majority of instances) about 80,000 persons of all ranks and classes were rendered homeless and thrown upon the authorities for support and shelter, having lost all but their lives." The calamity, Mr. Pole says, "has called forth an unprecedented exercise of benevolence on the part of all classes, ranks, and religions. Foreigners and natives, Christians and Buddhists, Shintoists, etc., Theists and Atheists, have vied with each other in pouring in large sums to the government authorities (whose impartiality and strict honesty and justice in applying every sen to the sole purpose of relieving only the real cases of distress are above all suspicion) for use in alleviating the dire effects of the calamity." It seems that in all \$25,000,000 were subscribed, of which those devoted to Osaka formed the centre. The effort, Mr. Pole remarks, "has further drawn natives and foreigners nearer together in mutual sympathy and esteem, and will have unquestionably a strong tendency to break down the feeling of prejudice against foreigners, which, though not very marked, still has lurked for many years in the minds of a large number of natives. It has also opened up channels of Christian work in the country districts around which the Christian churches in the city have taken advantage of, and it is not improbable that many will bless God that this calamity has been the means in his hand of leading them to everlasting salvation."

— Mr. Pole remarks that the way in which the Japanese have met this calamity shows them to have qualities which may well make them one of the noblest nations in the world. It shows also, he says, "that although the government does exercise a very strong paternal authority over its subjects, yet it does not in the least shirk the consequent responsibilities of that relationship, but is prepared to do all in its power to protect and provide for its 'children.'" He remarks farther — an important testimony from an Englishman, whose government thus far hesitates to stand with ours on this question — that "it has taught many that the idea that foreigners cannot trust their interests in the hands of the Japanese Government is groundless, and that, on the contrary, the authorities, while careful not to neglect the interests of their own people, take a pride and pleasure in doing all they can to assist and meet the legitimate requirements of those who come from foreign lands and whom they desire at all times to recognize as their guests."

— The "Missionary Herald" for 1886 gives the number of Japanese adherents to the Roman Catholic Church as 30,000; to the Russo-Greek Church as 10,000; and the baptized members of the Protestant churches as something over 11,000. Of the Protestant missionary laborers, 91 are Presbyterian, 65 Methodist, 48 Congregational, 50 Episcopalian, 24 Baptist, and 3 unclassified. In all 281; 109 males, 169 females, omitting the three unclassified ones, whose sex is not given.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ALTAIC HIEROGLYPHS AND HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS. By CLAUDE CONDER, R. E. With Illustrations. Published for the Committee of "The Palestine Exploration Fund." Crown 8vo, pp. xii, 247. New York: Scribner & Welford. \$1.50.

If Captain Conder has solved the Hittite puzzle he has done what has balked the best linguists of the world. But there must be a beginning, and, remembering what young Captain Henry C. Rawlinson did, we are willing to look favorably on this venture of his military successor in a similar investigation.

But the chances against Captain Conder are many. There are only half a dozen or so Hittite inscriptions known, besides a few useless fragments. There is just one bilingual, on a silver boss about the size of the head of a cane, with the words in Assyrian, "Tarrikdimme, King of Erme," but otherwise read "Tarqudimme [Tarkondemus], King of the City of Waters." The Hittite inscription contains six hieroglyphic characters, and how to distribute them to match the Assyrian inscription no two scholars can agree. It is little else than guess-work. Then the language is almost certainly neither Shemitic nor Aryan, but agglutinative, which vastly increases the difficulty of getting help out of parallel languages and identical roots. Accomplished professional linguists have recognized the difficulties, having made some guesses as to what this and that one among the hundred odd hieroglyphics mean, but have been extremely modest as to their results.

Captain Conder's work in Palestine has given him a special interest in

the Hittites, and he discovered the site of their capital, Kadesh, on the Orontes; and until lately the geographical questions have chiefly attracted his attention. But the progress he seems to have made within three months is surprising. On the 7th of February in this year he got his first clew to the translations. Nineteen days after, February 26th, his discovery, with a number of translations, was announced in the London "Times"; and less than three months after, his book, with full defense of his method and translation of all the inscriptions, was published. Such haste, not to say recklessness, could go only with the greatest confidence.

Captain Conder bases his work on two postulates, of which the first is probably correct, that the Cypriote syllabary is derived from the Hittite hieroglyphs. Everybody has assumed this as probable, and as giving the most hopeful clew. It is on this that Sayce and Deecke have rested. If the same character appears in both it is assumed that the value is the same. But Sayce remembers that similarity of shape may be deceptive, and he attempts to check the results by other means. Captain Conder, however, accepts the values of the Cypriote without question, only asking what known Cypriote character looks most like the unknown Hittite.

Captain Conder's second postulate is that the Hittite language was Akkadian, the language of the early inhabitants of Babylonia. Professor Sayce had concluded that a double triangle on the Tarkondemus boss meant *country*. To Captain Conder, who had already compared this sign with an Egyptian sign for country, and had given it the value *mi* from the Cypriote, it occurred on that memorable 7th of February "that the sound *mi* was very close to the sound *me*, or *ma*, which in the Akkadian, and in the Protomedic, represents the word for 'country.'" Here was his clew. The language of the Hittite inscriptions was Akkadian, or Protomedic. "In a few days" he found himself in possession of twenty-one words whose sound he had got from the Cypriote, and whose meaning he had got from the Akkadian; and he was mathematically convinced he was right, — mathematics being an engineer's *forte*, — for here were sixty-three things that all agreed to one conclusion, namely, the form, sound, and meaning, three categories in each of the twenty-one cases; and the chances against accident were 39,710 to 1. It did not occur to him that after he had selected the agreeing Hittite and Cypriote forms he had absolutely assumed that their sounds were the same, and then assumed again some corresponding meaning from the Akkadian, and that so the agreements could not help but exist, as he had made them himself. A very different mathematical formula would be necessary to get the chances of error.

Besides, his assumption and his facts were all wrong. *Me* or *ma*, which was his first identification, is *not* Akkadian or Protomedic for *country*. The word in Akkadian is *mata* or *mada*. Protomedic and Akkadian are not allied, so ~~far~~ as we know, but very unlike. Akkadian and Sumerian are not, as he says, very unlike, but very similar. To assume that the language of the Akkadians in Southern Mesopotamia from 4000 to 2000 B. C. was the same as that of the inhabitants of Northern Syria and Cilicia from 1500 to 500 B. C. is nothing less than monstrous. Captain Conder's method would just as easily translate the Hittite inscriptions by the Himyaritic, the Japanese, the Peruvian, the Maya, or the English. His basis being all pure assumption, it is of no use to attempt to criticise his comparisons and translations in detail, and all that

is required further is to mention a number of his miscellaneous errors, which will suffice to show how little confidence can be put in his results.

On page 2 there are said to be five inscribed stones from Hamath. There are only four. The two longest inscriptions are on the same stone. The "Weeping Niobe," page 4, is not "a bas-relief." That Hittite inscriptions "may be expected in Persia, Media, and the Caucasus" (page 6), is utterly without evidence beyond the author's assertion that these hieroglyphs had their origin in the Altaic region. There has been but one, and not a number of "subsequent editions" (page 10) of Dr. Wright's "Empire of the Hittites." Dr. Deecke's name (page 16 *et passim*) is always wrongly given "Deeke." Dr. Deecke's "discovery" (page 16) of the connection between the Cypriote and the Assyrian characters is accepted, although no scholars now admit it. If *sar* means *chief* in Akkadian (page 16), it does equally in Shemitic languages. The Akkadian for *scepter* is not *pa* (page 18), but *gisdar*, and so Captain Conder's second identification fails. *Ko* is not the Protomedic word for king (page 19), but *anin*, and so his third fails. The first character on the boss he connects with the Akkadian *dar* for deer (page 21). But the character is not a deer's head but a goat's. On page 22 the author advances the idea, a pure speculation, that the Egyptian and the Hittite hieroglyphs, with those from which the Assyrian, the cuneiform, and the Chinese writing were derived, had a common source, and that we can at times discover the resemblance between the Hittite, or "Altaic," as he calls it, and the oldest linear Babylonian. That the Cypriote form for *pi* comes from the shape of the ear (page 23) is very doubtful, and that "the oldest Babylonian cuneiform emblem for *pi* is also a sketch of the ear" we find no proof given for; and we notice that the latest authority, Amiaud ("Tableau Comparé"), says nothing of it. The "packets" of Hittite characters he finds on the inscriptions (page 32) exist only in imagination. It is not true that there is in Akkadian "no real distinction between *l* and *r*." The assertion that "the late introduction of vowel points in Hebrew and other Asiatic written languages" shows that their vowel sounds were indefinite and obscure is not true, and contradicts what he says elsewhere, that an inflecting language is not adapted to a hieroglyphic syllabary. To say (page 34) that the same character may be read *ar*, *al*, *ra*, or *la*, is arbitrary in the extreme. On page 37 Captain Conder begins the discussions of his identifications, for none of which sounds any argument is given. *Mo* is "clearly" the Akkadian *mu*; *zu* "seems clearly" to be the Akkadian *zu*; *ka* is "apparently" the Akkadian *ku*; *ti* "seems to be" the Akkadian *ta*; another character "may be compared, perhaps;" another "perhaps resembles;" another "seems to mean;" another "I take to mean;" another, "I believe to represent;" and out of such a succession of guesses is built the castle in the clouds. Four strokes, he says (page 49), mean multitude, and becomes the sign of the plural, because it recalls the period when the savage could count only three, and any more was a multitude; and so he compares it with the cuneiform plural sign, a wedge with four small strokes following. But the older cuneiform had three strokes, not four. There is not the slightest reason to believe that the vase on the cylinder of Naram-sin (page 60) is an emblem of the god Aa. The cross, he says (page 65), "I believe to mean *bless*," the reason being that an old Assyrian king is figured with "a cross hung round the neck as a beneficial emblem." Then four other objects mean *bless*, for that king has five different objects on his neck. The cuneiform

character given (page 69) as the sign for *heaven* is unknown to Assyriologists. A Babylonian cylinder is said (page 82) to represent a god "sitting on a throne in the sea," and holding a serpent in his hands. There is no sea represented on that cylinder, and no serpent, only a stream of water. It is asserted (page 82) that the chief emblem of the god Hea was "the great ship, or ark, which seems to be represented on one of the so-called Hittite seals, and on many others still called Akkadian or Assyrian." Here is one of the hundreds of cases where references are omitted, so that it is not easy to find what is referred to. But we venture to say that no known Hittite seal has "a ship, or ark" on it; and the Akkadian ones with boats, so far from being numerous, are very few, only three being known (Lajard, "Mithra," L, 8; Menant, "La Haye," No. 19; "Bab. and Or. Record," i. p. 57; besides two very indistinct ones, Le Clercq, "Catalogue," Nos. 7, 8). The statement about the ship of Hea is probably taken from Lenormant's "Chaldean Magic," page 160, and is of the most doubtful authority, especially as the boat also belonged to the moon god, Sin (*ibid.* p. 139). On page 82 it is said that the oval means *tam*, the sun, and that in the later Hittite inscriptions it becomes a lozenge; also that the oldest cuneiform character for the sun is a lozenge, "derived clearly from the Altaic hieroglyph." That is, the Akkadian, whose straight-edged stylus could not impress a curve on clay, derived the rhomb-shaped character for the sun, as early as 3000 or 4000 B. C., from the Hittite rhomb which was developed on the Babylonian bowl as late as 600 B. C. ! "Lajarde," page 83, should be *Lajard*. We are told (page 86) that Tartak mentioned 2 Kings xvii. 31, was the Akkadian god Tartak. But Lenormant, from whom this is doubtless taken ("Magic," page 110), gave up the reading in a later edition. The old cuneiform character for *An*, god, the author (page 104) takes to be the same as a Hittite figure, a bisected circle with included concentric semicircles and not originally a star. But we happen to have the star form on the oldest of all monuments, the Vulture Column. The oldest Vulture Column form for *gal*, great, is also unlike that given (page 104), and much less like his "Altaic" figure. The same is true of the character for fire, *bil-gi* (page 105), where we have an admirable example of most baseless guessing. But this we may say of the whole chapters on the cuneiform and the Egyptian connections. On page 118 M. Dieulafoy is said to have found black men figured at Tel Loh. He never was at Tel Loh; it was another Frenchman, De Sarzec, that was there; while M. Dieulafoy found his black men at Susa. There is no evidence that "*cush* in Semitic language means *dark*" (page 119). The assertion that the Hamath and Carchemish stones "are the oldest monuments yet found in Asia" (page 157) is almost absurd, when we have the monuments of Sargon I., to whom Nabonidus gives a date not less than 3800 B. C., and those of Gudea which are still older.

Many other illustrations could be given of Captain Conder's ingenious speculations and misapprehensions. It appears to us that he has only thrown a dust over the subject, and has really added nothing of value. His translations on the face of them are improbable, and are utterly worthless, as worthless as those of our Toronto scholar who translated the Hamath inscriptions by the Maya, or as those of the English scholar who translated them by the Peruvian. Because in other legitimate fields Captain Conder has done some good work we regret to see him sink to their level. His present work must take its place, with theirs, in the

Babylonian underworld limbo of all the monstrous and composite forms of primeval chaos that had their day before the good demiurge Bel Merodach appeared to slay the dragons.

Wm. Hayes Ward.

NEW YORK.

DANIEL I.-VI. An Exposition of the Historical Portion of the Writings of the Prophet Daniel. By the Very Rev. R. PAYNE SMITH, D. D., Dean of Canterbury. Crown 8vo, pp. viii, 335. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1887. \$2.00.

This is a volume of expository essays on the first six chapters of the book of Daniel. Originally written for the "Homiletic Magazine," they "were written rather with a view to edification, and in the hope of drawing from the narrative lessons for our own conduct and guidance in the Christian life." In accord with this purpose no emphasis is given to questions of criticism and apologetics. "Great originality or research" is disclaimed, as is also any "attempt more than to give a passing glance at some of the difficulties suggested in modern times with regard to a book so marvelous in its contents." The reader will here learn that such difficulties have been raised, but he will gain very little information as to their nature or cause. The work is homiletic rather than exegetical, hence the authenticity of these chapters is not discussed. Such discussion has no place in a writing of this nature. Scattered through the book are allusions to the critical questions, but the writer does not turn far from his main purpose in order to make any apologetic use of his matter. On the whole, he has accomplished his purpose as above stated. The providential position of Daniel is pointed out, and also the importance of his work in the transitional period of the Captivity. In the introductory essay he contrasts the universality of Daniel's conception of the future kingdom with the narrower conception seen in the earlier prophets. Lessons respecting God's providential care are well drawn. The warnings in the life of Nebuchadnezzar and other wicked or weak men are noted. The lessons from the faithful adherence to duty on the part of Daniel and his three friends are properly presented. If any one thing can be called the purpose of the book, it is to cultivate a faith in the foresight and overruling care of God. The book seems adapted to the needs of the non-scholarly public. The preacher might profitably study these essays as illustrations of popular exposition of the historical books of the Bible.

F. B. Denio.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, BANGOR, MAINE.

THE ANDOVER CASE: with an Introductory Historical Statement; a Careful Summary of the Arguments of the Respondent Professors; and the full Text of the Arguments of the Complainants and their Counsel, Together with the Decision of the Board of Visitors: Furnishing the nearest available approach to a complete history of the whole matter. 8vo, pp. xxix, 194. Boston: Stanley & Usher, Publishers, 171 Devonshire Street. 1887. \$1.25.

The value of this book lies in its text of the arguments of the complainants and their counsel. With this and "The Andover Defence," for sale by Damrell, Upham & Co., Boston, the reader will have the most important documents of the Trial.

We regret that instead of attempting to make an "approach to a complete history," the editor did not give us a reasonably complete statement of one side. Its merit, as we have said, is in its presentation of the case of the complainants, but it is not as sufficient for this side as "The Andover Defence" for the other. For instance, it omits entirely any statement or summary or definite indication of the evidence on which the prosecution rested its case. All that is offered is the *arguments* of the complainants and their counsel. Why was Judge French's opening statement omitted? The original complaint is given, though not completely, but for the Amended Complaint, on which the case was tried, we are referred to the arguments. On page 113 a quotation is made from some remarks at Des Moines, but no notice is taken of the explanation made, the moment the passage was read at the trial, that by the "Creeds of Christendom" was intended simply those which have an ecumenical value. If, however, the title-page had simply claimed that the book furnishes "the nearest available approach to a complete" statement of the case of the complainants we should have had occasion to do little more than commend it.

What further we are obliged to say can be confined to a statement of facts.

1. The book offers an "Introductory Historical Statement." On page ix, a statement is given of the obligation of the Visitors to guard the doctrinal trust left by the Founders, but no allusion is made to that imposed on the Trustees. Further, a statute which applies to the Trustees is quoted as though it was an express part of the charge imposed upon the Visitors. On p. xii-xiii, Dr. Wellman's account of transactions in the Board of Trustees is followed without an intimation that in the judgment of his associate Trustees at that time, ten in number, it withholds essential facts which have been published and by vote of the Board are spread upon its records. On page xvi, it is stated that the decision of the Visitors was adopted "at their annual meeting in Andover on the evening of Anniversary Day 16th June, 1887." Is this an indication of the authorship of this "Historical Statement"? The following is also of interest:—

"As the subject-matter of complaint was essentially the same in each case, it was agreed that the arguments should not be repeated in the cases of Professors Tucker, Harris, Hincks, and Churchill, but that each of them should make a statement for himself on Monday, 3d January, the complainants waiving reply to the same. On that occasion Dr. Eustis was prevented from being present; but by agreement of all parties who were in attendance the hearing was proceeded with in his absence, a *verbatim* reporter taking note of all that was said for his perusal."

It may be added that the President of the Board of Visitors officially proposed this course, and adduced the fact that whatever was submitted could be placed before Dr. Eustis by means of the stenographic report; and further that this was done.

No allusion is made in this "Historical Statement" to Professor Blaisdell's withdrawal from the case.

2. "Summary of the Respondents' Arguments." Thirteen pages (equivalent to seventeen of the "Andover Defence") are given to these. In the "Defence" they occupy three hundred and fifteen pages. The Report of the Trustees is reduced to a little more than one page.

Egbert C. Smyth.

RIVERSIDE EDITION of the Poetic and Dramatic Works of ROBERT BROWNING in Six Volumes. 8vo. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1887. Each volume, cloth, \$1.75.

THIS edition follows the author's arrangement of his poems, and his latest revised text, and is complete to date. It is printed with the well-known and superior style and finish of "The Riverside Press" from new plates, on a grade of paper which saves blurring from the lines showing on the reverse page. The first volume gives a finely engraved steel portrait from "a recent photograph;" and the sixth, Indexes of First Lines and of Titles. In all respects this is a satisfactory and standard edition.

Egbert C. Smyth.

A HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE: From the Earliest Period to the Death of Demosthenes. By FRANK BYRON JEVONS, M. A., Tutor in the University of Durham. Crown 8vo, pp. xvi, 509. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886. \$1.50.

ONE cannot help having a prejudice against a book of this kind. Indeed, the author himself seems to have felt the likelihood of such a prejudice, and to have planned to allay it in advance by saying in his Preface, that though his book is designed mainly for students preparing for examinations, he has endeavored to make it also intelligible; and hopes that it may be found interesting for the general reader. Yet since "the great literature of old Greece is one of the most precious things that have come down to us from the past," we have a right to require in the historic critic who would trace its development and interpret its spirit, both the willingness and ability to do his work adequately. That Mr. Jevons has unwisely determined the scope of his undertaking is obvious from what has been already suggested; and there is scarcely a chapter of his book that does not betray the lack of any special fitness for his work. He has apparently given the results of wide, but by no means discriminating, reading. Yet even had he read judiciously, he should have remembered that learning is not the only, nor indeed the chief, qualification of the literary critic; the would-be critic should himself understand, and be skillful in, the art of expression, if he would duly set forth the subtle beauty and power of the greatest masters of style.

Here is Mr. Jevons's peroration on Sappho:—

"Astronomers have calculated the law of the distance which separates the planets from each other, and have discovered thereby that in one region where, according to this law, should there be a planet, there is no planet, but asteroids. These are the fragments of what once was a planet. Of Sappho's poetry we have only fragments, but they, like the asteroids, show where a planet once was."

Here is a sentence from the sketch of Simonides:—

"In poetry not choral, epigram, though its functions had been determined by his predecessors, Simonides exalted to a pinnacle of fame in literature to which no other poet could have lifted it."

Referring to the political troubles in Lesbos at the beginning of the sixth century B. C., Jevons says:—

"Probably at this time Alcæus and his brothers were driven into exile; and we may perhaps measure the force of this political eruption by the distance to which, and the divers directions in which, these exiles were ejected; for Alcæus landed in Egypt, and took service under the Pharaoh Hofra, while his

brother Antimenidas was projected east, and entered the army of Nebuchadnezzar."

But it is in the sketch of Thucydides that Jevons's style touches its meridian:—

"Thucydides disdains to strive after external balance and harmony . . . by grouping his facts so as to reach the consummation of a culmination," . . .

Turning now from the style to the matter of the book, one can only wonder how any careful reviewer could give the work the praise which some very respectable English journals have bestowed on it. It begins, almost as a matter of course, with Homer; but in fulfillment of a purpose of the author to relegate to the Notes and Appendices all points involving Greek scholarship, his other purpose, to discuss the principles which determined the growth of Greek literature, receives either very inadequate treatment or is largely lost on the general reader. The chapters on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* contain little more than commonplace criticism; and much of this indulges in that special pleading with which the English school of Homeric students has made us so familiar. It need hardly be added, therefore, that Jevons finds a dramatic unity and finish in the composition of these poems fulfilling the severest requirements of art.

It is surprising that Jevons should make no reference to D. B. Monro's article on "Homer and the Early History of Greece," in the initial number of the new "English Historical Review," (Jan., 1886); which has done much to commend the growing belief in the European origin of the Homeric poems. This omission is the more noticeable from the amount of attention given to what Mahaffy aptly terms the wild skepticism of F. A. Paley. But Jevons's shortcomings appear nowhere more manifest than in the sketch of Thucydides. He says:—

"The object of Thucydides was to give a strict and faithful account of facts . . . To the actual facts, then, he confines himself, without moralizing and without theorizing."

A few pages farther on, however, he says, "When he begins to philosophize, he begins to be difficult to understand." Thus he does *philosophize*, as well as narrate.

And likewise, when attempting to shield Thucydides from criticism in the matter of style, Jevons says that he "had to create prose"—meaning, of course, Attic prose; but almost on the next page reminds his reader that "the three Greek historians belong to the best period of Greek literature." Indeed, Euripides had already shown with what elegance and precision the Attic dialect could be used in dramatic dialogue; and one cannot believe that it was not easily available for historic prose narrative. Moreover, Antiphon so successfully employed Attic prose in judicial oratory as to win from Thucydides, his contemporary, special commendation for the *clearness of his style* (cf. Jevons, p. 378).

It would be incorrect to infer from the foregoing comments that Jevons's book is worthless. Rather must one feel that it can hardly more than serve the purpose of "the Indian Civil Service or other advanced Examinations," for which it was mainly prepared; the requirements of which Jevons himself must be supposed to fully understand. As an outline of the expression of Greek life in literature it will not compare with Jebb's "Primer" of 150 pages. It ought not to be mentioned in comparison with Mahaffy's more elaborate work.

Edward G. Coy.

GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, von Christian Fischhauser, Theol. Lehrer am Missionshaus in Basel. Basel: Detloff. 8vo, pp. xii, 688. 8.80 mks. — A work written especially for the author's own use in the class-room. It endeavors to meet a want which, in the author's opinion, is satisfied by none of the numerous handbooks which we already possess. A comparison of it with its predecessors is not possible here; only its actual use as a text-book can fully exhibit its merits and defects, but it promises to fulfill its design capitably. Details are omitted, the chief points are brought out with clearness and with emphasis, and the arrangement admits of consecutive reading without discomfort, an arrangement, to be sure, which has both advantages and disadvantages. The author lays no claim to original study of the sources; he aims simply to present the results of others in a handy form. The division into periods is somewhat peculiar, and the centurial method is a little too prominent. Theologically, the author stands upon conservative ground, as may be seen from his chapter upon Christ and the apostolic age. — *Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts*, von Dr. Ad. Frantz, a. o. Prof. der Rechte an der Universität Marburg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. xii, 322. 6 mks., geb. 7.20 mks. — This work, which is not designed to supersede the larger works of Richter, Schulte, Friedberg, and others, fulfills admirably its design as a text-book. Although intended primarily for students of law, it forms just as excellent a handbook for students of theology, containing, as it does, a clear and concise sketch of the history of church organizations and government from the legal point of view, as well as a discussion of the existing constitution of the Catholic and Protestant Church. The discussion is based, of course, upon the church of Germany, and has little relevance to ecclesiastical conditions in other countries, but the historical part of the book is of universal value. — *Verfassungsgeschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche in Russland*, von Herrmann Dalton. Gotha: Perthes. 8vo, pp. xvi, 344. 6 mks. — The first extensive work upon this subject from the pen of one who has been pastor of the German Reformed church in St. Petersburg for thirty years will be welcomed as throwing light upon a very obscure but highly important subject. The work handles the history of the Lutheran Church in Russia from its beginning, in the middle of the sixteenth century, to the present time. — *Assyrisches Wörterbuch zur gesamten bisher veröffentlichten Keilschriftliteratur unter Berücksichtigung zahlreicher un veröffentlichter Texte*, von Prof. Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch (in ca. 10 Lieferungen). I. Lieferung. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 4to, pp. 168. Subscription 31.50 mks. — The first installment of the long-expected Assyrian lexicon. It is published in large quarto form (autographic reproduction), and presents a sumptuous appearance. In the present installment are treated under 95 articles, 188 words, from א to אֶרֶץ. The next two will likewise be devoted to the letter א. The remaining installments are to appear at regular intervals, and the completed work will contain about 1,600 pages. The lexicon is intended to embrace the entire mass of published inscriptions, as well as a great number yet unpublished. The author's principle is to treat the Assyrian vocabulary chiefly by itself, without reference to the

other Semitic languages, and to introduce the latter for comparison only in particularly difficult cases. — *Wissenschaftlicher und praktischer Commentar über den ersten Petrus Brief*, von Dr. Theol. Joh. Martin Usteri. Erster Theil: Die Auslegung. Zürich: Höhr. 8vo, pp. viii, 234. 5 mks. — The present volume is exclusively exegetical, and the epistle is treated with great fullness and detail. The introductory questions, such as date, authorship, etc., are all left for the second volume, which is to appear in the fall. Space forbids our giving any examples of the author's exegesis, but, as we perhaps always look first, in a commentary upon I. Peter for the interpretation of iii. 18-19, it may simply be said that he finds taught in that passage a continuance of mercy after death for the unsaved. — *Das Johannesevangelium*, untersucht und erklärt von Oscar Holtzmann. Darmstadt: Waitz. 8vo, pp. viii, 308. 9 mks. — This interesting work consists of *Untersuchungen* (pp. 1-195) and *Kommentar* (196-306). Under the former head are discussed such introductory questions as the relation of the fourth Gospel to the synoptic gospels (very full and thorough), *die Weltanschauung*, *Kompositionsweise*, *äussere Bezeugung*, etc. The commentary proper is very brief, and only the most important subjects are touched upon, but these are treated with a clearness and condensation which display unusual ability and self-restraint. Such a brief outline is, of course, not designed to take the place of our Meyers and other great exegetical storehouses, but it has its peculiar advantages. The author is an advanced liberal, and holds many radical positions; for example, he undervalues the historical worth of the Gospel. It is needless to say that he denies its apostolic authorship; and it is not surprising to find him denying *in toto* the Ephesian activity of the apostle John, and substituting for him, in the tradition, the presbyter John, as the author of the Apocalypse, and as the teacher of Polycarp and of Papias, although he has against him many of Germany's best critics. — *Commentar zur Genesis*, von C. W. Gossrau. Halberstadt: Schimmelburg. 8vo, pp. 390. 7.50 mks. — In connection with the preceding, it is interesting to turn to this book as a proof (whatever we are accustomed to think) that orthodoxy, as sound as ever existed, still flourishes in Germany. As far as the writer is able to judge, the author is the most orthodox commentator of the age; at least his book seems to be chiefly occupied in combating the heterodox opinions of others. Delitzsch is usually considered reasonably sound, but the poor man fares badly at the hands of his present critic. The tone of the book is decidedly pessimistic. After discussing, in his introduction, a number of Delitzsch's positions, he concludes with the ominous words: "So wird der ungläubigen Kritik Schritt für Schritt gewichen, langsam, aber gewichen, und also Gottes Wort preisgegeben." He makes short work with modern theories as to the composition of the Pentateuch, and states his own position in the following unequivocal words: "Die Genesis ist von Einem geschrieben mit festem Plane und deutlichem Zusammenhange; dieser Eine war Moses, der Führer der Kinder Israel aus Aegypten, ihr Gesetzgeber und der Mittler zwischen Gott und Israel. In dem Buche ist so wenig Irrthum als Betrug oder Fälschung der Wahrheit." Evolution seems to be his especial foe. "So bildet denn der Darwinismus in jeder Form den Gegensatz gegen die Bibel." He concludes that the creation took place in six days of the same length as our own; he finds the Trinity taught in i. 26, and insists that the flood must have covered the whole earth. He is a brave man who admits no compromises, and evi-

dently feels himself commissioned to uphold the true faith against its numerous enemies. — *Der Ursprung und die Bedeutung des Apostolates in der christlichen Kirche der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte.* Eine kritisch-historische Untersuchung auf Grund der Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der weiteren christlichen Literatur. Eine von der Haager Gesellschaft zur Vertheidigung der christlichen Religion gekrönte Preisschrift, von Wilhelm Senfert, Pfarrer in Wollbach (Baden). Leiden: Brill. 8vo, pp. viii, 162. 3 mks. — This interesting study should be welcomed as the most detailed and extensive treatment of this particular subject which has yet appeared. The author is, unfortunately, still under the influence of the Tübingen school, and his work suffers, in consequence. He can treat the non-Pauline books of the New Testament only as tendency writings, and the historical worth of his conclusions is thereby greatly lessened. The results which he reaches are decidedly radical: for example, Christ did not, during his life, appoint apostles. Our synoptic Gospels, as we have them, betray a Judaizing tendency in dating back into Christ's life a historical fact which took place some years after his death and resurrection. The apostolate, as an institution, owes its origin to a reaction against Paul's free proclamation of the Gospel, and belongs, therefore, to the time of the strife between Paul and the Judaizers. Paul, therefore, not merely by his personality, but also by his defense of his own apostleship, was the real founder of the dignity of the apostolate. Upon this point the author lays great weight; it is the kernel of his thesis. At the beginning of the fifties the list of the apostles was first revised, and its number reduced to twelve, in order to shut out Paul. Christ was indeed the founder of the apostolate, but not "in dem Sinne, als hätte er diese Institution des apostolischen und nachapost. Zeitalters selber zu seinen Lebzeiten als etwas neues ins Leben gerufen." From the Synoptists we can draw nothing reliable in regard to the origin of the apostolate, except that "Jesus für seine Jünger der Aussendende war, gerade so er selbst ein Apostel Gottes war." But space forbids the mention of further details; likewise any discussion of the author's positions, interesting as the subject is. We welcome the work as a conscientious, painstaking study of an important theme, and especially because, in awakening opposition, as it must from many quarters, it will be the beginning of a more careful study of the matter, which cannot but be productive of good results. — *Bibliotheca Theologica*, herausgegeben von Gustav Ruprecht. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Price yearly 2.50 mks. — This *Bibliotheca* can hardly be classed with theological literature, as it is nothing more than a list of titles; but its usefulness warrants our bringing it particularly before the notice of American readers. It has been issued regularly for more than twenty years, but last year its province was extended to include foreign literature and periodical articles, and the value of the catalogue is thus greatly increased. It appears quarterly, and aims to contain the titles of all books and articles, upon any branch of theological science, which have appeared during the quarter, arranged topically, with an alphabetical index of authors added at the end of the year. The volumes of the same series — from 1863 to 1885 — can be procured of the same publishers for ten marks, and Zuchold's catalogue, including the literature from 1830–1862 (two volumes), for eight marks.

Arthur C. McGiffert.

MARBURG, PRUSSIA.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Ginn & Co., Boston. Outlines of Logic and of Encyclopædia of Philosophy: Dictated Portions of the Lectures of Hermann Lotze. Translated and Edited by George T. Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale College. Pp. viii, 184. 1887. \$1.00.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. The Poetic and Dramatic Works of Robert Browning. In six volumes. Crown octavo. Vol. III. The Ring and the Book. Pp. 477. 1887. \$1.75; — [Same.] Vol. IV. Christmas-Eve and Easter Day; Men and Women; In a Balcony; Dramatis Personæ; Balaustion's Adventure; Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau; Fifiue at the Fair. Pp. 444. 1887. \$1.75; — [Same.] Vol. V. Red Cotton Night-Cap Country; Aristophanes' Apology; The Inn Album; Pacchiarotto and How He Worked in Distemper; and Other Poems. Pp. 394. 1887. \$1.75; — [Same.] Vol. VI. The Agamemnon of Æschylus; La Saisiaz; The Two Poets of Croisic; Dramatic Idyls; Jocoseria; Ferishtah's Fancies and Parleyings. With General Index of Titles. Pp. 395. 1887. \$1.75; — Colonial Ballads, Sonnets, and Other Verse. By Margaret J. Preston, author of "Silverwood," "Beechenbrook," "Old Song and New," etc. 16mo, pp. xii, 259. 1887. \$1.25; — American Commonwealths. Connecticut. A Study of a Commonwealth Democracy. By Alexander Johnston, Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Princeton College. 16mo, pp. xiv, 409. 1887. \$1.25; — The Appeal to Life. By Theodore T. Munger, author of "The Freedom of Faith." 16mo, pp. xiv, 339. 1887. \$1.50; — A Treatise on the Law of Divorce, with the Causes for which Divorce will be granted in all the States and Territories; The Time of Residence required in each; and a Brief Digest of the Leading Decisions by the Appellate Courts: Containing also a Careful Compilation of the Latest Divorce Statistics. By A. Parlett Lloyd, of the Baltimore Bar. 8vo, pp. xxiv, 323. 1887. \$2.00; — American Statesmen. Life of Henry Clay. By Carl Schurz. In two vols. 16mo, vol. I., pp. 383; vol. II., pp. 424. 1887. \$2.50; — The Phillips Exeter Lectures. Lectures delivered before the Students of Phillips Exeter Academy, 1885-1886. By Presidents McCosh, Walker, Bartlett, Robinson, Porter, and Carter, and Rev. Drs. Hale and Brooks. Pp. 208. 1887. \$1.50.

T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York. Christ and Christianity. The Conquering Cross (The Church). By the Rev. H. R. Haweis, M. A., Incumbent of St. James's, Marylebone, author of "Music and Morals," "Thoughts for the Times," "Speech in Season," etc. Crown 8vo, pp. xx, 268. \$1.25; — Cuore: an Italian Schoolboy's Journal. A Book for Boys. By Edmondo De Amicis. Translated from the 39th Italian edition, by Isabel F. Hapgood. Pp. 326. 1887. \$1.25; — Sigrid, an Icelandic Love Story. By Jon Thordsson Thoroddson. Translated from the Danish, by C. Chrest. Edited by Thomas Tapper, Jr. Pp. iv, 286. 1887. \$1.25.

E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. Tolerance: Two Lectures addressed to the Students of Several of the Divinity Schools of the Protestant Episcopal Church. By Phillips Brooks, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston. 16mo, pp. 111. 1887. 75 cents.

Funk & Wagnalls, New York. Encyclopedia of Living Divines and Christian Workers of all Denominations in Europe and America; being a Supplement to Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Edited by Rev. Philip Schaff, D. D., LL. D., and Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson, M. A. Pp. vi, 271. 1887. \$3.00; — Hints on Early Education and Nursery Discipline. 12mo, pp. 97. 1887. 60 cents; — The Bible-Work: The Old Testament. Vol. I. Genesis chap. i. to Exodus chap. xii. From the Creation to the Exodus. The Revised Text, arranged in sections; with comments selected from the choicest, most illuminating, and helpful thought of the Christian Centuries. Taken from four hundred scholarly writers. Prepared by J.

Glentworth Butler, D. D. Pp. 647. 1887 ; — Pulpit Trees and Homiletic Undergrowth : being Discourses, Sermonic Saplings, Outlines and Germs. By Rev. Thomas Kelly, Philadelphia. Pp. vii, 336. 1887.

Macmillan & Co., New York. The Sacred Books of the East. Translated by Various Oriental Scholars, and Edited by F. Max Müller. Vol. XXXI. The Zend-Avesta. Part III. "The Yasna, Vespasad, Âfrinagat, Gâhs, and Miscellaneous Fragments. Translated by L. H. Mills. 8vo, pp. xlviii, 404. 1887. \$3.25. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.

Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., New York. Abraham, Joseph, and Moses in Egypt: Being a Course of Lectures delivered before the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey. By Rev. Alfred H. Kellogg, D. D., of Philadelphia, member of "Victoria Institute," etc. Pp. xii, 160. 1887. \$1.50.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Psychology. The Motive Powers, Emotions, Conscience, Will. By James McCosh, D. D., LL. D., Litt. D., President of Princeton College, author of "Method of Divine Government," etc. 12mo, pp. vi, 267. 1887. \$1.50 ; — Word Studies in the New Testament. By Marvin R. Vincent, D. D. Vol. I. The Synoptic Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles of Peter, James, and Jude. 8vo, pp. 822. 1887. \$4.00.

Scribner & Welford, New York. Clark's Foreign Theological Library. New Series. Vol. XXIX. Apologetics; or The Scientific Vindication of Christianity. By J. H. A. Ebrard, Ph. D., D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Translated by Rev. John Macpherson, M. A. Vol. II. Pp. viii, 423. 1887.

Thomas Whittaker, New York. A Hebrew Grammar. By the Rev. W. H. Lowe, M. A., Lecturer on Hebrew, Christ's College, Cambridge; joint author of "A Commentary on the Psalms," etc. Pp. 59, 27. 1887. 75 cents ; — An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. By the Rev. Benjamin B. Warfield, D. D., Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey. Pp. 225. 1887. 75 cents ; — The Growth of Church Institutions. By the Rev. Edwin Hatch, M. A., D. D., Reader in Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford. Pp. xvi, 227. 1887. \$1.50 ; — Future Retribution viewed in the Light of Reason and Revelation. By C. A. Row, M. A., Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral, author of the Bampton Lectures on "Christian Evidences viewed in Relation to Modern Thought," "The Jesus of the Evangelists," etc. Pp. x, 429. 1887. \$2.50.

J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. Preliminary Report of the Commission appointed by the University of Pennsylvania to Investigate Modern Spiritualism, in accordance with the Request of the Late Henry Seybert. Pp. 159. 1887. \$1.00.

Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Evolution and Christianity. A Study. By J. C. F. Grumbine. Pp. 75. 1887. 50 cents ; — Uplifts of Heart and Will. A Series of Religious Meditations or Aspirations, addressed to Earnest Men and Women. By James H. West. Pp. iv, 65. 1887. 50 cents ; — The Sailing of King Olaf, and Other Poems. By Alice Williams Brotherton. Pp. 145. 1887. \$1.00 ; — The New Birth, with a chapter on Mind Cure. By L. P. Mercer. Pp. 127. 1881. 50 cents.

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THE EFFECT OF THE SCIENTIFIC TEMPER IN
MODERN POETRY. .

I.

ART, Religion, Science, — these are the three great formative powers of human life. No one of them has ever been absent at any period of recorded history ; some one of them has always been predominant. From questions concerning the relations of the three, has sprung a large share of our intellectual perplexities : in their harmony would be found the solution of our greatest mysteries.

The problem of the relation of art to religion has at least been well aired. Greece answered it in one way, mediæval Christianity in another ; and if not solved it has in any case retired into the background. In our own day it is the third factor which has absorbed attention ; and the relation of science to religion on the one hand and to art on the other has become the burning topic of the time.

It has naturally been the first of these relationships which has chiefly engrossed our thoughts. The subject is both more obvious and more important. We have been steeped in it now for many years. It has been preached at us from pulpit and lecture-desk ; it has appealed to us in every new set of book advertisements ; and it has insidiously lurked within the covers of the popular magazine. We seem to see signs that the storm is subsiding ; that the problem, in all its issues, is at last fairly before the public, and can pass, so far as it has not been solved, into the honorable ranks of such retired and permanent perplexities as that of Fate and Free-will. In the mean time, the third question, that which concerns the nature of the relation of science and art, has been clearly recognized, indeed, but somewhat cursorily dealt with ; it

is certainly, however, of sufficient importance to justify a careful inquiry ; and there are many indications that its time is at hand.

So far, there has been in all the treatment of this subject a curious superficiality. The general public thinks and constantly says that there is between art and science a natural antagonism, and that, as scientific conceptions come more and more to control our thoughts, artistic conceptions will be regarded with indifference, and will tend to disappear. Critical thinkers, on the whole, from Hazlitt to Dowden and Stedman, agree in this view. Their reasons for holding it are quite simple ; they may, indeed, be reduced to two syllogisms. The first reads as follows : —

Art is founded on mystery ;

Science destroys mystery ;

Therefore, art and science are incompatible.

And the second is similar, though a trifle less logical : —

Science concerns itself with the telephone and the electric light ;

Art does not concern itself with the telephone and the electric light ;

Therefore, art and science are incompatible.

This demonstration is sometimes exactly reversed. Some enthusiastic people maintain that the telephone and the electric light are in the highest sense artistic, and are to furnish the materials for the art, especially the poetic art, of the future. These people are, as a rule, fond of quoting Mr. Whitman, above all in such passages as this : —

“ The étui of surgical instruments, and the étui of oculist's or aurist's instruments or dentist's instruments —

The cylinder-press, the hand-press, the frisket and tympan — the compositor's stick and rule ;

In them your themes and hints and provokers : —

If not, the whole earth has no themes or hints or provokers — and never had.”

But in whatever way we turn these arguments, they are neither of them very profound. The last one takes an obviously narrow view of science. The question whether we are to have new art during the next fifty years or so is comparatively trivial, and even a moderate optimism may suppose that the time will come when we shall have made ourselves as comfortable as the limits of time and space will permit, and have leisure to turn our attention away from material discoveries. Those who urge the first argument are apparently not familiar with the truth pointed out by Spencer, that the more we enlarge the shining globe of our

knowledge, the more extended will be the surface in contact with surrounding darkness. But further than this, such arguments are founded on a radical misconception of the relation between art and science. The misconception runs through all that has been written on the subject; and, so far as I know, no effort to ascertain the real nature of the relation has ever been made. Now all the light that we have yet gained concerning the true bearing of science on religion has come from discussing the real connection of the two and defining their respective provinces; it would therefore seem worth while to attempt in this analogous subject a similar method. In this way, we can perhaps find a logical basis for our inquiry into the effect of science on modern art, for we shall know what kind of an effect to look for. And as art in general is rather a broad subject for discussion, we will limit ourselves to poetry, the branch of art popularly supposed to come in most direct conflict with science.

Notice, in the first place, that the object of poetry is not the same as that of science. Coleridge long ago pointed out this fact, but his wording of the distinction has produced some confusion; for it has seemed to countenance the theory that science concerned itself with truth, while poetry had a decided preference for fiction, provided the fiction were agreeable. In reality, neither science nor poetry can for an instant tolerate anything but the strictest of truth; but their ultimate objects vary. Science presents to us truth in order that we may know; poetry presents to us truth in order that we may enjoy.

Further than this, science and poetry do not concern themselves with the same subject-matter. The truths which they convey are not of the same order. From ignoring this obvious fact has sprung in great measure the superficiality with which even the best men treat the subject. They inquire whether scientific facts are fit subjects for poetry; they decide that the railroad is unpoetic, and that a nebulous mass does not appeal to the imagination; and the question is dismissed. Now such considerations are remote from the point. The provinces of science and poetry must always remain distinct; but they do not interfere with each other. The scientist concerns himself with the facts evident upon ultimate analysis; the poet with the facts of appearance; and the one set of facts is as true as the other. To the scientist, the world must forever roll on its axis around the central solar fire; to the poet, the sun must forever set behind the western hills.

The relation between poetry and science is, then, one neither of

object nor of subject-matter. They do not work towards the same end; they do not use the same material. If we are to discover between the two any vital connecting principle, we must look deeper. We must penetrate below applied science and below discovered law to the spirit which has inspired conceptions and rendered possible discoveries, — to the scientific temper. It is not in one detail or another, it is in the change of our whole attitude towards the world that consists the miracle of modern science. Now poetry has always claimed to be the imaginative interpretation of life; and if it cannot adjust itself to this new attitude, which modifies our whole conception of the world and our relation to it, one of two things must happen: either it must perish altogether, or it must lose the breadth and nobility of scope in which its power has hitherto consisted, and sink into a mere dilettante amusement, valued for its prettiness and not for its message. Is poetry able to adjust itself to the scientific attitude and to assimilate the scientific temper, while losing nothing of its peculiar power? This, it seems to me, is the direction in which the true influence of science on poetry is to be studied.

Now, when we analyze an attitude, we find that it depends on the apprehension of certain great principles so fundamental and all-pervasive that they diffuse themselves through all our modes of thought, and color our mental action. And the easiest way to carry on our inquiry will be to take up one after another of these great vital principles, and ask how far its influence can be traced in the vast body of poetic literature which this century has produced. If we find that these principles have been ignored, we must, I fear, conclude that our poetry, unless it reforms, is doomed to shrink a good deal and become a matter of very secondary importance; but if we find them eagerly welcomed and assimilated, we may at least hope for the opposite.

One word of preface first. An attitude is not a dogma; it is not a collection of dogmas. It is cause, and not effect. Now, a cause must precede an effect; and the spirit which produced the discoveries of modern science was in the air long before the publication of the "*Origin of Species*." We need not, therefore, confine our inquiry to the poetry written since 1859; neither need we be surprised should we find the poets sometimes anticipating a scientific idea before it was formulated. Such anticipations would simply prove how subtly diffused was the modern spirit. We shall, then, include in our study all the poets of the nineteenth century, taking the French Revolution as the great break between the ancient and the modern world.

II.

As we take up one after the other the characteristic principles of modern science, we are first struck by the amazing growth in clearness and power of the idea of Force. That idea was not unknown to early science and philosophy; but it remained barren and unproductive, and it lacked one of the most important elements of the modern force-idea, — that of progress towards some definite, though unseen end. The conception of one vast, ever-active, determining energy is modern; and incalculable indeed is the change it has wrought in our attitude towards the world. It is almost impossible now to think ourselves away from the idea, and only after careful study are we convinced by the strongest of evidence that in our older literature, taken as a whole, no traces of its influence are to be found. Here and there is a stray hint or a suggestive line; but, broadly speaking, we find that the conception of progress is unknown in our older poetry. Until the time of Wordsworth, the universe is thought of as stationary, or as partaking at best of a curious rotary motion. It would be easy to multiply instances, but we shall presently take up the subject in detail, and one general example must suffice. Of all the greater English poets, there is none who took so genuine a delight as did Spenser in cosmic speculation. It had for his abstruse and dreamy temperament a special fascination; hints of it constantly occur in the "*Faerie Queene*;" and at last, in the fine fragment on *Mutabilitee*, the allegory becomes confessedly philosophical, and centres around this very problem of change, a question which weighed heavily on the poet's mind. The goddess *Mutabilitee* claims the world as her own, and summons as her witnesses the seasons, months, etc. She makes out a strong case for herself, but is condemned by Nature in significant lines, which sum up the whole philosophy of the time. It is curious to notice in the whole passage the absence of any idea of growth, and the disgust with which change is viewed, as the prime enemy of order and harmony: —

"I well consider all that ye have said,
And find that all things steadfastness do hate,
And changed be; yet, being rightly wayd,
They are not changed from their first estate,
But by their change their being do dilate,
And, turning to themselves at length againe,
Do work their own salvation so by Fate.
Then over them change doth not rule and reigne,
But they rule over change, and do their states maintain."

"Turning to themselves again." That is the root-idea. An unending return to the original condition; a perpetual revolution of the wheel in the same spot, with no forward impetus. The idea of change as the necessary condition of development has not yet dawned; it was not to dawn for centuries.

And when it finally appeared, it was under circumstances so abnormal and violent that its true scope was not at first perceived. Introduced in the lurid atmosphere of the French Revolution, the faith in progress was seized in a spirit of defiance and sensation. The writers of the first of the century brandish it like a red flag. They do not apprehend the idea as a fact; they claim it as a right. As liberty meant to them the destruction of tyrants, so progress implied primarily the annihilation of the past. Even Shelley, with his glorious, if misty, aspirations, could not divest himself of the negative idea that growth can come only through violence and destruction. But in time thought quieted down. It became calm, rational, observant. The conception of progress ceased to be emotional and political; it became scientific. It recognized the great principle of harmonious development, — consecutive, not spasmodic. Since then, the idea has permeated our literature with constantly increasing power, till it has become in our own day the great governing principle of thought and life. In our own generation, in the poems of Tennyson and Browning, we find it at last thoroughly assimilated, — and how noble is the result! We cannot tell which poet grasps it more fully: Browning, who individualizes the conception, and bids us behold in the life of each separate soul, "on the earth, the broken arc; in the heavens, the perfect round;" or Tennyson, who generalizes it, and rises to the vision, faint yet clear, of "one far-off, divine event, to which the whole creation moves." In almost every department of our poetry we recognize the fructifying power of this new idea; and nothing can be more interesting than to trace some of its special manifestations.

Consider, for instance, the difference between the treatment of character in the older literature and in that of to-day. What is the secret of this difference? Not, as is often asserted, that we have no competent character-drawing in early times. The actors in the old epics stand out before us clear, living, forcible. The description is simple, but natures were simple then; and a few strong, concise touches may give us more than a whole novel of analysis.

How these men live in our hearts and minds! Achilles, the

impetuous and noble ; Ulysses, the wary and sad ; Launcelot, " meekest man and the gentlest that ever ate in hall among ladies ; and sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever put spear in the rest : " we know them all, as we know the man we talk to in the horse-cars, the acquaintance from whom we parted last night. In the most novel of novels you shall find no gallery of figures that, for subtle humor, for kindly yet keen discrimination, shall exceed old Dan Chaucer's company of pilgrims. Yet a fundamental difference in method we all perceive between the " Morte d'Arthur " and the " Idylls of the King," between the " Prologue " and the " Ring and the Book." This difference lies just here : our modern study of character finds its interest and value only as it traces growth, — it centres in the idea of development ; while to the older writers this idea is completely ignored. With them, a type, once drawn, is unchangeable. The inevitable progression of years leaves no mark even on the outward man. Helen returns to the home she had left thirty years before, still calm in eternal beauty ; Palamon and Arcite, an indefinite number of " years or tweye " having elapsed, fight for Emelye with all the ardor of youth. Neither is there any change of the inner nature. Circumstances may storm and rage and batter ; extremes of fortune succeed each other with startling rapidity ; death threatens, love encircles, power crowns ; yet the hero remains throughout passive and unmoved ; as he was in the beginning, so he emerges at the end. Griselda the girl receives with meek brow and folded hands the summons to wed her feudal lord ; with meek brow and folded hands Griselda the matron welcomes her husband's bride. Years have passed by, filled with strange and bitter experience ; but they have not affected her, — she remains a constant quantity. This curious subjective immobility pervades all the characters of fiction and poetry until our own day. Is it heretical to say that even in Shakespeare we find traces of its influence ? Do we ever think of the childhood or youth of his characters ? No one has given with equal power the conflicting passions that play about the central point of individuality ; he has not shown us that individuality altered in its very texture through the action of some great moral force. I think it is Lanier who points out that Shakespeare has never drawn a repentance ; it is equally true that he has never, in the deepest sense, drawn a development. Hamlet's indecision never hardens into determination ; he kills the king through a passionate and instantaneous impulse. Othello's love changes to jealousy ; but the change is in manifestation, not in

essence. Ophelia goes mad because her sweet, shallow nature cannot broaden and deepen into adequacy to its needs. Shakespeare's characters may break; but they never yield, and through yielding grow. But whatever may be thought of our great master, there can be no doubt of the application of this principle in more recent times. The novels of fifty years ago no longer interest us. Their charm is gone. Is it not because they lived before the dawn of this new day? We find in them excellent pictures of still-life; but however crowded they may be with adventure and even with action, the springs of the action are always without and not within. This is true of all the novelists of the time; it is emphatically true of the representative novelist, Scott. There is much clatter of arms in his stories, much hurrying from palace to heath, from heath to dungeon; but through it all there reigns the same fixed calm of characters immutable in weakness or in strength.

We need not linger to note in detail the wonderful and vital change wrought in our character-literature by the introduction of the growth-idea; a simple enumeration of the works of one man will suffice. Robert Browning is the one poet who has taken for his exclusive province human life, and his method is the representative method of the time. Now this method has for its very soul the tracing of development. Colombe, Caponsacchi, Tresham, Djabal, Chiappino, Ottima, — in each and all of his characters the interest centres in some critical moment, —

“When the spirit's true endowments
Stand out clearly from its false ones,
And apprise it if pursuing
Or the right way, or the wrong way,
To its triumph or undoing.”

The secret of life to Browning is in aspiration towards the un-attained; the one tragedy of life is in arrested development. Growth or degeneration: — these are the two eternal facts. Cessation is impossible; for the spirit of man is the exponent of an eternal force, pressing it forward, while life endures, to some glorious unseen end.

Thus at the foundation of our modern poetic methods in the study of character we find the conception of purposeful activity; we shall find the same conception equally vital in that department which, for want of a better name, we may call contemplative or reflective. And its manifestations are in a way analogous. In the treatment of character it took the form of enthusiasm for the transitional as distinguished from the permanent; so in the treat-

ment of abstractions it is evident in the characteristic modern tendency to study processes instead of dwelling on results. Once more, the development-method confronts us; but applied to the presentation, not of characters but of ideas.

When a writer of the last century desired to compose an Essay on Man, he sat down and meditated. He thought out with scrupulous care all which might, as it seemed to him, be said to advantage on the subject; he formulated his conclusions in the most elegant language at his disposal, eliminating all suggestion of the individual method by which those conclusions were reached, and he finally sent out into the world a rhythmical row of sententious and impersonal opinions.

An author of this century wishing to write a reflective poem does not, for reasons that will appear later, choose as his subject, "Man." But he will take for his theme one of the fundamental problems which have never been so near the common heart as they are to-day; and his method of treatment will be most easily understood by a reference to the great modern poem of contemplation. What is Tennyson's method in "In Memoriam"?

The theme is the faith in immortality developed through the sorrow of loss; and the whole interest of the poem depends on tracing a double process. First, that by which the soul, in the beginning numb with despair, is slowly roused to consciousness, and led step by step, through shifting phases of hope and fear, to the sure and certain faith of reunion:—

"Dear heavenly friend that canst not die,
Mine, mine forever, ever mine,

Far off thou art, but ever nigh;
I have thee still, and I rejoice;
I prosper circled with thy voice;
I shall not lose thee, though I die."

Second, the process by which the suffering spirit is drawn from absorption in its private and special sorrow to share in the broader life and hope of humanity, believing that

"All is well, though faith and form
Be Sundered in the night of fear."

The gradual experience of years is reflected minutely and faithfully in successive phases. Each phase, incomplete in itself, prepares the way for the next; and the final triumph of the conclusion gains its whole value from the record of the struggle and perplexity by which it has been attained.

And the method of "In Memoriam" is the method of all modern work. In order that a poem may interest us to-day, it is absolutely necessary that it contain the elements of development and suspense. We care nothing for conclusions cut and dried, we do care for the process by which these conclusions were reached. The soul, held in unstable equilibrium between conflicting forces; testing, rejecting, quivering responsive to a complex sequence of emotions,—this is what appeals to us, this the record that we seek. The experiences presented must not be dried specimens; they must be endowed with the vital power of growth. We turn aside from even the shortest poem which fails to convey some sense of the development of thought and mood. How strikingly the poetry which the French call "intime" — the poetry which comes home to our hearts — conforms to this principle! See, for instance, in these lines of Clough's, how each stanza represents a different stage in the soul's search for communion with the Divine: —

"O Thou whose image in the shrine
Of human spirits dwells Divine;
Which from that precinct once conveyed
To be to outer day displayed,
Doth vanish, part, and leave behind
Mere blank and void of empty mind,
Which wilful fancy seeks in vain
With casual shapes to fill again!

"O Thou that in our bosom's shrine
Dost dwell, unknown because Divine,
I sought to speak, I thought to say,
'The light is here,' 'Behold the way,'
'The Voice was thus,' and 'thus the Word,'
And 'thus I spoke,' and 'thus I heard,' —
But from the lips that half-essay'd,
The imperfect utterance fell unmade.

"O Thou, in that mysterious shrine,
Enthroned, as I must say, Divine,
I will not frame one thought of what
Thou may'st either be or not;
I will not prate of 'thus' and 'so,'
And be profane with 'yes' and 'no' —
Enough that in my soul and heart
Thou, whatsoe'er Thou may'st be, art.

"Do only Thou in that dim shrine,
Known or unknown, remain Divine,
There, or if not, at least in eyes
That scan the fact that round them lies;

The hand to sway, the judgment guide,
In sight and sense Thyself divide —
Be Thou but there — in mind and heart,
I will not ask to feel Thou art."

In every writer of the century we find this modern note. We judge by reach, not grasp. Shelley, the poet of desire; Wordsworth, the poet of memory: we value the one for aspirations towards the glory that shall be revealed, the other for the contemplative joy with which he dwells on the successive revelations of past experience. An Arnold struggles through the storm and stress of modern life towards the tranquillity of the elder world, and our natures join in the contest; but we turn from him with indifference when, having formulated a working theory, he drops into complacent middle life. A Bishop Blougram balances with infinite subtlety the *pros* and *cons* of conventional acquiescence in dogma; and we follow him with a keenness of sympathy given to no man who sees but one side. A Clough fights for the clearer faith through bewildering doubts of his own power to believe; and the souls of all seekers after truth vibrate in unison. It is the age of the poetry of struggle, not of victory; of desire, not of achievement; of growth, not of rest.

"And what is our failure here but a triumph's evidence
For the fulness of the days? Have we withered or agonized?
Why else was the pause prolonged, but that singing might issue thence?
Why rushed the discords in, but that harmony might be prized?"

We have traced in two departments of poetry the effect of the new scientific conception of vitalizing energy. We have seen the vigor, variety, and breadth which it has introduced in the poetry of human life and of human thought. One other inquiry under this head is left us; and we ask ourselves to what extent and in what direction the idea of all-pervading force has modified the poetic interpretation of nature.

What it has done seems at first sight very insignificant. It has introduced to the literature of nature the idea of motion.

And this change, apparently so unimportant, has revolutionized the aspect of the natural world. To the poets before Wordsworth nature was a silent panorama; to us it is full of perpetual change. To them it was dumb and dead; to us it is instinct with buoyant life.

It would be, of course, obviously untrue to say that no motion is ever rendered in the older nature-poetry. The play of day and night, of storm and calm, must inevitably have caught the sensi-

tive eye of the poets, and passages describing them will at once come to mind. But it will be noticed that such changes as are rendered are always superficial; they have no reference to the fundamental sequence of energy that runs through the natural order, but are rather isolated phenomena. Again, there is about the early treatment of nature a curious fact; and an indication of the scope of the idea of change and motion will most effectively show its limitations. Now, to the older poets this idea, when realized, came invariably with the implied sadness of decay. It is in moments of despondency that the thought of transition appeals to them; the one message which it brings is that all fairest things are doomed to swiftest death. This association of ideas will be found always to pervade our older literature. Very characteristic is the pathetic note struck again and again by Shakespeare in the Sonnets: —

“When I have seen the hungry ocean gain
Advantage on the kingdom of the shore,
And the firm soil win of the watery main
Increasing store with loss and loss with store,
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This thought is as a death, which cannot choose
But weep to have that which it fears to lose.”

The philosophical truth that in change alone is consciousness, joy, life itself, is unknown to these poets; the artistic sense of the charm inherent in the evanescence of beauty is equally strange to them. In their best and most healthful moments, the beauty of the world is stable and firm. Their flowers never wither, their skies never fade; it must be confessed that to us the result is sometimes uninteresting. Their one ideal is to crystallize all loveliness into permanent form. Thus Spenser, in the Garden of Acrasia: —

“Therewith the Heavens, always jovial,
Look’t on them lovely, still in steadfast state,
Ne suffred storm nor frost on them to fall,
Their tender buds or leaves to violate.”

The whole method of treating Nature in the older literature is analogous to that of the painter. The world is viewed as a series of pictures; different scenes are carefully described, but the passage of one scene into another rarely or never. The moments which the poets love are moments of repose. How seldom do we find a sunrise or a sunset treated other than conventionally! Can we conceive a man who had steeped himself in the joy of the slowly spreading dawn confining himself afterwards to a frigid

mention of the rosy fingers of Aurora? Even Chaucer never describes such moments in the natural method. No; the early morning, when matters are settled, when we are sure of a number of hours of good, steady daylight, is the time he loves. Even when the idea of motion would seem to be inherent in the object described, he evades it. His delight in the fresh country is summed up in his love for his favorite "briddes." Allusions to them are constant in his poems; but for all that he gives of their airiness and lightness, these winged spirits of the breeze incarnate might just as well be little birds of wood. They sit on branches and converse politely; they do not fly, they simply change their position; one is sure that they would settle with a thud. Never once, so far as I know, does Chaucer note the characteristic flight of a bird. He distinguishes them otherwise:—

"The swallow, murderer of the bees small,
That maken honie of flowers fresh of hew;
The wedded turtle, with his feathers true,
The phesaunt, scorner of the rocks by night."

We can hardly estimate the distance between Canace's Falcon, with her debonair talk, and Wordsworth's little "Green Linnet," that "brother of the dancing leaves,"—

"Amid that tuft of hazel trees,
Where the flutter of his wings
Upon his back and body flings
Shadows and sunny glimmerings
That cover him all over."

We have a long road to travel before we shall reach this dainty appreciation of the charm of a perpetual quiver. Even as late as Milton there is still an utter deadness and fixedness in all delineations of nature. What a magnificent opportunity for describing the gradual dawn of living beauty was in the hands of the man who did not hesitate to write poetry about the creation! Does he avail himself of it? Does he give us any suggestion of the tender grace of the young, wondering world, the slow awakening and unfolding of all fair things till they reach the perfection of their loveliness? Oh no! There is chaos, void, abyss, emptiness. We wait and watch. Suddenly—hey! presto! The world is made. There it whirls,—round, smooth, neatly finished. There are the oceans with the fishes, the mountains, the trees, yes, and the flowers and beasts:—

"Forth flourished thick the clust'ring vine, forth crept
The swelling gourd, up stood the corny reed,
Embattled in her field, and th' humble shrub,
And bush, with frizzled hair implicit."

It is all in admirable order, quite complete and ready for use.

In the next generation of poets we begin to note a curious change. A pseudo-scientific spirit appears. It treats mechanically various truths which our own time was to render spiritually; and among these truths, it grasps with especial clearness that of the unceasing activity pervading nature. But how trivial is the apprehension of the principle and its scope! Listen to Cowper as he tells us:—

“Constant rotation of th’ unwearied wheel
That nature rides upon, maintains her health,
Her beauty, her fertility.”

And a little later, with true scientific accuracy,

“Its own revolvency upholds the world.”

Do you know what use he makes of this great principle, which he has thus for the first time recognized in poetry? He employs it as an argument to induce lazy people to take a brisk walk after dinner.

Then comes our own century; and, with a transition so abrupt as to be hardly recognizable, comes a radical change. The truth of universal force is recognized by science as a physical fact; it becomes in poetry a spiritual law. It follows that the delight of the poets centres no longer in permanent scenes, but dwells rather on those constantly shifting and successive manifestations of power which forever struggle to shadow forth to us the ideal beauty that lies beyond our senses’ ken. Thus the old style of dry enumeration vanishes; the sadness of decay is recognized as the necessary condition of the law of growth; and the treatment of nature, which had been purely pictorial, becomes akin to another art,—the art of the musician. As the essence of music lies in change, and the chord, indefinitely prolonged, would be no music at all, so it seems to us with the deeper harmony of the life of the world. It is curious to see how this love for transition as distinguished from permanence pervades nearly every allusion to nature in our modern poetry. The power delicately to seize fleeting effects, elusive phases of beauty,—is not this what lends interest for us to a poet’s work? Does not the absence of it make him dull? Not the moments when the beauty is fixed, but those when it is fugitive, are the favorites of our poets. Listen for a moment to this sunset:—

“There now the sun had set, but lines of gold
Hung on the ashen clouds, and on the points
Of the far level grass and nodding flowers,
And the old dandelion’s hoary head,

And mingled with the shades of evening, lay
On the brown massy wood ; and in the East
The broad and burning moon lingeringly rose
Between the black trunks of the farthest trees,
While the faint stars were gathering overhead."

See how evanescent is the moment which the poet has chosen to depict. Another instant and the gold will have faded from the dun soft clouds, and the moon have risen above the tree-tops. See how the charm of the scene lies in the tremulous sense of a beauty too unearthly to linger, the reference in the first line to the day that had fled, in the last to the gathering night. The lines are Shelley's ; and more, perhaps, than any other poet Shelley is steeped in this sense of elastic and never-resting force. He turns aside with impatience from anything fixed. The soaring circle of the lark, the flowing of the river, the drift of the cloud across the sky, the onward sweep of the west wind, — these are the aspects on which he constantly lingers. Few of them, indeed, will you find emphasized in older poetry. Among our other modern poets the same tendency is hardly less marked. The revolution in temper can hardly be measured between a generation perfectly satisfied with Milton's mechanical catalogues, or Thompson's stereotyped and isolated studies, and one which expresses its attitude towards nature in such poems as Shelley's *West Wind*, or Wordsworth's *Lucy*. In poets the most diverse — in Tennyson, Rossetti, Kingsley, Emerson — we find the same delicate vigor in the treatment of nature ; and we can ascribe the change to nothing if not to the new perception of all phenomena as alike maintained and destroyed by an innate principle of life.

"Uprose the merry Sphinx,
And crouched no more in stone ;
She melted into purple cloud,
She silvered in the moon.
She spired into a yellow flame,
She flowered in blossoms red ;
She flowed into a foaming wave,
She stood Monadnoc's head."

III.

We have seen the influence in modern poetry of the primary note of the scientific temper. In the poetry which deals with man, with thought, and with nature, we have traced the power of belief in Force. It has rendered possible the ideal of the development of character ; it has laid open the inmost processes of

thought; and it has given us a universe no longer dead and fixed, but instinct with tremulous charm. Were these the only services rendered to poetry by the enlargement of our scientific ideas, we might pause satisfied. But there are other great conceptions, as characteristic as that of force, and these, too, must have their effect, for bad or good. And only second in importance comes an idea, correlative to that which we have considered, derived perhaps, and yet distinct. The clear apprehension of the Unity of Law is one of the most striking of scientific gains; and the effect on literature of the consequent belief in the vital relation of every part in the scheme of nature to every other part and to the whole, demands our careful study.

One thing is obvious: the older literature had no grasp of this truth. It is dismal business to prove a negative, but the absence of any sense of interdependence in most of our poetry obtrudes itself on us in ways both too subtle and too numerous to mention. There is a lack of wholeness of vision, resulting in a curious disjointedness. This is strongly marked in all the poetry of adventure, including the old epics, Chaucer, Spenser, and others. Sequences of event are arbitrary, relationships of character are spasmodic, and the wilder and less probable the invention the more acceptable it is found. Homogeneousness of action is unknown. It is a by-word of criticism that the power to form connected plots is one of the last to appear in fiction; and the old epics gain half their charm from their queer jumble of inconsistencies. If the novels and romances of the last century seem less absurdly incongruous, their superficial unity is rather a concession to observation than any real grasp on the principle of cause and effect. The inconsecutiveness of the primitive mind is curiously evident in other ways. Peoples in their infancy have always a peculiar liking for proverbs and riddles; and this gnomic poetry, with its series of detached bits of wisdom, shows how knowledge appeals to man at first in scraps rather than in wholes. The same tendency lingers as late as Queen Anne's day. A poem was not judged as a whole, but as a succession of parts. It was valued for the number of isolated beauties which it contained; the ambition of a poet, as Mr. Gosse has well pointed out, was to say something brilliant in every line. That these beauties should bear any special relation to each other was never demanded; and the highest praise which could be awarded was to say of a poem, as did the respected Mr. Hervey in 1783, that it "abounds in picturesque, useful, and striking sentiments."

This absence of the sense of relation is evident in the stress laid on isolated passages in special poems; it is no less evident in the sharp separation of different departments of poetry. The readers of a poem of adventure did not want to be bothered with any philosophy of life; the description of nature treated her as something for man to look at, not something of which man was a part; and the author of a didactic poem rigidly excluded personal coloring.

But perhaps the most striking evidence of the change from the old to the modern attitude is found in the treatment of figures; for here it amounts to a complete reversal of the old ideal. Formerly, the great desire for a figure was that it should be ingenious. The more far-fetched and impossible the resemblance, the more credit to the poet for worrying it out; and he achieved the greatest triumph who contrived to bring together two objects most absolutely disconnected by nature and common sense. "Conceits" — there could be no better name for these extraordinary concoctions of fancy. Their cold ingenuity is sometimes appalling. Here is a little love-lyric of Donne's: —

"Our two souls, which are one,
Though I must go, endure not yet
A breach, but an expansion,
Like gold to airy thinness beat.
If they be two, they are two, so
As stiff twin-compasses are two.
Thy soul, the fixed foot, makes no show
To move, but doth, if th' other do.
And tho' it in the centre sit,
Yet when the other far doth roam,
It leans and hearkens after it,
And grows erect, as that comes home.
So wilt thou be to me, who must
Like th' other foot, obliquely run;
Thy firmness makes my circle just,
And makes me end where I begun."

If the figure can be pressed to an obvious absurdity, so much the better. Cowley says of his mistress's tears: —

"Ne'er yet did I behold such glorious wealth
As this sunshine and rain together;
Pray heaven her forehead, that pure hill of snow,
(For some such fountain we must find
To waters of so faire a kind),
Melt not to feed that beauteous stream below."

Now the first thing which we demand of our modern figures is that they should appeal to the sense of truth. They must be

founded not on fortuitous resemblance, but on genuine analogy. They illumine where the older ones conceal; and the saneness of imaginative work which results from this one rule, that analogies shall aid instead of hindering our comprehension, can only be judged by comparing the wild fancifulness into which poetry used to be constantly sinking with the profound and sober witness to truth which it bears to-day.

In all the other points which we have specified, the sense of unity proves equally, if less obviously, effective. To what else shall we ascribe the fusion of departments in our modern poetry? Our stories must all illustrate a problem to-day, our didactic poem must be translated into terms of personal experience, and our treatment of nature tends to become purely illustrative. In special poems again our criterion is no longer the number of separate beauties contained; it is the conception presented by the poem as a whole. The connection of thought to thought and passage to passage is no more that of a row of mineralogical specimens; it is that of the parts of a living organism. We seek for consistency everywhere; even our nonsense must have a semblance of logic about it. The delicious absurdities of *Alice in Looking-Glass Country* all depend upon the solemn manner in which reasoning is tipped upside down, so that if you want to get away from a house you must walk at it, and to keep in the same place you have to run just as quick as you can, and do all your screaming before you are hurt. The nonsense of the old days was just the opposite. Reasoning was not tipped over; it was ruled out. This is the sort of thing at which our great-great-grandfathers used to laugh: "The shadow of an egg carried the new year upon the bottom of a pot; two old new combs made a ball to run the trot; I cried out without saying a word, 'take the feather of an ox and clothe a wise fool with it.'"

Yet to say that this idea can nowhere be traced in poetry until the present century would be of course misleading. There has always been a dim perception of the harmony of nature. It is testified to by the very existence of figures, the use of one phenomenon to illustrate another. It peeps out in all sorts of unexpected places, and expresses itself sometimes in a peculiar manner. We see the danger of introducing science into poetry not as law, but as fact, when we read the versified account of the four elements, which concludes by thus reducing them to one:—

"Yet earth drenched water proves, which boiled turns air,
Hot air makes fire: condensed, all change and home repair."

This is absurd ; yet it shows the latent desire to discover in things the most diverse some real relationship. And such a desire must exist as long as poetry is poetry, — that is, the result of a creative imagination. For the essential quality of the imagination is that it perceives wholes, not parts. The unimaginative writer sees any detail as an isolated fact ; a yellow primrose is to him a yellow primrose. The poet cannot touch a flower or a fly without feeling its relation to the great whole of which it is a part. It is to him a symbol as well as a flower. And in this peculiar faculty of seeing broadly and deeply lies the strange power of the imagination to purify and extend our vision's range.

In this vague conviction of interdependence it has not stood alone. Philosophy and religion have alike sympathized in it. Deep down in the human heart — so deep that we are tempted to call it a primary intuition — has always lain the belief in the fundamental harmony of the universe and the relation of all phenomena to an unseen centre. The principle is at the bottom of all symbolism. From the earliest dawnings of racial consciousness to the religious services of our modern churches there has been a constant and elaborate effort to express in worship the unseen by the seen. Nothing can be stranger than to study the repeated efforts to escape from this method and the constant reversion to it in increasingly subtle form. And the instinct is justified ; for it rests on the conviction that the higher can only be revealed to us by the lower ; that the lower can only exist in relation to the higher ; and that thus each tiniest fact of the natural world must bear witness to truths beyond itself. The faith that the arch of the heavens above and the blossoming of the earth beneath and the tumultuous joy and pain of the human soul are varying manifestations of the universal Spirit, is part of the heritage of the ages. In the ritual of the Buddhist temple and of the Christian Church, in the poems of the sensuous lover of nature, and the treatises of the abstract thinker, and the visions of the mystic and the seer, we find the same fundamental conviction, triumphant against the assertions of a narrow science and the indifference of a shallow common sense.

Yet that not only common sense, but science, has been against the belief cannot be denied. Deductive science, if it did not discountenance, at least ignored it ; inductive science was, until very lately, too busy emphasizing variety to discover unity. Thus faith in it has been perpetually hampered and hindered. It had to be held in contradiction to apparent truth ; and half of its

vital power was destroyed by the consequent haunting suspicion of its unreality. It has inevitably been latent rather than dynamic. The dreamers of the world have held it more firmly than have the thinkers. A mystical philosophy here and there would mysteriously hint it; a church would struggle to express it through symbolism too often arbitrary and crude; a poet would flash it upon us in broken gleams; but never until this century has it been grasped as a universal formative principle of thought. The imagination has been perpetually hampered by the sense of its own irrationality. It has been a mysterious instinct working in opposition to all known law. Law was the power that separated and classified; imagination united. Hence knowledge and poetry were regarded almost as antitheses; and as soon as scientific conceptions began to spread, the sphere of poetry began apparently to contract. In the last century that sphere was very narrow indeed. The imagination lived, indeed, but it lived a half-hearted existence, for everything seemed to be against it.

But a change was at hand; it has been witnessed by our own generation; and it is so great and extended in its possibilities that we can hardly wonder to find it but faintly apprehended as yet.

It has happened before—it has happened now—that the mysticism of the past has become the practical science of the present. Accurate, dispassionate, and patient study of unimaginative men has established as a fact for the many the secret hypothesis of the few. The unity of law is a truth less to be doubted than the existence of matter. There subsists between all things a relation not arbitrary but vital; for one great connecting principle runs through all the world. What this principle may be—this central truth from which all phenomena derive their significance—science cannot tell us; but it can reveal the existence of such a truth, for it can show us a universal and orderly sequence. Thus the imagination is vindicated; for its instinct is shown to be identical with the deepest of known law. Thus all symbolism receives its sanction, and is at the same time put upon a theoretically rational basis, since it must be no longer arbitrary but true.

We cannot ignore the fact that many have recoiled from this principle as involving gross materialism. Its corollaries have aroused the sharpest controversies of the day. The systematic development of the physical nature through lower forms has been held degrading. A present interdependence between physical and psychical is thought to imply that soul is merged in body.

We need not dwell on these views at any length. The world seems at last almost to have learned the fact, mentioned in the last paragraph, that science has nothing to say as to the nature of ultimate reality. In face of a materialistic interpretation on the one hand, and a spiritual on the other, it remains entirely neutral. But the imagination is not neutral; it is a spiritual faculty; and, interpreting this truth of interdependence in the light of truth gained in other ways, it finds therein a wonderful depth and beauty of spiritual significance. Extremes meet; and the same view of the closeness of connection between the natural world and the soul of man inspires on the one hand the intense spirituality of a Wordsworth, and results on the other in the materialistic realism that treats all mental and moral forces as a development from physical needs. And it is the same temper that governs the minute speculations of a Darwin which enables the poet to enter with exquisite rightness into the soul of a daisy, or in moments of gloom to find tranquillity in the aspect of the star-sown heaven. It is impossible to predict the freedom, elasticity, and enlargement of scope in poetic work, when once the imagination realizes that it now works in deepest harmony with truth. How much once vague and despised will find its justification! In the knowledge of the cycles of being through which we have swung upward, we discover the sanction of all mysterious thrills of sympathy to ocean, flower, brute, and the great life of the whirling world. They are no longer sentiment or illusion; they are based on most honest fact. They testify to the actual union of mind and soul with this complex, warm-hearted earth; they bear witness to our unconscious past. Again, the imagination has always vibrated between two conflicting tendencies. By its very nature it has luxuriated in beauty, and has dwelt with loving insistence on every natural charm; but as a spiritual faculty it has been affected by the temper that viewed the physical and spiritual as separated by sharp antagonism; and it has swung to and fro between the two tendencies, accepting neither, affected by both. But the reconciling truth has been found; the necessary relation between the physical nature and the mind and soul shows the inadequacy of the old ascetic ideal and the true interpretative function of the material world. We no longer think that our affiliation with nature must be broken in order that we may live the life of the spirit; but affiliation is for us the true condition of growth. The law of continuity has dawned upon us; and it teaches that the true ideal is found, not in renunciation, but in subordination:—

"Let us not always say,
 'Spite of this flesh to-day,
 I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole !'
 As the bird wings and sings,
 Let us cry, ' All good things
 Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul.' "

It would be fascinating to follow out in many other ways the effect in our modern poetry of this change of attitude ; but we must not linger. Already, the consequent revulsion of feeling is clearly marked. We reject with indifference mechanical and arbitrary systems of symbolism, like the "Correspondences" of a Swedenborg, while recognizing to the full the truth which his seer-nature strove vainly to apply in detail. We turn aside half irritated from the ingenious knack of the older poet, seizing on a graceful and superficial resemblance between the tint of a cherry and the red ripeness of a lip, the moaning of the wind and the sighs of the unhappy lover. Capricious ornament and forced combinations are at once rejected ; it is a genuine relation which we seek, founded on the realization of the world as an organic whole.

And in our modern poetry we find the principle recognized with growing distinctness. The sense of oneness may show itself in joyous sympathy with the fleeting moods of nature, as in Shelley ; in taking to heart the solemn and serene message of the spheres, as in Arnold ; in entering into the inmost depths of alien characters, as in Browning ; or in emphasizing the subjective interpretation of nature, as in all modern poets. Everywhere the result is the same : we are drawn close to nature and to our fellow-man with an endearing closeness of which the older poetry only dreamed.

But however strongly we note in the poetry of the day the effect of this new power, we must feel that its influence has only just begun. It has been in the world too short a time to be clearly apprehended ; we must look to the future for its full application. And the promise of the day is bright. As the great principle of interdependence gains firmer and firmer hold, poetry may, indeed, lose something of the fantastic license of the past ; yet in the acceptance of such limitations, its true scope and liberty will for the first time appear ; and more and more, as time hastens away, the imagination will find in self-abnegation and subservience to eternal law, its strength, its life, and its power to minister.

Vida D. Scudder.

Boston.

[*To be concluded.*]

ROBERTSON OF BRIGHTON: THE MAN AND HIS MOODS — A STUDY.

We live in deeds, not years ; in thoughts, not breaths ;
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.
We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives
Who thinks most — feels the noblest — acts the best.

BAILEY's *Festus*.

It is whether there is a *man* behind it or not, said Emerson once, which makes all the difference between the force or feebleness of a sentence ; and few students of Robertson could read the passage without immediately recalling the great preacher. His sermons are no easy-chair elaborations daintily dotted down by the aid of commentary or concordance, for he so threw himself into what he said or wrote, that each line is instinct with his own personality, each sentence is, as it were, a spending of himself. He spoke always with a purpose. He was no sermon-maker. There is no padding, idle paragraph, or empty phrase throughout : all is real, intensely, sternly, almost terribly real, — and "terrible" is scarcely too strong a word when we remember what those sermons cost him. "I am not fit for ministerial work," he once said in a letter to a friend, "I want years and years to calm me. My heart is too feverish, quivers and throbs too much as flesh recently cut by the surgeon's knife ;" and these words are in no way exaggerated. Of himself, however, he thought never ; of his work always. Had he been less impatient, less feverish and impetuous, his life might have been lengthened by many years ; but into whatever he undertook he threw himself with an enthusiasm which was as a consuming fire within him, and that literally burnt his vital strength away.

Robertson had the power of concentration of energy in a rare and marked degree. In the preparation of his sermons it was not only the intellectual organs which were at work, for every nerve and faculty bore its share, — the heart beat the faster, the blood ran the quicker, and his very limbs and body lent themselves to the labor. It is no wonder that his work has such fire and fervor, for every truth that thrills us as we read is, as it were, an imparting of himself ; every page represents so much of his own vitality spent in our service. Hence there is a sense of effort — tremendous effort — in all Robertson's sermons. The lines seem to pulse and quiver as if hot with the throbings of a human

heart. And yet, strangely enough, there emanates from them, too, a suggestion, at least, of calm and infinite peace; but it is the peace which hovers over a corpse-strewn, fiercely-fought, but triumphantly-glorious battlefield; the calm which follows upon the wild havoc of some tumultuous night of storm, — the calm and peace of action, not of inertia.

There is something almost pathetic in the listlessness with which we avail ourselves of that which has cost another so dear. It is Sunday afternoon, and we have dined, and feeling kindly disposed to ourselves and to all men, bethink us that in view of the sanctity of the day it were well to stimulate some commendable feeling of religion in our sluggish and slumbering spirits. Having therefore, after due consideration, selected the most comfortable chair in the room, and settled luxuriously therein, we compose ourselves with a self-complacent and pleasurable feeling of duty done, to read those sermons which even to this day are red with the life-blood of him whose utterances they are. In them the spirit of Robertson still lives and speaks; in them there is that which touches and thrills us like the warm pressure of a hand; that which takes hold upon our hearts with a personal influence, less like that of a book than of some living and breathing human soul. They strike home to the heart as few other sermons do. They single out each individual reader, and make him feel that he and no other is the one to whom their message applies. There is no evading the unpleasant truth by generalizing it, or mentally reviewing the heads of our friends and acquaintances if haply we may find one to whom to pass the cap. No; to each reader, "Thou art the man!" is the self-condemnation which resounds within his heart. He is isolated. He is bidden against his will to stand before the bar of his conscience, and receive judgment; and for this reason such sermons are particularly objectionable to a certain class of readers. They make them feel uneasy, most inconveniently uneasy, and this shows great want of delicacy and consideration in the preacher. But there was no seeking to please in Robertson. He aimed, as he once said to a friend, at making his sermons *felt*, not admired; he strove that they should be awakening, but not sensational utterances. They are not the sermons which work the reader up to an ecstatic and shortlived enthusiasm, the influence of which, when it dies away, leaves him on the same, if not a lower, level than before. On the contrary, they pass almost unconsciously into the fibre of the hearer's spiritual nature, and he finds himself thinking Robertson,

speaking Robertson, and acting Robertson, as if some invisible influence were, as it undoubtedly is, at work within. They are not the result, merely, of many years' hard thinking by a scholar of unusual brain-power. That they are the work of a scholar, and a scholar of no ordinary ability, is patent on the most cursory examination; but the steady shining which has made them as a lantern to the feet of many a wandering soul is due less to the white, clear light of the intellect, than to the warm, rich glow of red heart-blood which is discernible throughout. Had Robertson been a man of far less mental power than he really was, the intensity of his feelings would have made his sermons noteworthy; had he been one in whom the emotional nature was considerably less developed than was the case with him, even then the brilliance of his intellect would have rendered the same sermons remarkable. As it was, however, and this is one of the great secrets of his power as a preacher, brain and heart were alike at work in everything he put his hand to — a brain that for sinewy grip of the subject, and unerring perception of all its logical phases and features, has had few equals in the English Church; a heart that in intensity of feeling, and largeness and depths of sympathy, can be likened only to that of a woman, and that no ordinary one. Rare as such a combination is in any one individual, in Frederick Robertson it was rendered the more remarkable by the presence of two other qualities which in themselves go far to give power and purpose to any man's labor, — the qualities of energy and enthusiasm. Study him as we may, either in public or in private, in society or in solitude, these qualities are everywhere noticeable. His very manner of walking was characterized by them. There was no loitering, sauntering, or turning aside for idle fancies; he pressed eagerly onward, as if spurred and goaded by some invisible hand, and yet, for all his haste, letting nothing pass by unnoticed or unseen. In his country walks he started always with a purpose, always with some visible destination, and no matter what length of time lay at his disposal, he could brook no hindrance or delay, choosing always the straightest route, and following it closely in spite of all obstacles. On horseback we find him clearing hedge, ditch, or anything else that came in his way, rather than lose five minutes in search of a gate; and we are told that when he set out, gun in hand, for a day's shooting, he threw himself with such energy into the sport, that he could spare time for nothing else — not even the necessary half-hour for lunch, but pressed on and on with unabated vigor, till nightfall compelled him to return for the needful food and rest.

"Every man," says Mr. Lowell in his brilliant article on Rousseau, "is conscious that he leads two lives, — the one trivial and ordinary, the other sacred and recluse; one which he carries to society and the dinner-table, the other in which his youth and aspiration survive for him, and which is a confidence between himself and God. Both may be equally sincere, and there need be no contradiction between them, any more than in a healthy man between soul and body." This is the utterance, not of a man with a low ideal, — for even Robertson himself has not spoken loftier and truer words than has James Russell Lowell, — but of a man whose feelings upon the subject of the higher life are healthy, not morbid; of a man who, with aims and aspirations of the noblest, has yet recognized the fact that God has made us human, not angelic, and that He does not wish us to deepen our spiritual nature by obliterating what is human. They are the words of a well-balanced and well-ordered mind. Mr. Lowell has what Charles Lamb happily calls, "the sanity of true genius," and in many points so also had Frederick Robertson, but only in dealing with questions that did not pertain to himself. Most generous in his judgments of others, he had no charity for himself. He was conscious of the two existences of which Mr. Lowell speaks, but could not reconcile himself to the lower. He strove to keep his spiritual nature ever and always at *concert-pitch*, and came to regard the failure which must inevitably attend such effort as culpable and weak. His spirituality was too intense; it amounted to nothing less than a disease, and, in a worldly sense, a calamity. The atmosphere in which he lived was so transcendently high, his thoughts and strivings so habitually lofty and sublime, that he became impatient of all human weakness whatsoever, and felt that he had been untrue to himself and to his strivings, because he could not sustain in the commonplace intercourse of daily life the high-pitched condition of feeling which these aspirations had aroused. Hence his life was one long-continued struggle and unrest. A divine discontent was ever his. He writes in his diary of being "sad and dispirited from feeling my own utter uselessness;" and in a letter to a friend he speaks of his life as "one vast failure." "Truly," says old Jean Paul, "our defeats are not far from our victories," and to none are these words so applicable as they are to Frederick Robertson of Brighton.

This tendency to self-depreciation meets us continually in our study of the great preacher; but in considering such utterances as those we have quoted above, we must always allow for the exag-

geration of feeling to which his susceptibility to the mood of the moment rendered him liable, and which was the secret of much of his misery. In Robertson's exalted hours this morbid susceptibility and impressionability of temperament lent such fire and fervor to his emotions that his spirit seemed to free itself from all earthly incumbrances whatever, and to soar seraph-like above the mists of earth to where the vast ocean of Eternity lies around the throne of God. The same impressionability of temperament, however, which gave him his capability for such unnatural exaltation was, by that law of our nature which decrees that all undue emotional excitement shall inevitably be followed by a corresponding depression, the very element which induced an opposite state of feeling. Robertson was, as we all are, a weak human being and not a glorified spirit, and as a human being there were times, as there are with all of us, when the higher nature seemed to dim and die away within him, and when the lower nature, impatient of the stern control so long maintained upon it, strove to assert and proclaim its presence; times when God drew back and the world drew near, and the human soul within him cried out with unsatisfied and hungry longing for a life less chill and cheerless. At such moments of danger (or what would have been danger to one with a less sternly disciplined will than his), the very impressionability of temperament which had lent such fervor to his mood of rapt exaltation was his most dreaded and deadliest enemy, — was the very traitor within the citadel that sought to throw open the gate to the foe. Was Robertson's whole being lending itself to the contemplation of the unseen and infinite world, this impressionability would bear him as on unseen wings to a region where the earth and the earth-life seemed but as a dream and a delusion, and eternity, and the things of eternity, the only realities. Were Robertson's devotional feelings dull and cold, and his thoughts leaden-winged and earthy, as happens sometimes even to the most heavenly-minded of men, then did this very impressionability shut out, as by a screen, the sublime splendors of eternity, and by intensifying and exaggerating the passing feelings of the moment, lend to the world and the things of the world, a charm and glamour more seductive than that with which they appealed, perhaps, to the worldling himself. To Robertson, however, they were never more than temptations, — temptations to be trampled under foot and thrust aside, never given way to; but the intensity and reality which his tendency to exaggerate the mood of the moment lent to these temptations made him regard what was but the natural inclination of the world-spirit

within us for the things of the world, as an unhallowed longing for that which was empty and unworthy ; and his overstrained spirituality grew at last to regard the mere occurrence of such feelings as little less than sinful. Let us, however, add, for fear of misunderstanding, that it was only to himself that he applied this rigid standard. For others he made every allowance, for himself none. In his sermons he was continually repeating that sin lay, not in the rising of desire for things that are forbidden, but in the indulgence of that desire ; and so far from preaching asceticism, he again and again reiterates that God does not wish or intend us to deepen our spiritual nature by stamping out and obliterating what is human.

In what we have been saying of Robertson's "temptations" we do not for a moment mean to imply that he had any inclination for a life of pleasure in the ordinary sense of the word. On the contrary, his was so refined and pure a nature that the temptations which appeal to the mass of men had to him no attraction whatever. It was the things of the sensuous world, — Music, which, with her soul-ravishing, sense-entrancing subtleties, seemed to draw his sound-intoxicated spirit quivering from him like thin flame, as he hung in rapt ecstasy upon the "linked sweetness long drawn out" of symphony or sonata ; Art with her power and purity ; Poetry with her passion and peace, — these were the things upon which his soul so loved to linger, and which he felt sometimes had for him a charm and attraction beyond what was admissible in one who was toiling in spirit up the steep ascent of Calvary. He had, too, an intense vitality, and like all true artists (and Robertson was an artist in no mean degree), a strange capability of entering into the lives of other men ; and there were times when the stern joy of the soldier's life, with its danger and daring, or the self-sacrifice and dignity of the doctor's, seemed to him things to be desired with all the strength of his spirit. He most unjustifiably, too, extended the habitual distrust and depreciation with which he regarded himself to the profession of which he was a member, and expressed himself at times in terms which are almost inexcusable. It may be said that they represent, not his real thoughts upon the matter, but only a passing mood of his thought, but even then the fact cannot be denied that this tendency to look at the dark and depressing side of things was the most marked element of weakness in Robertson's character. In the same manner in which he identified the bigotry of certain prominent evangelicals with the whole evangelical body, he assumed,

because certain instances of disbelief in Christ came under his own notice, that infidelity and skepticism were gaining ground everywhere. "Unquestionably," he says in a letter to a friend, "the belief in the divinity of Christ is waning among us. They who hold it have petrified it into a theological dogma without life or warmth, and thoughtful men are more and more beginning to put it aside." To apply such sweeping generalities to the whole body of his fellow-believers was most unjust and unwarrantable, and in any other but Robertson might not unfairly be deemed arrogant presumption. In his case, however, it must be taken, not as representing his real thoughts on the subject, but as an illustration of his tendency to exaggerate the mood of the moment, as well as of the morbid depression with which he regarded not only his own life and surroundings, but also the life and surroundings of others. The genuineness of his humility is beyond all question, or shadow of a question. Vanity, too (not generally the least noticeable item in the list of the feelings of a popular preacher), is conspicuous in Robertson, and that at the time even of his greatest popularity, only by its entire and utter absence; while for one who spared no pains to make his work as thorough as possible, the real, not affected modesty and painful self-depreciation with which he shrank from the applause and approbation which the excellence of his work had fairly earned, are scarcely credible in a young and impressionable man.

In the foregoing pages we have, for the most part, shown one side of Robertson's character only, and that the more diseased and unnatural one. In his healthier, happier moments he had the light heart and high spirits of a child; and to illustrate this we cannot do better than give an extract from the most interesting of all the interesting letters which Mr. Stopford Brooke gives us in the Appendix to his masterly "Life and Letters." The paragraph is penned by one who knew Robertson personally, and it shows him in a light which brings out the sunnier, fairer side of his character with a lifelike vividness and reality, such as many pages of mere descriptive or critical writing on our part might fail to do. "His gracious manner and winning courtesy I shall not easily forget," writes Mr. Brooke's correspondent. ". . . I recall the first day I met him as vividly as if it were yesterday — the serious smile of welcome, the questioning look from his eyes, the frankly offered hand. We walked up a hill commanding a noble view of sea and mountain. His face lit up — he drank in with a deep breath the wide landscape. The contrast of the white foam dashing

on a beach of blue slate pebbles — the racing of the scattering and fitful breezes upon the sea — the purple of the distant hills, were all marked by him with loving observation. He was happy in pointing out the delicacy of the clouds which an upper current was combing out upon the sky. He stooped to gather the wild daffodils which were tossing in the wind. Nothing was lost upon him. He touched all the points of the scene clearly enough to instruct his listeners how to see them, but with such poetic tact that he did not injure what I may call the sensibility of nature. One thought more, that is, of the loveliness he spoke of than of the speaker. It was the unconscious art of genius. I saw him again in a country house. . . . We played historical games, wrote poetry, capped verses. The freshness, eagerness, and anxiety which he displayed in these were delightful to us all. The humor with which he put down ignorance, the playfulness with which he exposed a mistake by willfully making another of the same kind twice as bad, the frown with which he pounced upon an offender whose metre was halting, the bright smile with which he welcomed a new thought or a happy expression, the social art with which he brought into relief and elucidated our different characters, made the hours fly, and have left to me pleasant memories."

Here we see Robertson in his happier, healthier moments, and we say "healthier" advisedly, for there is no doubt that to declining health and physical causes much of his melancholy and depression was due. There were times, as we have already said, when he had the light heart of a child, and in a passage in one of his letters he sufficiently shows what were his own feelings on the subject. "A sunny, cheerful view of life," he says, "resting on truth and fact, coexisting with practical aspiration ever to make things, men, and self, better than they are, — that, I believe, is the true, healthful poetry of existence." Moreover, the gentle sadness which overshadowed his spirit so frequently was the "sadness" which the author of "Festus" tells us is "the ground of all great thoughts," — never the melancholy of the misanthrope. Distressing and mournful to contemplate as is the suffering which Robertson endured, we must ever remember, too, that it was to this very sorrow and suffering that he owed his deep and profound insight into the things of the spiritual world, for it is through the mystic gate of sorrow, and that gate alone, that all who would know the hidden things of God must pass. His strange and rare capability for sympathy was due also to the same cause, for he only can truly sympathize who has truly suffered.

"If you examine into it," says spiritually-minded John Pulsford, "you will find that just in proportion as one is fitted to comfort another, is *his own liability to overwhelming distress*. To be a real comforter a person must have profound sympathies, but profound sympathies are always in association with keen sensibilities, and keen sensibilities expose their possessor to a depth of anguish utterly unintelligible to ordinary souls. As is the capacity to be a heavenly comforter, such is the capacity to be an awful sufferer."

There is one other point in Robertson's character which we must not omit to deal with while discussing the depression of spirits from which he suffered ; and that is that it would appear sometimes as if he were prone in his despairing moments to fear that he was little better than a sentimentalist and a dreamer, a man who wrote and said fine things, but was incapable of ordering his life accordingly. In this respect, however, his watchfulness was wise, for the self-delusion which (to quote Mr. Lowell once more) makes "the conscience dreamy with the anodyne of lofty sentiment while the life is groveling and sensual," is the most treacherously fatal of the many pitfalls which beset the feet of all men of a highly emotional and poetic temperament. There is no need to bring forward arguments in support of this assertion, for we may read of the deadening and deathly influence of the danger to which we refer, in every dictionary of Poetical Biography upon our shelves. It is such a conscience-soothing, soul-benumbing delusion that it works a man's ruin even while he thinks it his surest salvation. It makes the path of destruction bright as with a light from heaven. It bids him close his eyes in prayer lest he see whither and where he goes. It comes to him with its harlot beauty daintily draped in the robes of an angel of light, and sings hymns before the very gates of hell. We have said that Robertson's fears of this, the curse and ruin of many a lofty soul, were wise ; but they were fears which were never realized, for he was one of those whose weaknesses, recognized as such, and watchfully guarded against, become their strength. He knew the danger which lay in the intensity of his emotional nature and the almost womanly delicacy of his feelings, and would have none of that feeble and frothy sentiment the sole aim and purpose of which is to lend a passing and pleasing piquancy to the moment which calls it forth. All thought which did not ultimate itself in a thing, every feeling that did not find its fitting outcome in a deed, but was allowed to fall back to earth again lifeless and dead as a spent rocket, he re-

garded as demoralizing and dangerous. In writing to a friend on the subject, he once said that he had often noticed that "Christ never suffered sentimentalisms to pass without a matter-of-fact testing of what they were worth, and what they meant." It is almost curious to find one who, with a temperament so strongly inclined to the rapt exaltation and dreamy meditation of the poet and mystic, was yet so sternly and unflinchingly practical in his life and teachings. Every reader of Robertson's biography knows how sublimely — almost culpably — unsparing of himself he was in the execution of his duty; and in his sermons and letters he is forever reiterating and repeating how worthless is mere feeling as opposed to action. "Your lofty, incommunicable thought," he says, "your ecstasies, and aspirations, and contemplative rapture — in virtue of which you have estimated yourself as the porcelain of the earth, of another nature altogether than the clay of common spirits — tried by the test of Charity, what is there grand in these if they cannot be applied as blessings to those that are beneath you?" And in another passage he tells us that "To teach a few Sunday-school children, week after week, commonplace, simple truths — persevering in spite of dullness and mean capacities — is a more glorious occupation than the highest meditations or creations of genius which edify or instruct only our own solitary soul."

The Rev. Frederick Arnold, in his recent volume on Robertson, tells us that "his sermons are read by those who would refuse to read any other sermons. They have made and created sympathies in a class of minds into which the ordinary pulpiteer has no means of gaining admission." The explanation of this is that Robertson stands out, and men feel that he stands out, as the layman among the priesthood — the ordained representative of the people as distinguished from the clergy. There was nothing of the priest, hardly even of the clergyman, about him. His sermons and spiritual exhortations, in the pulpit or out, were not the words of a preacher to his people, not even of a teacher to his pupils: they were those of man to man. He strove and struggled to help others, not because it was his professional duty to do so, but because the deep, loving, sympathetic human heart within him went out in earnest, heartfelt love and tenderness to the human hearts around him. And this he did from no doleful sense of duty or studied self-immolation which he called gods and men to witness. On the contrary, it was natural, easy, and spontaneous, for Frederick Robertson was as perfect a specimen of an English gentleman as

ever breathed. Men knew, too, that he allowed himself to be influenced in his opinions by no clerical or professional bias, and that he had had his doubtings — dark and terrible doubtings — about the very faith which it was his office to preach. They knew, also, that he had fought and faced these doubtings fearlessly, — had looked them fairly and squarely in the eyes, prepared, if need were, to relinquish his office in the ministry, prepared even to part company with all that was nearest and dearest, rather than be false to his own conscience and convictions. He was no courter of doubts, no parader of the strange soul-questionings which assailed him because he thought that such questionings marked him out as being of a profound or original order of mind. On the contrary, he was for years an humble and unquestioning acceptor of the religious tenets of the Church of England, an earnest and faithful laborer in her service. When, however, his doubts *did* come, — as come they did with a suddenness and sternness which his biographer tells us “not only shook his health to its centre, but smote his spirit down into so profound a darkness, that of all his early faiths but one remained, ‘It must be right to do right,’ ” — he resolved that for him thenceforth there should be no further building upon the sands, no further resting in any faith that had not its foundations fixed and sure on the rock beneath. To shelve the questions which were thus thrust upon his mind, and leave them unanswered, would, he felt, be less faith in the truth than fear of the truth, and with the thoroughness which was so characteristic of the man, he took, as Mr. Arnold says, “his entire theological system to pieces, and set to work to construct it anew.” He would from thenceforth accept no truth on hearsay. Each question, and aspect of a question, he approached as if it had never been approached before. He seems sometimes, even, to have gone out of his way to seek evidence in support of his doubt, so that he might know the worst at once, and that in conquering it he might conquer it once and for all. We have neither space nor time here to criticise Robertson’s wisdom in such a course: we are simply stating what was, and must leave the facts to speak for themselves. One thing, however, we must call attention to, one point at least we must lay stress upon, and that is, that had it not been for the unflinching and fearless honesty with which Robertson thus faced and fought out the doubtings which assailed him, one element of real power in his sermons, an element that has a strangely magnetic, conviction-carrying influence over the reader, — the consciousness that he is

listening to one who is speaking the deep and intense convictions of his own heart, — this element would in great part, if not altogether, be wanting. As it is, every line appeals to us with a terrible, a crushing, and irresistible force. "This man," we are constrained to say to ourselves as we read, — "this man is teaching us no hearsay faith." It is not because what he says is supported by unassailable arguments, not because it is expressed in language of rich and rare poetic beauty, that we feel the truth of what he is saying so keenly. No ; it is because it has first been felt, and felt intensely, in the deep heart of the teacher himself, and because he speaks to us of what he has *lived*, and not of what he has learned. Earnestness always and ever tells. It is contagious as few things are ; and an earnest man in a bad cause will gain the hearts of his hearers more readily than will one with less earnestness and a better cause ; and earnestness is the quality, more than any other, which characterizes the sermons of Frederick Robertson.

"To tolerate intolerance" is, as George Eliot truly says, "the best lesson of tolerance which we have to learn;" and with all his breadth of view and largeness of sympathy, it was one which Robertson had but imperfectly mastered — at least in regard to one school of contemporary religious thought. By a certain section of the evangelical body he was treated with what was little better than wicked misrepresentation and injustice. "I am sorry to say," writes Mr. Arnold (and be it remembered that of all works upon Robertson none is less open to the charge of partisanship or partiality for its subject than Mr. Arnold's), — "I am sorry to say, from facts that have come within my own knowledge, that even good men, acknowledged lights in the religious world, did not scruple to apply to the great preacher the term 'infidel,' and would call his chapel 'the infidel chapel.'" That such utterances should be met with indignant rebuke and protestation is, under the circumstances, not to be wondered at, but that Robertson should have expressed himself as extravagantly as he sometimes did is, in view of the marvelous patience and self-repression which he displayed on other occasions, a subject for surprise, and even sorrow. It may be, perhaps, a hard thing to refrain from attributing to a cause the weaknesses of its proclaimers, but we must in common candor confess that many of Robertson's criticisms of evangelicalism — true as they most certainly were of a certain section of the evangelical school of his day — were altogether unjust and unfair as applied to evangelicalism as a whole. Calmness

of judgment and wise discretion under persecution are not, however, the most noticeable of youthful characteristics, and it must be remembered that at the time of Robertson's death he had but barely passed the first warm flush of early manhood. Had he lived till maturer years brought a riper and cooler judgment, he would, we believe, have left a very different record. Moreover, and this is a point which cannot be too strongly insisted upon, the harsh and unjust strictures to which we have referred are to be found, almost without exception, *not* in his public addresses or sermons, but in private and confidential letters to friends, — letters which he never intended should meet the eye of any one save the individuals to whom they were addressed. To brand these hasty and unguarded utterances, written generally when his spirit was smarting from the wicked and slanderous abuse with which he was assailed, as his mature and deliberate convictions, is palpably unjust and unfair, and no one would have resented such a course more indignantly than Robertson himself. It was an intense relief to him to work off his overcharged thoughts and feelings by expressing them in correspondence or conversation with friends, but under no circumstances must the same weight and importance be attached to these hasty remarks which is attached to his public sermons or sayings. One of Robertson's most characteristic weaknesses was, as we have said, to exaggerate the mood of the moment, and although in his sermons he exhibits stern self-repression and self-command, in his letters he resigns himself to the influence of the passing mood, and pours forth his thoughts and imaginings with the naïve ingenuousness of a child.

We cannot regret the publication of these letters, for they have a charm and interest peculiarly their own. In some of them there are word-pictures of surpassing power and beauty — pictures which are less pictures than genuine fragments of Nature herself. The flowers we gather in our woodland rambles will, when placed in water, bloom and brighten on the ink-spattered desk of a city office, till the dusty atmosphere freshens as if by a breath from the clover-fields; and Robertson's impressions of Nature were gathered and brought home in the same way. In the limpid freshness of his own imagination they revived as do flowers in water, lending an indescribable charm and beauty to every metaphor or figure of speech. In some hastily-penned paragraph describing perhaps a late ramble on the beach, there is something of the very stillness of which he speaks — the strange, deathly stillness of sky and sea, broken only by the glance and glitter of

the chilly moonbeams upon the wavelets, the slow lapping and gurgling of the water, or the dreary roll and rattle of pebbles upon the beach below. Then in another letter he tells, it may be, of some wild scramble over the Sussex Downs, and as we read it we feel our cheeks tingling with the bracing briskness of the wind as it scours and scurries past in a scamper across the plain, we feel the warm rush and glow of rich ruddy blood in our veins, and the boisterous mirth and elation of spirit which the fresh air and rapid motion has engendered. In another letter, replying to the question of a friend upon some vexed point of controversy, we find Robertson patiently and painstakingly lending his splendid abilities to a careful and thorough consideration of the subject, until that which was before so dark and bewildering is, by the solvent of his genius, rendered clear and plain. In the next he gives perhaps, in half a dozen lines, the net result of many years' hard thinking upon some social or national question; and upon all such topics he had a far-seeingness and discrimination, an aptness for piercing through the local and temporary aspects of the subject, and grasping the *principles* upon which it rested, such as not many thinkers, and especially thinkers of clerical training and bias, have attained. To many readers, however, the most interesting point of all in these letters is, that in them Robertson lays bare, as he nowhere does in his sermons, the secrets of his own personality. They are full of that strange self-consciousness which was so strongly marked a feature in his individuality, and which is the curse of many super-sensitive natures. In nearly all in whom the inward life is intense, and the outward life correspondingly subordinated, this self-consciousness is, in some degree, to be found, but in Robertson it had attained such proportion as to become little less than a disease. It haunted him where and whithersoever he went. It was, as it were, a double and other self from which he vainly strove to escape. He flung it from him and fled, thinking in the change and bustle of foreign travel to forget it, and, lo! it preceded him on his journey, and lay in wait to greet him with triumphant exultation amid the craggy cliffs and crevices of the Tyrol. It sat by his pillow as he sank to sleep, haunting, it would seem, his very dreams, and it crouched, cat-like, by his bedside, waiting each morning to spring and pounce upon him ere scarce his eyes were opened. Only in his work, and then not altogether, would it seem that he could evade it, and although he aimed at keeping his sermons free from all obviously personal influence, yet in many of them this same self-consciousness is, to

the experienced eye, distinctly detectable. It was partly due, as we have already said, to the intensity of his inward life, and partly also to the strange and awful spirit-isolation in which he habitually lived. "The thinker," says Carlyle, in a letter to Emerson, "must ever be and continue *alone*, alone, — 'silent rest over him the stars, and under him the graves,' " and true as these words are of all men of high and lofty thought, they but imperfectly portray the unutterable and incommunicable soul-loneliness which broods, like some isolating ocean, around such marvelously moulded beings as Frederick Robertson and his like. Such men are in the world, but not of it. They are children of Eternity dreaming the dream of Time; and even while they dream they are awake, and know that they are but dreaming. They crave, as only such men can crave, for the perfect sympathy which it is in the power of no human soul to give, and the failing to meet with which drives them back, not seldom, into that shuddering and lonely self-consciousness and self-seclusion which the world mistakes, and not unnaturally, for pride or misanthropy. In Robertson's case, however, his loneliness but tended to draw his spirit closer and nearer to God; it led him to look for help and sympathy where such in their perfection can alone be found. Never was there one to whom religion was more intensely *real* than it was to Robertson. Christianity to him was not the history of a life, — a divinely beautiful and perfect life which we are bidden to copy, — lived many hundreds of years ago in an Eastern country. It was not a thing of the past, but of the present. Christ was no far-away God, no shadowy name and memory, vague and indistinct as a distant star. He was to Robertson as real and living a personage as He was to Peter or John; as truly present in London or Brighton as ever He was in Jerusalem or Capernaum. "No disciple ever loved his Master with a more fervent love," says M. de Pressensé; "his language rises into poetry at the very mention of his name; he lives by his life; he is never weary of meditating on his perfections; he truly worships Him."

Of the truth or error of Robertson's doctrinal views we do not pretend here to speak, both from the incompetency of the present writer to enter upon such a subject, and the unsuitability of the pages of a magazine for dealing with it. It is of Robertson the man, and not Robertson the theologian, of whom we have been speaking; and, indeed, a theologian, in the strict sense of the word, he was not, — his aim being, as we find written in one of his private "Resolves," "to try to fix attention on Christ, rather

than on the doctrine of Christ." Both Dr. Pressensé and Robertson's latest critic, the Rev. F. Arnold, concur in the opinion that he erred somewhat in his interpretation of the doctrine of the Atonement; and the conclusions of gentlemen so competent to pronounce judgment upon questions of a theological nature have a weight and authority to which the general critic can in no way pretend. We may perhaps, however, be pardoned for adding that to us — and we say it with all respect and deference — it seems as if what Robertson's views require in regard to the Atonement is *supplementation* rather than *correction*; and the same remark applies to other points in which his teaching has, by certain theologians, been pronounced erroneous. The errors in such cases (if errors they can really be called) are, we think, less of a positive than of a negative nature. They arise not from the *misstatement* of any one truth, but from its being *understated*, in the presence of some equally important truth which appealed more strongly to the spiritual nature of Robertson himself.

Robertson's latter days, as every reader of his Life is well aware, were marked by the most terrible physical suffering and sorrow, borne always with that loving and gentle patience which was so characteristic of the man. He preached for the last time on Sunday, June 5, 1858, and died, shortly after midnight, on Sunday, August 15, in the same year. For two hours before his death he lay in the most awful anguish, feebly moaning, "My God, my Father — my God, my Father!" The pain was so agonizing that his nurses proposed changing his position, in the hope of affording some relief, but even that was too much for the quivering frame. "I cannot bear it," he said; "let me rest. I must die. Let God do his work;" and then, without further word or sign, the rare and beautiful spirit of Frederick Robertson passed silently away unto its home in the bosom of Him who was his God, his Saviour, and his All. And as we think of the deep and perfect rest into which he has entered, the prophetic words of the grand old German he loved so well — Jean Paul — rise to our thoughts: "But there will come another era when it shall be light, and when man will awaken from his lofty dreams and find — *his dreams still there, and that nothing has gone but his sleep.*" So is it with Frederick Robertson now. Life's fevered, troubled sleep is over. The aspirations and longings after a Divine Beauty and Perfection which could never be realized here, and which, to the mass of men, were but as the vain dreams of an enthusiast, are to him at last Eternal Realities. The long-sought Ideal, to-

wards which, with tortured frame and bleeding spirit, he struggled so manfully, he has at length attained, and has passed from death unto life to be forever with Him whom he loved and served so faithfully. His work on earth is done, but of the grand and glorious work which there may yet remain for him to do in that world of infinite possibilities, and of the deep restfulness and calm of that work, we neither know nor can know; but we can think of no fitter words in which to bid farewell to Frederick Robertson than in the peculiarly appropriate lines of Oliver Wendell Holmes's beautiful "Memorial Tribute" to Dr. Samuel Howe:—

"The rest that earth denied is thine, —
Ah, is it rest? we ask,
Or, traced by knowledge more divine,
Some larger, nobler task?

"Had but those boundless fields of blue
One darkened sphere like this;
But what has heaven for thee to do
In realms of perfect bliss?

"No cloud to lift, no mind to clear,
No rugged path to smooth,
No struggling soul to help and cheer,
No mortal grief to soothe!

"Enough; is there a world of love,
No more we ask to know;
The hand will guide thy ways above
That shaped thy task below."

Coulson Kernahan.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

IF MATERIAL, WHY MORTAL?

"PAPA, papa, why did he die?" sobbingly cried my little girl as she buried her pet squirrel. And this is but the questioning wail that has rung down through the ages, from countless thousands of older tongues and sadder hearts than hers, — why did he die? — yet no response has come.

That other question, "Shall he live again?" the anxious, hopeful, fearful riddle at which humanity is ever guessing, seems solved to many an earnest soul who, by faith alone, cries "Yes!" To many other just as truth-seeking minds the *yes* is but a wish,

a prayer, a hope. To yet another class of minds the answer can be but "no," — brings it them the resignation of despair, or welcome they their *nirvana* as a pleasant sleep.

Taking the human race as a whole, it has, and probably always has had, a most earnest desire to be immortal. It has often been said that this desire is in itself one of the strongest proofs of its own fulfillment. However cogent this evidence may be, it can but be regarded as circumstantial. A stronger proof perhaps would be the unlikelihood of such seeming cruelty on the part of a Creator as would be shown by the creation of a *mortal* race, many of whose members are cut off almost ere they enter conscious life, and many others of which live on but to one unending round of toil and misery and pain. This, too, is only circumstantial evidence, — and the great riddle still goes on, challenging every new truth-seeker to attack it, but repulsing all alike.

This question does not seriously trouble the unthinking herd. They believe in their heavens and their purgatories, their hells and their *nirvanas*, just as they happen to be born believing, and just as they happen to be taught to believe after they are born. Those men and women who think for themselves, however, may perhaps be fitly classed as either spiritists, agnostics, or materialists — in other words, as immortalists, don't-know-anything-ists, or mortalists. The first know all (or a good deal) about spirit; the second are serenely content to wait till they find out something; the third know that there is no spirit. The first class are presumably the happiest. They need no pity, and are only to be congratulated upon having been born with the kind of mind which can unquestionably *feel* the certainty of a happy immortality. Such people can hardly claim superior virtue for believing, as they were created with a capacity to believe; nor should they condemn those with whom such faith is an utter impossibility, — whose minds are so constructed that they cannot *know* a thing unless it be demonstrated with the certainty of a proposition in geometry. The third class mentioned (to speak next of them) are certainly not to be felicitated upon a belief which condemns them to utter annihilation at any instant that a blind chance may decree to be the fitting one. They are, on the other hand, hardly to be pitied, for they seem as happy in their creed as do the immortals in theirs. Though frequently men of science, they fail to be scientific, by jumping at conclusions which are but assumptions; and acquire a superior knowledge only by knowing too much.

To try to show that these materialists are but part-way scien-

tists, who stop satisfied with such facts as agree with their own preconceived creeds and fail to recognize certain glorious possibilities which other facts may point the way to, is the object of this article. It may here be said that it is not the wish of the writer to ventilate any theological views which he may hold; nor does he intend to promulgate any positive theory regarding the nature of spiritual life. He desires merely to point out certain scientific possibilities which to some minds may seem *probabilities*, and the consideration of which may be of comfort to some earnest, honest souls who can by no possible means accept any of the old faiths, yet who have left to them humanity's common yearning for a life to come. These men and women belong to the second class above mentioned, the great and growing army of honest doubters. They wish to believe only what is true, but the stern facts (such of them as are facts) of modern science have unsettled many of their inherited beliefs, and have, so far, failed to provide acceptable substitutes. For these people only is suitable such consolation as may be derived from a somewhat spiritualized view of some phases of nature. This consolation the spiritists do not need and the materialists do not want. It may further be said, in explanation of what is to follow, that all reference to scriptural teachings has been purposely omitted, and an attempt has been made to view the subject from the standpoint of the engineer and the physicist only.

Taking such a view, and reasoning from observed facts and phenomena, many men of a scientific cast of mind feel that they can but admit the truth of the proposition: (a) *It is possible that there exists nothing but matter and motion*. Such believers are possible materialists, and among them are many profound and conscientious thinkers. Those who go further, and say that there *certainly* exists nothing but matter and motion, are positively materialists, and are usually supposed to hold the belief that there can be no immortality, — that *spirit* is non-existent.

These materialists are, in their way, just as narrow-minded and unscientific as are some of the extremists whom they condemn among the theologians. They seem incapable of taking a broad view of Nature, and judge her ways through the medium of their own little vision, forgetting that some of the wondrous processes hourly going on around them in organic life, or perhaps in the domains of chemistry or electricity merely, are as marvelous, and as difficult to understand, as would be the truth of the following proposition: (b) *Granted, that all things are but matter*

and motion, it is possible for man's existence to continue after death as an immortal spirit.

Assuming, then, the truth of proposition *a* (without which assumption further argument would be unnecessary), let us seek for evidence in support of proposition *b*, as the consolation desired in case the possibility implied in *a* should turn out to be a certainty. Some of this evidence it is hoped the earnest student of nature may find in what follows, — it being remembered that for the sake of the argument do we assume the truth of the vital claim of materialism, — the existence of naught but matter and motion.

The objection offered by many materialists to any such possibility as the one under consideration is: that the visible matter of which the brain and nerves (wherein, by common consent, we all localize the mind) is composed is evidently disintegrated after death, and enters into new chemical forms, — or perhaps even into the brains of other individuals. The answer to this is, in the first place, that (*c*) *the matter which we see in the dead brain may not be all of the matter which belonged to the matter-motion of the mind formerly seated therein, and may be its non-essential part only.* In the second place, (*d*) *the motion part of mind may, after the brain is dead, be acting partly or wholly upon other matter, in other forms, and yet retain its individuality.* The truth of these two propositions might have been hardly conceivable a century ago, but the marvelous scientific discoveries of a few decades past have furnished numerous analogies which act as hints to further thought, and help to enlarge our conceptive powers, so to speak, in a remarkable degree. A few of these hints are, somewhat disconnectedly, given in the succeeding paragraphs.

We know but little of the relation of mind to brain, and that little consists chiefly of the fact that the gray matter, forming the outer, convoluted part of the organ, receives and in some way stores up or records the sensations which are telegraphed to it, as it were, by the nerves and by the filaments of white substance which form the interior of the brain. Whether this recording is done by permanently changing the shape of certain particles of the matter, as in the tin-foil of the phonograph; or whether a set of special permanent motions are established which can at any time be "thrown into gear" again, so to speak, with the nerve fibres, to repeat the sensation; or whether there are a set of chemical changes made, as upon the paper ribbon of the Bain telegraph, or the plate of the photograph; or what else may happen, we do not know. We do know that a great many of the sen-

sations experienced through life are stored up, and there is a strong probability that all of them are, because great numbers may be reproduced, and we cannot say of any particular one that it will not be recalled by a proper association of ideas. This process constitutes education and memory, and is the means of all knowledge and consciousness. A crude illustration of this action is found in the working of the phonograph, where the sound-waves, in infinite variety of combination, are transmitted by the air to the instrument, there recorded permanently upon the tin-foil, and afterwards reproduced as often as desired and retransmitted upon air-waves to where they are wanted by some listening ear. A more striking analogy would be found by taking that to-be-invented instrument of the future, a transmitting-phonograph or recording-telephone, or "telephonograph," as it might, perhaps, better be called. The gray matter of the brain would here be represented by the tin-foil (or the enormously better recording material that will probably be substituted for it, when the phonograph shall cease to be but a horrible toy and shall develop into a form more worthy of one of the greatest and most original inventions of this or any other century), while the connecting nerve filaments would be represented by the telephonic wires to and from the distant points communicated with. The electric current would, of course, represent the "nervous-fluid," whatever that may be.

Carrying on the analogy of the phonograph, an illustration may be made of the idea expressed in proposition c, by supposing a sheet of thick paper to be used instead of tin-foil whereon to emboss the minute indentations representing the sound vibrations. Suppose this paper to be carefully burned so as to leave a film of ash, such as we have all seen in the fireplace after burning a piece of newspaper, the printed words thereon still being plainly legible. This film would have upon it the original phonographic record, and yet it would not be the visible material on which this record was embossed. It would be but a part, and a very small part, of that material, and, apparently, the most delicate and ethereal portion, — though of course, chemically speaking, really the most earthy. It would be easy to imagine a sheet of material thus embossed, of such a nature that the outer part, constituting the principal bulk, would fall off in visible dead ashes, whilst the film containing the record would be so thin and light as to float almost invisibly away upon a breath of air. And here the suggestive thought comes in that its visibility or invisibility

would depend, after all, upon the kind of eyes that looked for it, — and in how dim a light they gazed, for we mortals see some things but as “through a glass, darkly,” the Scriptures tell us. We have in the above illustration a rough analogy with the idea expressed in proposition c, of the actual preservation of a portion, perhaps almost infinitely small, of the material of the brain, — enough, however, to contain the mysterious record which we call consciousness, and memory, and knowledge. Who can say that this is absolutely impossible, in the light of what we already know about the various states of matter, and more especially in the darkness of what we don't know?

Our forefathers knew of the solid state of some things and the liquid state of others; and presently they found that air and other gases were *things*. Then came the discovery that one state might sometimes be changed into one or perhaps two of the other states, — that wax would melt, and that water would freeze or boil. Now we know with reasonable certainty that *any* substance may exist in any one of the three states; and the brilliant experiments of Professor Crookes and others, in radiometry, are giving us glimpses into the border-land of a possible fourth state of matter. What other states there still may be beyond, we as yet have no conception. Neither can we conceive of the characteristics peculiar to these possible undiscovered states, and although we might suppose a series of increasingly ethereal conditions to be less and less capable of retaining any kind of permanent impressions, or cycles of specialized motions (just as is a gas less capable than a liquid or a liquid than a solid), yet we cannot feel sure. This is especially so in a time when the hypothetical luminiferous ether itself is thought by some eminent philosophers to be only matter in a condition wholly different from anything with which our senses are familiar, and in some respects even more like a solid than a gas, although lying at the outer boundaries of imponderability and tenuity. Such remarkable qualities as are attributed to it by Sir William Thomson, in his vortex-atom theory, where it is supposed to be a sort of jelly-like solid, incompressible and perfectly frictionless, are suggestive, if nothing more. While still considering proposition c, it may be well to answer a possible criticism to the effect that an exceedingly minute portion of matter could hardly contain all that is stored up in a human mind, by asking how it is that the nucleus of a certain microscopic germ may hold within itself all that by heredity can come to an individual, in mind and body, — special talents, capacities for good and evil, a hundred

peculiarities of temperament and face and voice. And too, this same germ enshrouds all that goes to make the difference between a Newton or a Shakespeare, and the snake or toad which may be the product of some certain other like appearing germ.

Should there, however, be no truth in the above hypothesis (c), we have perhaps more probability in proposition *d*, wherein the motion part of brain-action is supposed to continue with *new* matter to act upon. This does not seem so absurd when we consider its analogy with a phonograph record-sheet, which should be made of a substance that would petrify so that all its original constituent matter would disappear and be replaced by new and more permanent material, while its shape would remain unchanged in every detail. Another illustration of this idea may be found in the well-known fact of the transposition of matter in living organisms, even our own bodies, and the total substitution of new material every few months without any change of form. This transposition takes place slowly in the cases known to us, where solids and liquids are concerned, but we know of no reason why it should not occur very rapidly, at the death of the brain, with some higher form of matter as its subject.

The above illustrations are adapted more particularly to the idea of the brain records being a matter of shape, which somehow (perhaps in a manner analogous to the phonographic action) reproduces at the proper time the necessary motion to be sent into the nerve-fibres. The whole thing may be easier of conception, however, if we regard it all as a question of continuous special motions, and the material substance involved as merely a medium of the motion. A third idea was mentioned (see page 266) in connection with brain records, namely: chemical action. This it is hardly worth while to consider separately, in these days when even chemical action seems as if it might be but a question of dynamics; and when we are beginning to call upon atoms and molecules (whatever such may be) to wheel into line under the command of the mechanical engineer.

Whether, then, this assumed continuity of individual brain action goes on with new matter as a medium, or whether it be a part of the old, does not signify. The probabilities would seem to be in favor of its being an ever-changing one, just as is the substance of our earthly bodies. In any case we are met with the grand and pregnant possibility that the universe teems with spirit-life which is but the logical continuance in a higher state of that which was born and nurtured here in a lower; that finer and

more delicate forms of matter are as capable of caring for and localizing the wondrous set of motions called a "mind," as are the few ounces of brain-cells that a chemist may reduce in an hour to common earths and gases; that such a development from little beginnings to great endings as is a human soul, with its glorious capabilities and its infinite aspirations, can find as fit a home in a higher state of matter as in its lowly earth-born domicile, whose crude and faulty construction protects not its divinely formed inmate from being snuffed out like a flame at the touch of disease or accident.

In accordance with the law of recompenses which seems to prevail largely throughout nature, the very enlightenment of the present age, which has begun to cast doubt upon and weaken the steadfastness of many comforting old beliefs, has given us some hints toward a knowledge of the luminiferous ether, and has shown us that the universe must be full of media, which are capable of maintaining and transmitting forms of energy transcendent in their delicacy or sublime in their immensity.

If, as will be explained more at length in succeeding pages, certain of these media can easily keep records of all the disturbances in their substance which we term sights and sounds, each perfectly individualized though interpenetrating the others, nothing too unimportant for notice, though it be but "a sparrow's fall," does it not seem, by an ordinary process of analogical reasoning, to be more than possible — even probable — that the sets of movements which constitute the phenomena of mind are also taken care of? Why should these, the most important of all, and the ones upon which depends the value of all the rest, be neglected? I say the value of all the rest, because we can conceive of no value or purpose in the creation and continuance of the universe without *intelligences* to observe, appreciate, and enjoy. And surely the grandeur of creation would be sadly wasted on us (and on such as we in other worlds) were our existence limited to the stunted, uncertain, and abbreviated condition which we call mortality.

That matter is capable of an infinite variety of motions, its particles acting and reacting upon one another throughout the universe, seems to be an accepted fact. Just as the ripples flow outward from the pebble thrown into the sea, to a distance we cannot estimate, and perhaps "go on forever," even so flow on the sound-waves from every tone of nature's organ, — and who shall say when and where they absolutely cease? And if our hollow ball of air should fail them, by proving to have a definite

outer limit, and the outlying ether should take them up, it would surely be no more strange than the fact that such waves can be transferred to the piece of twine in a "lover's telephone." Indeed, to use the beautiful words of Professor Jevons, "our whole atmosphere" (and the firmament beyond, I would add) "may be one vast library, on whose pages are forever written all that man has ever said or even whispered. There, in their mutable but unerring characters, mixed with the earliest as well as the latest sighs of mortality, stand forever recorded vows unredeemed, promises unfulfilled, perpetuating in the united movements of each particle the testimony of man's changeful will." An analogous fancy in regard to light-rays may, I think, be found somewhere in Dr. Dick's works, though I do not remember in which, or even if it be original with him. He speaks of the probability of all events which have ever occurred upon the earth being now actually visible at some place in the universe, — just where, depending of course upon when the event happened, and upon how fast have traveled the particular set of light-waves which once made it visible here. The only conditions, therefore, which are necessary for the grand panorama of the world's history to be shown to a sentient being, *while it is actually happening*, is that he shall have a sufficiently delicate eyesight, and shall be able to fly through space somewhat faster than does light, that he may catch up, so to speak, with any event that he desires to witness. A speculation of a similar character may, if I remember rightly, be found in one of General Mitchell's astronomical lectures. That these startling fancies may be sober facts; that all space may be one great phonograph and one great photograph, wherein has been and shall be forever recorded the history of the universe, is no more inherently unbelievable to the student of science than are a thousand phenomena which are daily going on before his eyes.

If, then, when Newton's apple fell, the earth rose to meet it, just its own share of the distance, and every moon and star responded to the disturbance; if, as would seem to be the case, each atom in the universe is acting upon or influencing in some way every other atom, by sound-waves, or heat-waves, or light-waves (visible or actinic), by waves of electricity, by magnetism, by gravitation, by a hundred other mysterious forms of energy which we have not yet learned about; if this influence of matter upon matter is, in kind, independent of its quantity, however minute, and its distance apart, however vast; if this action has gone and can go on through all time, however infinitely long; if it is all-permeating and can

go on over and through other trains of action, as ripple rises over billow, as in multiplex telegraphy message crosses over message, each maintaining its individuality intact; if, furthermore, all these actions can be infinitely vast or infinitely delicate; — then why should not the wondrous and complicated train of motions which we suppose to constitute a human mind, create upon some form of matter, within or around the brain which is their mortal seat, an influence as subtle or subtler than themselves? And why should not this new train of action have, in its turn, a power to grow and develop to infinity, free from the trammels of its earth-born parentage? And why should not this entity be called an immortal spirit?

If the proposition that *matter can be spirit, and spirit is but matter*, were more than an hypothesis, and if the time had yet come for its demonstration, it is difficult to see why the theologian should be stricken with horror thereat. The conventional theologian undoubtedly would be so stricken, just as he was when Galileo's mighty arm revolved the earth (against his mandate) and sent him whirling with it, out from his ancient matrix, until he struck the rocks of modern Geology (fossil meeting fossils), when the new and greater horror overpowered the lesser till it in turn dwindled to a rudiment in its struggle for existence with the greatest horror of all, Evolution. And yet, no more than in the proved facts of Astronomy and Geology, or the probabilities of the Development theory, is there aught in the possibilities of what we may term Spiritual-Materialism to conflict with the great truths of morality and religion; with a pure life and the Christian's hopeful death; with the existence of a happy Heaven and the ever-presence of a loving God.

If we search for the difference between our theologians' traditional spirit-spirit and our hypothetical matter-spirit, we shall find it to be in name only, as far as character and attributes are concerned; but the latter has the merit of being conceivable and capable of being reasoned about, while his is but an abstraction — at least it seems so to the class of minds for whose edification these pages are prepared. These earnest souls are living interrogation-points, seeking always to penetrate the arcana of Nature and of Fate. Perchance to them mostly, rather than to the Spiritists on the one hand, or the Materialists on the other, must we look for the gradual evolution of those facts which, all in good time, will make so sure and easy the reconciliation between Religion and Science. These men are asking such questions as

those we have here discussed, and, looking at the mighty enginery of their Creator with a reverence impossible to the mere materialist, they would further ask: Why, in the light of this truth-finding nineteenth century, should we continue to degrade matter as but "of earth, earthy"? What but the action of motion upon matter are all the sounds and sights that stir our emotions and rouse our souls to highest pitch of sorrow or of joy? Does it not, indeed, almost deify matter to us to know that by certain purely mechanical peculiarities of its arrangement and movement we have the sunlight or the shade; the painted glories of the evening sky or the darkness of a midnight storm; the smile of love or scowl of hate; pictured faces of dear ones in the photograph or their voices over wires from far away; the roar of thunder or the cricket's chirp; the din of battle, with its shrieks of pain, or the heaven-born cadences of a Nilsson or a Malibran? And do we not know that these things, and all the other wondrous work going on among the elements, in the domains of physics and chemistry, of crystallography, of plant-life and sentient organic life, in the realms of astronomic space, where a great world may be ages in whirling about its orbit, or where the ether atoms may propel radiant energy by traversing their little paths eight hundred trillions of times in a single second, are only the changes that the chimes of God are ringing upon that which we call matter? Being certain, furthermore, that matter is the vehicle and agent of all our consciousness, and that only through it as a tool do we feel or know or act or think; that here in our earthly life it is the medium of hope and joy, of conscience and of love; that its capabilities are so vast and yet so delicate;—shall we, can we, positively say that the matter which has so well served us here shall fail us when "the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken,"—when the heart shall cease to beat and the busy brain to throb? Knowing all the brilliant, but as yet dimly revealed, possibilities which we can even now catch glimpses of as we stand on the border-land of science, can we do less than seek consolation for those whose faith reaches but to the conceivable, with the ever-recurring question, and the answer attempted in these pages, *If material, why mortal?*

Oberlin Smith.

BRIDGETON, NEW JERSEY.

NOTE.—Since the above article was prepared the writer has happened to see, for the first time, a copy of that rather remarkable book, "The Unseen Universe," published some eight or ten years ago, and better known in England

than America, the American edition having, indeed, been for some time out of print. Its gifted authors take the same general ground as has this writer, regarding the potency of matter to include spirit, but their treatment of the subject is different enough not to tempt him to cry out, with Sydney Smith, against "those confounded ancients who were always stealing our ideas." The general conception of all this is, of course, nothing new, many writers having speculated upon the *influence* of brain-action upon other matter never being wholly lost, any more than is that of any other material phenomenon.

The authors in question, however, have gone more deeply into the subject, although their startling and ingenious hypothesis of spirit-life existing in a dual universe, which is, in a sense, the complement of this, and in which a train of motions are set up (through the ethereal medium between) by the movements taking place here, making our spirits contemporary duplicates of our minds, as it were, does not seem to the writer so plausible as the idea expressed in these pages of continuity of existence merely—the spirit *succeeding* the mind after the death of the body. Neither does their view of the probable final extinction of the visible universe appear as tenable as one which would allow for an *infinite* number of new sidereal systems to grow and disappear, during and throughout an *infinity* of time and space.

MISSIONARY PROBLEMS IN INDIA.

I. MISSION CO-OPERATION.

No such cases of organized union of different mission societies can be found in India as in Japan, or at Amoy, China. On the other hand, there has been no division or bitterness here like what has been occasioned in China by the different terms applied to God, and by questions of method.

Apart from a few organizations of parasitic disposition, which are apt to disregard all settled boundaries, and intrude on any territory no matter by whom or how well occupied, the field of most societies is pretty clearly defined and generally respected. The Irish Presbyterians, for instance, occupy Rajputana, the American Methodists Oudh and Rohilcund, the American Presbyterians labor in the Punjab side by side, and on most friendly terms with the Church Missionary Society, while the American United Presbyterians, alike in Egypt and in the Punjab north of Lahore, are fortunate in being almost without competitors.

In the south, the Lutheran Missionary Society in Trevancore and the Church Missionary Society in Tinnevely amiably divide the end of the Cape. The bounds of the Madura Mission of the American Board have been settled by agreement with the Society

for the Propagation of the Gospel, each giving up a portion of its field and its congregations to the other.

These are but instances of what frequently occurs throughout the country. The most general complaints are made against the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Lutherans, and the Salvation Army, the latter of whom have developed a harmful tendency to make their headquarters in some of the most Christianized of the heathen communities, and to proselyte among those already converted. But outside of the great cities, principles of comity and economy generally prevail, even when, as must often happen, several societies are found working side by side.

In Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, the three Presidency cities, as well as in some other places, there are monthly Mission Confederacies at which members of nearly all missions are wont to gather for fraternal intercourse and discussion. And the great Mission Conferences, whether of a section such as the Punjab or South India, or of the whole country, held decennially, — the last being in 1883, at Calcutta, — have done much to prove to the heathen world that Protestants are really united in spirit and in aim.

In any further movement toward organic union among missions of the same denominational family, the Presbyterians are here, as well as elsewhere, the leaders. For several years these bodies, comprising the Dutch Reformed, the American, the Scotch, and the Irish Presbyterians, have met in a general alliance, seeking to do the same for India which has already been accomplished in their case for Japan.

At their last meeting, held in Bombay in December, committees were appointed in each mission to press forward the work of union, and it was decided to publish a Presbyterian periodical, of which the present editor of the "Indian Evangelical Review" should have charge.

It has been objected to the proposed plan of union that it involves for the missionary, membership in two Presbyteries, one on the field, the other at home, to the latter of which alone he is amenable, and that this is un- Presbyterian. But here is just one of the cases where the church must decide whether Christ or sect is of more account; whether denominational precedent shall hamper the progress of the Kingdom, or whether new precedents shall be made for new conditions. It remains yet to be shown that membership in a Home Presbytery is important for a missionary who can belong to one on the field. And if that were established,

the examples of Japan and Amoy are quite sufficient for precedent and guidance.

Nowhere are the evils of sectarianism so apparent as in great heathen cities, where missions crowd, compete, and sometimes conflict with one another; where the heathen fancy the divisions even wider than they are; where native Christians sigh for the unity of one national church, and groan under the burdens imposed on them by historical, doctrinal, local, or personal differences, alien to their thoughts and habits.

Beautiful as is the dream of a National Indian Church, which some cherish, its realization seems quite improbable, or, if that were accomplished, its continuance impossible among a people so separable as those of India. But the burden of their own natural and inevitable differences is quite sufficient without the added load of such distinctions as that between the Established and the Free Church of Scotland, the Baptists and Pædobaptists, the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, or the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches.

It is difficult and painful to express my disappointment with most features of mission operations in the Presidency cities of India. The educational work, indeed, is excellent; in some cases, unequalled. The Christian College in Madras, at the head of which is Dr. Miller of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, may well rank as the best institution of learning in India.

But other forms of work languish. Not only that: in many cases the fat school-kine have swallowed up the lean evangelistic-kine, and there is an actual famine of God's preached Word for the heathen. One great reason for this neglect of important branches of work, one explanation of the weakness or restlessness of the native churches in these cities, and of the fact that in the three where so many societies concentrate there is but one native church which is strictly self-supporting, — the Congregational Church in Bombay, — is to be found in the rivalries and confusions of sectarianism.

Each mission clings to its own converts. Each mission competes with others in its bid for the services of the best native helpers, wherever found. Each mission insists that its helpers be members in its own churches, and looks with jealous eye on new unsectarian organizations. Thus struggling, separated communities of native Christians are supported in isolation, weakness, dependence and sectarianism, unable to support themselves, often unwilling to make the attempt, yet claiming the services of a well-trained,

high-priced pastor, and dominated over by the missionary or the mission.

I do not say that these things always occur, but there is a general tendency towards them. Let several of such weakling, parasitic churches be united into one church, it could soon be made strong, self-supporting, and self-propagating. As it is now, those of the native Christians who do not simply acquiesce in the stunted, dependant condition of these city churches, grow restless, grow, perhaps, antagonistic to the missionaries, and are in danger, in their search after liberty, of degenerating into license and disorder.

I found a number in Madras who were discussing with greatest interest certain steps already taken towards the formation of a national church, independent of all foreigners. But I found, too, that the movement was distrusted, sometimes antagonized, by missionaries, who said, "You are stealing our men." Under such circumstances, neither the union movement nor the mission churches can prosper.

In Calcutta, matters are still worse. The Bengali Christians have able and fluent leaders among them, some of whom show their sincerity by great labors and self-denial. Several are successful lawyers or government officials, who devote their spare time to gospel work, or even take charge of some church. One of these laymen has just been ordained to the preaching office by the Presbytery of the Scotch Free Church Mission.

These independent Bengali Christians have organized a Union Conference of all native Christians, and one or two small congregations meet under their charge. I spent an evening in conference with fifteen or twenty of these men at the house of Mr. Thorne, editor of the "Indian Herald," the organ of this movement.

How delightful this union of different minds! How keen their discernment of the points at issue! How hopeful for the church! They were men of sincerity and ability, representing as many as six or eight different mission societies, in whose employment the greater part of them were laboring.

The most advanced among them have already come into collision with the majority of the missionaries through their claim that in the present state of things greater liberty must be given to laymen, and that the administration of the sacraments should be allowed them. "If laymen are at liberty to preach the Word," they say, "why should they not also baptize and administer the

Lord's Supper? Surely the Word is greater than the Sacraments, and the right to do the greater involves the less."

Accordingly, a few months ago they made a test of lay-baptism, which was performed by one of their number in one of the churches of Calcutta. The case was brought up for trial before the Presbytery of the Free Church of Scotland, and ably argued on both sides, but has not yet received its final settlement. A state of tension, however, exists between the missionaries and the native Christians, which can but be harmful.

I found a few of the older missionaries, such as Mr. H. S. McDonald, editor of the "Indian Evangelical Review," and Dr. Bauman of the Church Missionary Society, who, in the main, sympathize with the aims and endeavors of these men who believe that it is only the narrowness and rigidity of some missions which have driven them into antagonisms and extremes. In Lucknow, Ram Chandra Bose, well known in America, while regretting certain steps of his brethren, assured me of his sympathy with them and his belief in *authorized* lay-administration of the sacraments. It is perfectly plain that some change in these city missions is needed before these great centres can become centres of Christianity. It is likewise plain that we can neither expect nor desire to stereotype and perpetuate in the Eastern Church divisions which have originated solely in incidents of Western history and peculiarities of Western thought. The selfish desire of any Mission or Mission Board to keep its work intact and not to be swallowed up in a great union movement should be rebuked by Christians of every denomination, and the dangers of disorder and license should be checked by earnest sympathy with the aspirations of the native Christians on one side, and by earnest coöperation between all mission bodies on the other.

The strongest opposition to union of Christian work on the mission field comes as a rule from the Boards and churches at home. It would seem as if they felt that the work done through their instrumentality *belonged to them*, and that it was for them to say whether their work should be united with that of others, or kept separate and distinct. The church that seeks its own glory on the mission field and dims its Master's glory by hindering that unity which He declared should be the great argument to convince the world of his divine mission, — however it may gain in its own eyes and in human estimation, such a church can certainly not expect to be crowned with tokens of the Master's approval.

"He that findeth his life shall lose it." The church that glorieth itself shall lose divine glory. The hope of the union of the Church throughout the world, lies on the mission field.

Both the problems and the trials of mission work are found by one who studies them on the spot to be fully as great as he may have imagined them when at home. But they are usually of a very different character.

The trials require more of simple patience and hopefulness than of the more brilliant traits of heroism which are sometimes suggested by a romantic view of missions. And many of the problems are such as those living in a Christian New England community could hardly conceive of as problematical.

It may serve to bring some into a more truly sympathetic and living interest in missions, if they can know a few of the actual problems with which our representatives in the field are obliged to contend. That they are *problems* implies both that they are difficult of settlement, and that they are either not yet satisfactorily settled, or are settled differently by different men.

All that I shall attempt will be to state the problems, indicate the difficulties, and suggest what seems the wiser opinion held by those who have the best right to be heard. If in this way some of the shifting currents or conflicting tides of the foreign field can be made plain at home, my purpose will be fulfilled.

II. WHAT SHALL BE THE TREATMENT OF CONVERTED POLYGAMISTS?

At the first glance, and as viewed from the home field, the answer to this question seems easy enough: "Let all wives but one be dismissed with proper provision, and let that one be the first wife."

As a matter of fact, however, the decision of this matter in India is very difficult. How if the second wife be the only mother of children? — taken, in fact, because there were no children by the first, — taken, too, perhaps, at the solicitation, or with the full consent of the first wife. How if the husband is unable to make proper provision for his wives when separated from him?

When these questions have been answered, there still remain certain facts to be disposed of. According to Hindu law, both of these women are legally and properly married to the husband. From this point of view, to dismiss one of them is to do her a great wrong and an injury, especially if both are equally disposed to cling to the husband after his conversion. If sent home she is

disgraced in the eyes of her own people, and may be pushed along the path of ruin.

Shall a missionary advise the husband who comes to him for instruction on this point to inflict such a hardship and injury on one who in all good faith has joined herself to him for life? But if he does not counsel separation, how shall he treat the case? Shall he baptize him or them and thus seem to lend the sanction of the church to polygamy? Or shall he, on the other hand, deprive those who, through no fault of their own, are in an abnormal relation, of the help and ministrations of the church? Is the man any worse than the Father of the Faithful?

This problem at once raises a host of other questions, such as that of the relation of the Bible to polygamy and divorce and the Bible method of righting wrongs. Points which seem perfectly clear to us at home, simply because they are never raised, are often very hard of settlement when practically considered.

The opinion of missionaries on this subject is much divided, and the matter has been discussed at various conferences. An excellent statement of both sides of the question is made in the "Indian Evangelical Review" of April, 1886, by Rev. J. J. Lucas, who has taken pains to inform himself of the opinions of many leading missionaries. My own impression, formed from conversation with a large number, is that a majority of the missionaries in India, especially of those longest in the field, would decline to advise a man to dismiss one of two wives, and that many of them would baptize him, in that state, while protesting against polygamy as unchristian.

In one of the country congregations of the Madura Mission, I saw a man with his second wife and child, and near them his first wife, whom he had dismissed before his baptism, with full provision for her wants. Here, however, the case had been comparatively easy of decision, by the fact that he had never been properly married to the first wife, even according to Hindu law.

The Madura Mission not long ago decided to baptize converted polygamists who had acted in ignorance of Christian ideas, in cases where there was no way of separation without injustice. Of this decision the American Board has expressed its disapproval. But Mr. Jones, of that mission, avows the belief that the policy of refusing baptism to such candidates must in time be reversed.

I cannot better represent the state of feeling than by making some extracts from opinions published by Mr. Lucas, in the article to which I have referred.

To more than sixty representatives of different missions, Mr. Lucas sent the question: "Would you, under any circumstances, baptize a convert with more than one wife, allowing him to retain his wives?"

From the great majority there came back an answer in the affirmative. Some of these *have* baptized such converts; others have been deterred only by the rules of their societies.

Here is one case. A man professing to be a Christian requested baptism. He was deemed worthy to be received into the church. He had, however, two wives. His first wife, then an old woman, had no children. She, I believe, had urged her husband to take a second wife. By this last marriage he had five or six children. The first wife seemed as fond of the children as their own mother. Which of these wives, then, should he put away? We did not require him to dismiss either of them.

From Rev. Dr. Bissell, of Ahmednagar, Mr. Lucas quotes: "I have often met with cases of candidates for baptism who had two wives. In the early part of my missionary life I should have said to such men, 'You must put away one of your wives before I can baptize you.' Afterwards I learned the difficulties which encompass the question. Both of the women were legal wives, and there was no law of divorce. The putting away would, therefore, be an *enforced separation*, the separated wife being still a legal wife. Then it generally appeared that the second wife was the mother of the children, while the first had none.

"The reason for taking a second wife is, in the majority of cases, because the first wife is barren, or her children are girls, or they have died in childhood. In view of these difficulties, I began to doubt whether I had a right to insist that a man should send away his second wife and all his children as a condition of baptism. . . . To do this would be in effect a refusal to receive him to the Church. . . . I have in two instances baptized men with two wives, doing this with instructions as to the nature of this relation, and what is required by the teaching of Christ, so that it is understood that we only allow it under protest."

Mr. Lucas himself opposes baptism in such a case, because of the apparent sanction given to polygamy, the temptation laid in the way of inquirers, the formation of two classes of Christians within the church, and the injury done to the church itself. Yet he would not ask the husband to put away either wife, but would say, "Wait. Your first outward step towards Christ must not be marred by a cruel wrong and flagrant injustice. Wait, holding fast your faith, and time will bring a change."

Yet, as Mr. Lucas admits, the majority of missionaries, if left free to act, would go further than this, though leaving much to be determined by the circumstances of each case. I have myself been assured by old missionaries that their opinions in this regard had been changed by long experience on the field.

My own purpose is gained in simply stating the problem, thus giving a view of some of the difficulties attaching to any settlement that may be proposed.

III. WHO SHALL BE EMPLOYED AS TEACHERS IN MISSION SCHOOLS?

Christians are few, Hindus are hostile or indifferent. Some of the first Hindu teachers pledged themselves secretly to undermine the work of their employers. The hostility is, perhaps, less to-day, and Hindu teachers are carefully supervised, yet my own experience has taught me the danger of having Hindu teachers.

I was once obliged in addressing a school of boys and girls in Bombay, to use a Hindu teacher as interpreter. I noticed that he found some difficulty in comprehending or rendering certain words to which I attached emphasis, but which had occurred before. When I had concluded, after having spoken of the evils of idolatry, of the position of women, and of the work each member of the school should undertake in opposing these evils, I was surprised to learn what comments my interpreter had made. To my words about idolatry he had added the remark that these were the sentiments of the speaker, but that they were not his own. The lady who is the efficient head of the school at once said emphatically that they were the sentiments of the mission, and should be those of the scholars.

I followed her, telling my interpreter, in presence of the school, that had I remembered that he was a Hindu, I should not have asked him to interpret such words as I had used, because, however correct his rendering might be linguistically, he could not reproduce them from his heart, and they must depend for their effect upon that.

It so happened that the school was composed almost wholly of the children of Christian parents, and I learned that afterwards he was severely rebuked by other teachers and members of the school. In the end, the incident perhaps did more good than harm, but it serves to illustrate the danger of employing as teachers those who either cannot comprehend, or will, in heart at least, oppose the very things for which the school exists, and whose influence with their Hindu pupils may often be stronger than that of the missionaries.

Still the fact remains, that if none but Christian teachers were employed, many schools must close entirely or in part, while the instructions actually given would often be far less efficient than now. The practice obtains, therefore, of securing at least a Christian head master or mistress, and Christians also for religious instruction, while other positions are filled with Christians as fast as possible.

It is supposed that a Hindu or a Mohammedan, secretly, perhaps, inclined to Christianity, will not do much harm while teaching mathematics or the languages from text-books chosen by the mission. It frequently happens, indeed, that the heathen teacher is himself converted while connected with the school. A Mohammedan boy in a school in Bombay came recently under the favorable notice of a government inspector, who in commending him expressed his purpose to find a place for him to teach. The boy left the school and was not seen there again. On being questioned as to the cause of his leaving, he said that he was afraid he should be made a teacher, and if he became a teacher, that meant becoming a Christian.

Still, I cannot persuade myself that the heathen teacher is not often an enemy in the camp and a great evil, even if a necessary and circumscribed one. It is gratifying, however, to find that the number of Christian teachers is constantly increasing, while that of non-Christians is as constantly decreasing. In 1871, of four thousand two hundred and one native male teachers in the mission schools, two thousand two hundred and six were Hindus or Mohammedans. In 1887, of five thousand nine hundred and forty-three, but two thousand four hundred and sixty-two were non-Christians. A much greater reduction may be expected during the present decade.

In support of the employment of non-Christian teachers is quoted Luther's saying, "Where we cannot plough with horses, we must plough with asses." But he would hardly have added, "And where we cannot plough with asses, let us plough with *wolves*," even though arrayed in sheep's clothing.

At present, however, the employment of possible wolves or foxes among the Hindu teachers seems inevitable. None understand this so well as the missionaries, and none will so rejoice when an abundance of competent Christian teachers can be found. To that end, nothing can serve better than the Normal schools in charge of the Society for Vernacular Christian Education. In its excellent institutions which I visited in Dindigul, in South

India, and in Ahmednagar, in West India, it receives to be trained as teachers Christian young men sent by any mission. And to the missions of the American Board it has furnished many of the best teachers in their employ. One of the greatest needs of India is devoted, well-trained Christian teachers, and anything which can increase their number is worthy of all the aid that can be given.

IV. INSTANTANEOUS BAPTISM.

The question of instantaneous baptism, that is, of a baptism immediately following the public profession of Christ, without previous examination, has been brought to the front especially by the remarkable conversions resulting from the preaching of the Rev. Mr. Knowles and his colleagues of the North India Methodist Episcopal Conference, at the Hindu *melas* or festivals.

Mr. Knowles is an Englishman, who has been for a number of years in the mission work. Several years ago, as he tells me, he was led to feel that there is a greater privilege offered to the Christian believer than he had been accepting, and that, on condition of faith, the gift of the Holy Spirit might be received in large measure, both for one's self and others, through which gift God would do his own work of conversion far more grandly than we have ever believed.

In pursuance of this conviction Mr. Knowles has been led to press an immediate decision upon his hearers at the *melas* or great religious gatherings of the Hindus, where he, like other missionaries, takes special pains to preach. Any who will come forward at that time and publicly declare a belief in Jesus Christ as their Saviour he is ready to baptize at once, without further test or instruction, taking their names and homes, and seeking, so far as possible, to follow up the work thus begun. A large number of baptisms has thus been made of those who, up to the moment of the preaching, were thorough Hindus, in full caste relations. There was, at first, some neglect in obtaining their names, but this is now carefully attended to, and whenever the convert returns to his home he is commended to the care of the Mission in whose territory he resides.

The same question is urgently pressed by the workers among the churches in the Punjab, where the American United Presbyterian Mission has been especially successful. Whole villages have come to Christ and called for instant baptism, which has been given by the United Presbyterian missionaries, with full admittance to the church. The Methodists defer such admission,

and the Church Missionary Society prefers, as a rule, not to allow instantaneous baptism.

The arguments against it are obvious. Many, hearing the gospel for the first time, have no real idea of its requirements. Accustomed as they are to follow the leading of religious teachers and make religion consist in some outward act, they might often hope to add to the security which Hinduism has afforded them by calling Christ the Saviour, and receiving with superstitious reverence the outward rite of Christianity. But returning to their homes still untaught and untested, they may pass for Christians without possessing one spark of Christian life, and thus become the occasion of scandal and reproach, eventually falling back into their old condition.

In reply, it is urged that Christ has made distinct promises to those who are not ashamed to confess Him; that when this is done publicly, and with public explanation of the preacher, the church may claim the fulfillment of the promise. It is true, moreover, that Hindus universally attach great importance to Christian baptism, regarding it as a decisive act, which involves the breaking of caste and excommunication. If any one goes so far as to take this step, so important in his own eyes, why should he not be baptized, followed up, instructed, and, at the proper time, received into the church?

Is not this the way, after all, in which the bulk of the people of India are to be brought to Christ; — not by preliminary education, which can reach but a few at a time, and may draw men away from Christ instead of towards Him, but by conversion, with instantaneous baptism to seal the act, followed by subsequent training in Christ?

If the conversion of Indians occurs by masses, instead of as individuals, must it not be in some such manner, the old barriers giving way suddenly, and great bodies of the people becoming disciples of Christ while ignorant of Him except as their Saviour?

These questions are asked by the advocates of instant baptism. I do not know that they find an answer, as that must be given by experience. It is certain that very many of the Hindus acknowledge the truth of Christianity, and are looking for a general movement among their people. It seems equally certain that only by some such mass movements can the country ever be brought to Christ. For of the majority of Hindus, even more than of other peoples, it is true that, like Wordsworth's clouds, they must "move all together if they move at all."

V. A BOMBAY CHURCH.

If it is true that in the three Presidency cities of India—Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay—there is but one actually self-supporting church,—the one connected with the American Board,—the history of that one is such as should stimulate and encourage all others in the land.

After meeting the members of this devoted little church in their Sunday services, Sunday-schools, prayer-meetings, street-preachings, and social gatherings, as well as at the homes of some of their number, I feel that the existence of even one such grain of mustard-seed is full of hope for all India.

Organized in 1827, it had a fluctuating history for many years in connection with, and dependence upon, the Mission. From 1868 to 1881 it was blessed by the pastorate of Vishnapunt, a former Brahman, and one of the noblest men yet connected with the native church in India. In 1866, two years before, when his predecessor, Ramkrishnapunt, now at Ahmednagar, began his short pastorate of two years, it had but sixteen members. In 1876, the membership had risen to fifty.

The membership has never been large, Ahmednagar, rather than Bombay, being the centre of the American Board, Marathi Mission, while Bombay has often been quite neglected, and even to-day is not given that importance as a mission station which it deserves. The present number of members is ninety-six, a majority being men, while about one hundred and fifty baptized persons are connected with it.

In 1882 began the pastorate of Tukaram Nathuji, who still has charge of the church. Quite the opposite of Ramkrishnapunt and Vishnapunt, he is of low-caste origin, very plain in appearance, and dark in complexion. But his ability and spirituality have triumphed over all obstacles, and he is loved and honored by his whole church. A constant European attendant on his services tells me that he seldom finds such true spiritual edification as from the Marathi discourses of Tukaram Nathuji.

Some seven or eight years ago, I think it was, that this little band of Christians, hitherto dependent on the Mission, resolved that they would henceforth be an independent church. That resolution has been carried out to the present time. The Mission owns and repairs the church, which it hopes shortly to rebuild on a better site. But all the current expenses are paid by private contributions of members or attendants.

Were it necessary to pay a salary of from a hundred to a hundred and fifty rupees, such as some native pastors expect and receive, while many of them could obtain *more* in government employ, this would be impossible. But self-sacrifice here began with the pastor. At first his payment was at the rate of fifty rupees a month. This was soon advanced to sixty, and now stands at seventy rupees, on which, with no parsonage, with house-rent very high, and a large family, the pastor barely subsists. Seven rupees a month go to the sexton. The total annual contributions, to cover all expenses and donations, amount to about eleven hundred rupees.

The true value of this self-support appears when the character of the congregation is known. There are only two European men who attend, one of them with a family. The amount received from European sources averages about six rupees a month. Perhaps fourteen persons are in some way connected with the Mission, there being one editor, two preachers, several teachers, and one missionary servant. The fourteen Mission agents pay, in all, about twenty rupees a month. There may be twenty members directly or indirectly supported by the Mission. Of the nearly one hundred and fifty rupees contributed every month, only twenty-six have passed through Mission hands.

It is all a spontaneous offering to the Lord, and the remainder is derived from the pay of those who are independent of the Mission. Many of the best men are not Mission agents at all. There are but one or two persons whose income is a hundred rupees a month, while the majority are in quite humble circumstances. Thus much for self-support by this little company of ninety-six Christians.

But self-support is only a means to the nobler end of self-propagation. What are they doing to extend the *Kingdom*? Would that more of our home churches could show as good a record!

The working force of the church is organized into a kind of Christian Endeavor Society, having from fifteen to twenty men and women connected with it, who do regular unpaid work for Christ.

My last night in India was spent at the bi-monthly tea-meeting of this society. The house where we met was in itself full of interest. Our hostess was a native lady, a member of the church, who, quite on her own responsibility, is supporting and teaching a native school for Hindu children in one of the most thickly

settled portions of Bombay. Her husband is a Christian, in government employ, and is in full sympathy with the work of his wife and the Bombay church. It is his highest aim to have a little independent church near his wife's school, where, as a layman, he may regularly preach the gospel.

His wife is an amateur photographer, and her skill in this art secured her introduction to the home of the Gaekwar of Baroda, who desired a photograph of his wife, but could not allow it to be taken by a man. Her success brought her from him a gift of two thousand rupees, which she appropriated to her school.

I had visited the school on the morning of the tea-meeting, where I was much struck with the simple dignity of this Indian woman, and with the skill with which she reached her own people. It was understood that the Bible was to be taught every day in the school. Some of the Hindu parents objected. She invited them to come themselves and see what she was doing. They came, found nothing out of the way, and departed satisfied.

These Hindu children recited for me in English the second Commandment, told me the story of Moses and the Golden Calf, and explained God's anger with idolatry.

At the evening meeting I should almost have supposed myself in my old home, in one of our gatherings of the Society for Christian Service. All of the women, if I remember correctly, and some of the men, wore Indian costume. After a social hour, with tea and refreshments, reports were read of various forms of work, including those by women of women's work.

Several Sunday-schools are under charge of this society in various localities, and it was reported that others could be at once established if there were only money for renting a place. An English friend, who happened to be present, promptly offered what will pay the rent of two such rooms for a year. About twenty-five persons are engaged in this Sunday-school work, some of them teaching in two places every Sunday.

Of chief interest to me, however, was the evangelistic work which had been accomplished. The report for the year 1886 showed that some sixteen persons had addressed over six hundred companies in street-preaching, at least two being present on each occasion.

I myself attended several such street services, and everywhere was filled with joy at the zeal of these native Christians in proclaiming their Saviour as the Saviour of the world. Now it was the Mohammedans who gathered in the vestibule of the church,

after service on Sunday, and listened to these men proclaiming the sole mediator. Now it was a street audience in front of the Mission House, where both natives and missionaries spoke, assisted by the singing of the school-boys. Then it was an audience of coolies, who, in an open, central square, surrounded us, and, despite many a scornful question from interrupting Mohammedans, kept increasing in numbers, and continued to the close, one man then coming up to ask for a book which would tell him more, like what he had heard. Still again, these Christian laymen were off in another quarter of the city addressing high-caste Hindus, and teaching them of the universal brotherhood in Christ.

These reports which I heard, and yet more these scenes, of which I was a part, rejoicing myself to speak through the mouths of such interpreters, all gave most hopeful indications of the work of the coming Church of Christ in India.

But this is by no means all. A society of Hand-Lenders exists among the girls of Mrs. Hume's school, and under her charge, who are always engaged in some mission work; and another of boys, of the same character. They distribute tracts, speak to their friends, and do with their might whatever their hands find to do.

Altogether, I may say that I have never found a church at home more full of the true spirit of the coming Kingdom, more ready to learn and teach, to pray and labor, to receive from God, and give and do for God, than this company of ninety-six Indian Christians in the city of Bombay.

A great part of the results we see to-day are due to the sympathetic training and influence of Rev. Edward S. Hume and his wife, who have constantly inspired these people to loving docility and independent activity. If all the native churches may share the spirit and accomplish the work of this little Bombay church, the Kingdom of God will soon come.

Edward A. Lawrence.

INDIA.

THE AMERICAN BOARD:

IS ITS PROPER RELATION TO THE CHURCHES THAT OF DOMINATION OR DEPENDENCE?

I.

IN 1710 Samuel Sewall addressed a letter to a gentleman in London, probably Sir William Ashurst, which began as follows:—

“Your Stewards and Servants, the Commissioners, to whom the hon’ble Corporation for propagating the Gospel among our Indians have committed a more immediate and subordinate management of that Affair, we hope do, and shall observe most exactly all your Directions and with all possible conformity.”

These were the opening words of an annual report, submitted by a Board known as the Board of Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel, consisting of some of the most prominent clergymen and laymen in New England, to the corporation in London established by Act of Parliament in 1649, and reorganized under a charter granted by Charles II. in 1661,—the first incorporated missionary society in the history of Protestant Christianity.

A second propagation society was chartered in 1701, in London, and a third in 1709, in Scotland, and both had their representatives and agents in New England.¹ In the year 1762 a number of gentlemen in Massachusetts felt that the time was come for the formation of a missionary society here, to be controlled and sustained at home, rather than from abroad, and they obtained a charter of incorporation, and began to prosecute their pious and benevolent object; but the king refused to give his sanction to the incorporating bill, and it fell, “and the zeal of its supporters, in a great measure, fell with it.” At the beginning of the Revolutionary struggle the original propagation society ceased to correspond with its agents in Massachusetts, and soon withdrew its support altogether from the missions under their care. In 1787 the society in Scotland sent out a new commission for the continuance of evangelistic labors, under its auspices, among the Indians, and in destitute and outlying white settlements; and this led to the revival of the purpose, frustrated in 1762, to form a strictly American society, in order to fix the responsibility for

¹ For an account of these propagation societies, see the *Andover Review* for October, 1885.

missionary work more definitely and directly upon the home churches, and to deepen their interest in it. The Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America was then formed, was incorporated by the legislature of Massachusetts, and entered upon its appropriate work, in which it is still engaged.

Early in the present century a small band of gifted and consecrated young men determined to give their lives to Christian missions in a broader and more comprehensive spirit than had hitherto prevailed in the American churches. The society, which had its seat in Boston, was formed with reference chiefly to domestic missions, including those to the aboriginal tribes, and there were other reasons why the young men of Williamstown and Andover should not apply to it for countenance and support in the work to which they had devoted themselves. They made an appeal, therefore, to some of the pastors of the churches with which they were affiliated, and the result, as we all know, was the formation of the American Board. The following is from the record of the meeting of the Massachusetts General Association, held in Bradford, June, 1810:—

“Messrs. Adoniram Judson, Jr., Samuel Nott, Jr., Samuel J. Mills, and Samuel Newell, members of the Divinity College [that is, Andover Theological Seminary], were introduced, and presented a paper, with their names subscribed, on the subject of a mission to the heathen. After hearing the young gentlemen, the business was committed to the Rev. Messrs. Spring, Worcester, and Hale; who reported resolves for instituting a Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, to consist of nine members, all, in the first instance, to be chosen by the General Association, and afterwards annually, five of them by this body, and four by the General Association of Connecticut.

“The Report was unanimously accepted. The General Association proceeded to institute a Board of Commissioners, and made choice of the following gentlemen as members: His Excellency John Treadwell, Esq., Rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight, General Jedediah Huntington, and Rev. Calvin Chapin, of Connecticut; Rev. Dr. Joseph Lyman, Rev. Dr. Samuel Spring, William Bartlet, Esq., Rev. Samuel Worcester, and Deacon Samuel H. Walley, of Massachusetts. Measures were provided for calling the first meeting of the Board.”¹

Mr. Samuel Hall Walley was at this time, and until 1817, a

¹ *Congregational Quarterly*, January, 1859, p. 46.

deacon in Federal Street Church, Boston, the Rev. William Ellery Channing, pastor.¹ Mr. Bartlet, who was one of the associate founders of Andover Theological Seminary, never became a member of any church.

From this brief historical statement it is apparent that the American Board was the effect, and not the cause, of the revival of the missionary spirit in the churches of New England. It did not inspire the young men to the life of sacrifice and expatriation on which they were about to enter; but because they had been inspired, as we believe, from above, its creation as an instrumentality was made necessary. It was, in the first place, the mouthpiece of the young men in their endeavor to reach the ear of the churches, and then it became the agent of the churches for the general oversight and direction of their foreign missionary work. In its first address to the Christian public it asked a solemn question, which, during the last year or two, strange to say, the Christian public has been asking of those to whom its executive management has descended in the present generation: "When millions are perishing for lack of knowledge, and young disciples of the Lord are waiting, with ardent desire, to carry the gospel of salvation to them; shall those millions be left to perish, and that ardent desire be disappointed?" In its second address, issued in 1811, it declared the gospel to be its ground of hope and expectation for the salvation of the world. Its words were: "The infinite importance of the gospel to the character and condition of mankind, with reference to the world to come, no sound believer in divine revelation can doubt. The gospel is the grand instrument ordained by infinite wisdom 'to turn men from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God.'" This, also, the churches of to-day have been obliged to impress, as though it were new truth, upon the present managers of the Board.

The Board held its first meeting in September, 1810, at Farmington, Connecticut, and there adopted the name which has since become so well known to the Christian world, and by which it was designated in the charter obtained in June, 1812, from

¹ Mr. Walley was chosen treasurer in 1810, and auditor in 1812. His brother, Mr. Charles Walley, a member of the West Church, the Rev. Charles Lowell's, was chosen auditor in 1813, but declined the office, and Mr. Chester Adams was appointed to the vacancy. As showing the friendly feeling towards the new missionary movement, outside strictly evangelical circles, it may be said that, at the fourth annual meeting of the Board, held in Boston in 1813, the sermon was preached by President Dwight in the First Church over which the Rev. John Lovejoy Abbot had been settled a few months previously.

the legislature of Massachusetts. This name has a significance which the present managers of the society seem never to have considered, but which the churches, amid existing circumstances, may do well to call to mind. It was undoubtedly suggested to the founders by the remembrance of the Board of Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel, the members of which, from the time of their meeting at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1650, until the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, acted as the "stewards and servants," to quote Judge Sewall's words, of the corporation in London, which had committed to them "a more immediate and subordinate management" of its affairs. In the constitution adopted at Farmington, the members of the Board are spoken of as commissioners: "It shall be the duty of the Commissioners to receive all donations of money," etc. "The Commissioners shall be entitled to be paid their necessary expenses," etc. Worcester thus defines a commissioner: "One empowered to act in some matter or business for one or more persons, or for a government; an agent." The existence of an agent implies that of a principal, from whom he receives instructions, and at whose pleasure he holds his commission. There can be no question as to who were the principals recognized by Simon Bradstreet, Thomas Prince, Edward Hopkins, John Haynes, and Theophilus Eaton, and by their successors in the eighteenth century,—the Mathers, the Sewalls, and others. Nor can there be any doubt that the founders of the American Board looked to the churches—primarily of Massachusetts and Connecticut—as the source and fountain of their official power and pecuniary ability to carry on the work committed to them.¹

At one time it seemed as though the American Board would be dependent, in part, for the money needed by it, on its Christian brethren in England, as had been the case with the earlier Boards of Commissioners. Mr. Adoniram Judson had been sent to that country "to ascertain, as distinctly as possible, whether any, and

¹ Dr. Anderson says: "The Board of Commissioners was designed, as its name indicates, to act for others. For whom? For all who should choose to employ it; for individual Christians, churches, denominations, whoever saw fit to act through the agency it had to offer." And further: "The primary relations of the Board are to its contributors, and to the missionaries under its care. To the former it is directly responsible for carrying out their known intentions; and to the latter for a wise and equitable distribution of the funds which are placed at its disposal. It is directly amenable to its patrons, and must retain their confidence and good will, or come to a speedy close." — *Memorial Volume*, pp. 79, 88.

what arrangements" could "be made for a concert of measures in relation to missions, between the American Board of Commissioners and the London Missionary Society. Particularly, whether 'he and his brethren could be supported in missionary service for any time, by the London funds, without committing' themselves wholly and finally to the direction of the London Society. Or whether it may be in any case consistent for the mission to be supported partly by them and partly by us." Mr. Judson's visit to London was so successful that the directors of the London Missionary Society "cordially received" Messrs. Judson, Newell, Nott, and Hall, as missionaries, and expressed the wish that they might proceed with all convenient dispatch to the shores of India. The London directors were willing to "receive" these "young brethren" under their patronage, but they thought that a joint conduct of missions would not be practicable, and they did not think it consistent to admit the American Board to a participation with them in the direction of the proposed mission in India. The final determination was, that the young men should be retained under the direction of the American Board, in the trust, under Providence, that the liberality of the Christian public in the United States would supply the means of supporting them; should this trust be disappointed, they were to fall back on the commission received from the London Society. The Prudential Committee of the Board, at the third annual meeting, held in Hartford in 1812, said, in reference to the departure of a company of missionaries in the *Harmony*, from Philadelphia, in the month of February preceding: "Probably, indeed, the resolution could not have been taken at all but for the commission which had been obtained from that society. For the committee cast themselves upon divine Providence in the case, with the alternative distinctly in view, that should they fail of seasonably obtaining the funds to enable them to send out the missionaries in the employment of the Board, they could, in the last resort, let them go under the London commission. Having this alternative, they ventured upon a measure which otherwise (so doubtful was the prospect of obtaining the pecuniary means) they probably would have adjudged presumptuous." The money, however, came in, in sufficient amount, before the final departure of the missionary band, and a small sum which had been advanced to Mr. Judson from the treasury of the London Society was refunded shortly after. We can readily see, that if the money for the support, in whole or in part, of these first American mission-

aries to India had come from London, the attitude of the American Board to its English supporters would have been one of dependence and subordination; but as, instead, the needed money came from the churches in New England, the attitude of the Board to them was precisely that which it would have been in the other case, — one of dependence and subordination.

The proposition just stated seems self-evident; and no one would think of attempting to support it by argument, were it not that at the present day, some who assume to speak for the American Board are claiming in its behalf self-contained and self-centred powers and responsibilities, and an absolute independence of the churches, the source whence was derived its original commission, and whence has been received all the money it has since expended and all the influence it has wielded. The editors of the "Congregationalist" newspaper, between whose office and the desks of some of the officials of the Board there would seem to be almost telephonic directness of communication, told the churches with the utmost plainness and frankness a year ago (July 8, 1886), that they had no immediate concern with the internal policy of the Board, and they took pains to explain: —

"It is not a voluntary association, which any man may join by paying a certain sum at once, or annually, in that payment acquiring the right of a share in its management and control. No man becomes a voting member of the Board by merely contributing to its funds. If such contributor be an honorary member, he can share in its deliberations, but he cannot vote. Only corporate members vote."

The editors then drew a parallel between the engagement of missionaries by the Prudential Committee, and the employment by a merchant of "a six hundred dollar clerk."

The Rev. Dr. Todd, of New Haven, is reported as having said at Des Moines, last October: —

"We are not an ecclesiastical court to prescribe anything for the churches, but we are a corporation, a close and private corporation. We have just as much a right to impose conditions upon the servants we employ as a bank has. The churches and the public, except through their opinion to which we shall always listen respectfully, have nothing to do with this business."

We can hardly imagine any of the members of the first Board of Commissioners — Edward Rawson, for example, or Samuel Sewall — talking of John Eliot and the Mayhews as "the servants we employ," or comparing them to "six hundred dollar clerks;"

nor have we heard that Theodore Frelinghuysen or Mark Hopkins ever laid down the law authoritatively in this way, as to the rights of the Board and the duties of the churches. Samuel Stone, of Hartford, more than two centuries ago, defined the ministry in its relation to the church, as "a speaking aristocracy in the face of a silent democracy." Those who now control the American Board seem to regard it, in its relation to the churches, as a speaking and spending aristocracy, in the face of a contributing and silent democracy. Curiously enough, Dr. Anderson used the expression "silent" in this connection as long ago as 1861, but we need hardly add, not in an offensive way. He said: "There can be no more effective control of a great working body, than the patrons of the Board silently exercise over its operations."¹ But it is not in this manner, usually, that principals prefer to control the operations of their agents or commissioners.

The first members of the Board were wise and good men, and they had reasons satisfactory to themselves for asking from the legislature of Massachusetts an act of incorporation. In their address to the Christian public, November 10, 1812, they said: "The advantages of perpetual succession, and of holding funds under the immediate protection of the law, which could be obtained only by an act of incorporation, are highly important to secure the confidence of the American public." In taking this course, however, they were departing from the plan of the founders, which, as we have seen, contemplated the selection of the commissioners annually, by the Associations of Massachusetts and Connecticut, as representing the only churches then directly interested in the work which was to be undertaken.² They were departing, also, and widely, from the example set some years previously by two English societies, organized for a similar work, — the London Missionary Society in 1795, and the Church Missionary Society in 1800. Let us look at the origin and structure of these societies, and at the requirements for membership in them.

The new missionary movement in England began among the

¹ *Memorial Volume*, p. 88.

² It should be added that on the 25th of the same month in which the charter was obtained, the Association of Massachusetts expressed its entire approbation of what had been done. Dr. Anderson says: "In no other way, probably, could it have gained that credit in the commercial world, which has made its bills as good as gold to its missionaries in every land." (*Memorial Volume*, p. 78.) The great English societies, although voluntary associations, seem to have been able to maintain an equally good credit, and so has the American Missionary Association.

settled pastors, rather than among the young men preparing for the ministry, as in the United States. It was said there, in a circular letter prepared by a provisional committee: "The chief difficulty will be to find proper missionaries — men of God, full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost. We expect, however, to hear from many places, that the Lord has been stirring up the hearts of fit persons to this glorious work." This expectation was not disappointed, as the history of Christian missions has abundantly shown. After much deliberation and correspondence, a preliminary meeting was held at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate Street, London, on Monday evening, September 21, 1795. Sir Egerton Leigh presided, and the Rev. John Love, the Rev. Thomas Haweis, the Rev. John Eyre, and the Rev. Rowland Hill took part in the proceedings. Mr. Haweis, "with much affection and energy, represented to the meeting the practicability of finding proper missionaries, and read some very striking letters from persons who" had "generously offered themselves to this arduous service. Then the meeting, by a unanimous lifting up of hands, declared their warm approbation of the design to establish a society for sending missionaries to heathen and unenlightened countries. An overpowering pleasure attended in the breasts of many the passing of this important resolution. The Rev. Mr. Eyre, when words almost interrupted with joy 'found out their way,' read the sketch of a plan prepared by the Committee, which was approved as proper to be laid before the general meeting on the ensuing day. . . .

"On Tuesday the 22d, and the two following days, there were successively held, in various parts of the city, six solemn assemblies for worship. Something," says the historian, "we are sensible, is to be imputed to the charm of novelty. But after making all reasonable allowances of this kind, we appeal to every candid and intelligent Christian, who attended on these occasions, whether there did not appear tokens of a presence, infinitely more august, than that of a mere multitude of mortal sinful beings. . . . In the intervals between the more solemn services, meetings were held for transacting the business, and bringing into form the affairs of the infant society. . . . In these conferences, considerable attention was bestowed on the following objects: viz., the discussion and settlement of the Plan of the Society, the nomination and choice of Directors, a Treasurer, and Secretaries, and the determination of places and manner in which the first attempts ought to be made.

"At Spa-fields Chapel on Tuesday, in the presence of a multitude of spectators, who tarried after the conclusion of the public worship, a numerous body of ministers and lay brethren, in the area of the Chapel, formed themselves into a Society; and chose the Rev. Mr. Kingsbury, of Southampton, to be president of the meeting." The Rev. Mr. Eyre then presented the Plan which had been agreed upon at the meeting of the previous evening. "A committee being chosen, immediately retired to consider the Plan, and having made a few alterations, expressed their approbation of it, and returned it to the examination of the meeting. The Plan was then read a second time, considered, discussed, and, with some corrections, adopted, article by article.

"On the following day, after the public service, at Haberdashers' Hall meeting, the Rev. Dr. Hunter being voted into the chair, after prayer, a consultation was held of the ministers, chiefly respecting the nomination of proper persons to be entrusted with the management of the affairs of the Society, as Directors. The Committee chosen the preceding day, were required to withdraw into the vestry, and to bring forward a list of persons whom they judged fit for this important office. Their nomination being produced was approved, and the gentlemen whose names were in this list, were appointed to make such additions to it as they might see proper. The whole list thus completed, was publicly read at the conclusion of the service in the Tabernacle."

The last session of the general meeting was held on Friday afternoon at the Castle and Falcon. After the choice of Mr. Joseph Hardcastle as treasurer, the meeting proceeded to the election of twenty-five directors. The list of gentlemen nominated by the committee having been read, "they were requested to withdraw, and by a distinct vote on each name," were unanimously chosen. To the list were then added the names of seven others, who had been nominated by the gentlemen just chosen, making a board of thirty-two members. The Rev. Mr. Love was chosen one of the secretaries. On the earnest recommendation of Mr. Haweis, it was resolved that the first missionaries should be sent to the South Sea Islands; and it was agreed that other missions should be attempted, as soon as possible, to other countries which were named. "After various resolutions of a less important nature, the minute enumeration of which might be tedious, the whole business of this first General Formatory Meeting of the Missionary Society was concluded, as it had begun, with prayer, unanimity and joy."

In this thoroughly democratic manner the great London Society was brought into existence, which last year expended one hundred and forty-two thousand pounds, or more than seven hundred thousand dollars. Fortunately for the churches in England, it has always maintained the voluntary principle upon which it was formed ninety-two years ago, and it has never assumed to exercise authority over the consciences of its constituents. It has trusted them, and has been trusted by them. We ask attention to two articles of its Constitution : —

“IV. MEMBERS. Persons subscribing One Guinea, or more, annually ; every Benefactor making a donation of Ten Pounds, or more ; one of the Executors, on the payment of a legacy amounting to Fifty Pounds, or more ; and Ministers, or other representatives, of congregations contributing for the use of the Society, Five Pounds, or more, annually ; shall be members of the Society, and entitled to vote at its public meetings.”

“VI. BOARD OF DIRECTORS. This shall consist of as many Directors, annually chosen out of the members of the Society, as circumstances may require. Not more than one third of the Directors shall reside in or near London, where all ordinary meetings for transacting the business of the Society shall be held. Annual Subscribers of Ten Pounds, or upwards, and Benefactors of One Hundred Pounds, or more, may attend, if they please, with the Directors, at any of the monthly meetings.”

Another article provides that the directors may “subdivide into committees for managing funds, for examining candidates for missionary service, for conducting correspondence, directing missions, making reports, and the like. But no proceedings of these committees shall be valid till ratified at an ordinary meeting of the Board.” The treasurer and secretaries are entitled to meet and vote with the directors.

Five years after the formation of the London Missionary Society, certain members of the Church of England formed the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, usually called the Church Missionary Society. They did not do this in any spirit of antagonism to the society already existing, and in whose proceedings some of them had taken a share, but in the belief that they were thus advancing the great cause which they all and equally had at heart. The Rev. Thomas Scott, in the first anniversary sermon preached in 1801, said : —

“It is of vast importance that the several societies formed for this great purpose (the evangelization of the heathen), should con-

sider one another as coadjutors, and not as competitors, and cultivate an amicable intercourse. In this case many societies will probably be found preferable to one, though proportionably larger. . . . Thus more methods may be tried, more talents brought into exercise, more information and wisdom acquired, and more exertion made by several societies, amicably striving together for the faith of the gospel, than by one."

That the constitution of the Church Missionary Society is as democratic as that of the London Missionary Society will appear from the following paragraphs:—

"III. Annual Subscribers of One Guinea, and upward, and if Clergymen, Half-a-Guinea, with Collectors of Fifty-two Shillings and upward per annum, shall be Members of the Society during the continuance of such Subscriptions or Collections. Benefactors of Ten Guineas, or upward, and Clergymen making Congregational Collections to the amount of Twenty Guineas, shall be Members for Life."

"IV. Annual Subscribers of Five Guineas shall be Governors during the continuance of such Subscription; and Benefactors of Fifty Pounds and upward shall be Governors for Life."

"V. Members and Governors of Auxiliaries and of Associations who contribute the above sums shall be considered as Members and Governors of the Parent Society."

"XI. The COMMITTEE shall consist of Twenty-four Lay Members of the Established Church of England or of the Church of Ireland; and of all Clergymen who are members of the Society and have been so for not less than one year. Of the Twenty-four Lay Members, Eighteen shall be reappointed each year from the existing COMMITTEE, and Six shall be elected from the General Body of the Society."

The disbursements of this society last year amounted to more than one million one hundred thousand dollars.

In the constitution of these English societies we see a recognition of the principle insisted upon by Dr. Hastings Ross, in a recent article in the "*Bibliotheca Sacra*," that the local church, not the individual believer, is the life centre of Christian endeavor, "the organ of the Spirit." The ministers of contributing churches and congregations have a standing in the membership, and a voice, if not a vote, in the proceedings of the directors.

Let us turn, now, from these popular and truly representative institutions to the American Board. Here we find powers which were originally derived from the churches wielded in absolute

independence of the churches. Here we find a small and compact corporate body, exercising the right of perpetual succession, choosing members according to its own pleasure, and having a creed¹ of its own, a policy of its own, and methods of its own, which the churches have had no share in formulating and framing, but which, as a matter of course, they are expected to accept and to sustain. In an address published in 1846 by the Albany Conference, which organized the American Missionary Association, and of which such men as the Rev. Asa Mahan, president of Oberlin College, the Rev. Amos A. Phelps, William Jackson, and Lewis Tappan were members, the powers exercised by the American Board were described, and it was then said : —

“It is evident that prerogatives like those ought neither to be conceded nor exercised by any fallible men — prerogatives never held nor wielded by inspired apostles themselves — prerogatives utterly at variance with the prohibitions of the Great Head of the Church — prerogatives that are essential Rabbinism, and every way hostile to the spirit and the institutions of a free people.”

At the fiftieth anniversary of the Board in Boston, in 1860, the Rev. John Keep, of Oberlin, who had taken part in the memorable meeting of the Massachusetts Association at Bradford in 1810, spoke these words of faithful admonition, which it would have been well if some venerable father in the Congregational body had repeated at the seventy-fifth anniversary meeting held in the same city two years ago : —

“Two prominent points claim the marked regard of the Jubilee Meeting : —

“1. This society sprang from the *people* — a fact which should, and which does, occupy my vision at the standpoint of 1810, where I now am.

“2. Its safety in the future lies in faithfully expressing and carrying out the sentiments of the *people*.”

In one respect the Board was nearer to the people at that time than it now is ; for it felt, and was willing to acknowledge, its dependence upon them for pecuniary support. It did not have three quarters of a million in its strong box ; and however much the officials were set upon having their own way, they did not arrogate to themselves, in terms, the rights of principals. A resolution adopted at this meeting, declared “that the Board and their Prudential Committee” were “the servants and agents of the Christian men and women who” contributed “to their funds,

¹ That is, if the action of the present Home Secretary is sanctioned.

for the single purpose of sending the gospel to the heathen ; ” and further, that the Board had no support, and desired none, but that which flowed “ from the freewill offerings of Christians.”

It is not to be denied that the American Board, taking the whole period of its history together, has been managed with ability, and with a large degree of success. It is to be conceded also, that in its long controversy with a portion of its constituency, in reference to American slavery, of which we shall speak more particularly, it was not more conservative than other benevolent societies which were voluntary associations, and especially the American Tract Society, which, having a large accumulated fund at its command, was much more defiant and irritating in its attitude to the churches than the officials of the Board were disposed to be. The secretaries, in those days, were probably less extreme in their conservatism than the majority of the Prudential Committee, and they were generally ready, so far as they were concerned, to yield gracefully to the pressure of public opinion, when it was no longer to be resisted. Still, even they regarded the distinctive feature of the Board as a close corporation as being favorable for curbing the aggressiveness of this public opinion. To quote again from Dr. Anderson : —

“ It is probable that improvements may be made in the Constitution of the Board during the second half century, as the result of experience and the progress of events. But, in point of fact, no other method of organizing missionary societies is believed to have worked with less friction, or with more power and effect than this, in the past fifty years. For an eminently experimental age of missions, for a mixed community (ecclesiastically considered) such as the Board has represented, and for the time of unsettled relations of the foreign missionary enterprise to the great moral reforms of the day, there was special need of a conservative element in the constitution of the Board.”¹

This carefully worded phrase about great moral reforms could have had reference only to slavery and the slave-trade. The Board never experienced any serious embarrassment in dealing with questions relating to temperance, Sabbath observance, and the like.

The first embarrassment of the Board in connection with the subject of slavery arose from the misgivings of its missionaries in the foreign field, as some of its present embarrassment comes from the theological misgivings of the same class of men to-day.

¹ *Memorial Volume*, pp. 85, 86.

Missionaries are in a much better position for studying the moral and spiritual problems of the time, in their relation to the work of evangelizing the nations, than are many of the men whose survey of the heathen world is taken from comfortable offices and well-furnished libraries at home. But if the views which they express, as the result of such study, happen to be in advance of the opinions of the secretaries and committees with whom they are in correspondence, and, especially, if they traverse the prejudices of these officials, or contradict their theories, or practically condemn their policy, methods of bureaucratic repression and suppression are immediately attempted, and too often with success.

In the year 1837 several of the missionaries of the Board in the Sandwich Islands became deeply impressed with a sense of the guilt of slavery, the danger incurred by their native country in supporting such a system, and the responsibility of the churches for its removal. One of these good men, the Rev. H. R. Hitchcock, wrote a letter to the editor of the "*Emancipator*," in which he said: —

"I write because it is a privilege for me (as I think it should be for every Christian) to take an open and decided stand in favor of those who are laboring to crush slavery. Especially is this a privilege at a time when morbid prudence or time-serving policy is setting afloat the sentiment that it is a subject with which the missionary should not meddle. I must confess that if the immediate abolition of slavery is a subject in which Christians of every name, circumstance, or occupation, whether public or private, individual or corporate, may not and should not take an open, undisguised, and active part, then there is no subject in all the wide field of benevolent action in which they should do so."

These missionaries, feeling the detrimental influence of "the peculiar institution" upon their work, sent home to the Board two anti-slavery documents, printed on the Mission press, one a tract, and the other a series of resolutions, on a sheet of paper, — both making an earnest and affecting appeal to American Christians to apply themselves to the overthrow of American slavery. As its response to this appeal, the Board adopted the following resolution in 1837, and reaffirmed it in 1839: —

"In general, the sole object of the printing establishments connected with the missions of the Board shall be to exert a direct influence upon the surrounding native population, and no mission, or member of a mission, may print any letter, tract or appeal, at these establishments, at the expense of the Board, with a view

to its being sent to individuals, or communities, in the United States."

In 1841 a memorial, signed by the Rev. John M. Whiton and eighteen others, ministers in New Hampshire, protested against the silence of the Board on the subject of American slavery, and expressed the conviction that it should make known its views and feelings, so that it might "be recognized by all as sympathizing with those Christians who deeply abhor that system of abomination." It was said further:—

"The sober and considerate ministers and members of our churches, who have from the first been the firm and true friends of the Board, are distressed. They love the Board, and have loved it long. They regard it as foremost among the benevolent societies of the day. They have paid more for its support than for the support of any other society. And more than of any other, has its prosperity been the burden of their prayers. But we greatly fear that their contributions must ultimately, and that before long, be suspended, if the Board shall think it their duty to observe such a studied silence on this great subject of interest and responsibility to American Christians."

The New Hampshire memorial was referred to a committee at the meeting in 1841, from whom a very elaborate report was received, in which it was said:—

"It is, indeed, perfectly evident that *this Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions can sustain no relation to slavery which implies approbation of the system, and as a Board can have no connection or sympathy with it. And, on the other hand, it is equally evident that the Board cannot be expected to pass resolutions or adopt measures against this system, any more than against other specific forms of evil existing in the community. For we are met at once with the question, why we should express and proclaim our opinion in regard to one particular evil, in distinction from others, which are equally obvious and prevalent.*"

The report concluded with an expression of hope that the memorialists would join with the Board in endeavoring to avoid whatever would divide the counsels and hinder the success of those who were seeking the enlargement of Christ's kingdom.

The only comment that need be made here on the paragraph just quoted is, that in the annual volume of the Board for 1840 there are words of censure against the traffic in and use of intoxicating liquors, and against other evils; and, further, that at this very time slavery existed in two mission stations of the Board

within the territory of the United States, namely, in the Cherokee and Choctaw Nations, and slaveholders were admitted to membership in the mission churches there, indiscriminately with other professing Christians.

The unsatisfactory treatment of the memorial of 1841 was made the subject of remonstrance in other memorials presented in 1842, and another long report followed, in which it was said, in reply to the statement that the Board had expressed opinions in relation to other prevailing evils:—

“If it has at any time . . . expressed opinions relative to immoralities or evils of any kind, prevailing in this country, and not directly counteracting the labors of the missionaries, your committee regard such action as a departure from the great principles on which the Board was organized, and by which they think its proceedings should always be governed.”

The memorials continued to come up to the Board, year by year, until 1845, when, at the celebrated Brooklyn meeting, they were presented in greater number than before, and when a longer report than ever (nine octavo printed pages) followed their presentation. In the debate on this report the distinction between slavery and slaveholding, and between “organic sin” and the sins of individuals, was for the first time insisted upon, in justification of the refusal of the Board to condemn slavery, while denouncing intemperance and similar evils.

The action of the Brooklyn meeting was in the nature of a compromise, condemning slavery as a system, but refusing to judge in every case the individual conscience. It was accepted by conservative anti-slavery men as the best that could be obtained at the time and under the circumstances. But it was unsatisfactory to a minority in the constituency of the Board, and received severe criticism at its hands. As an illustration of this criticism, we would refer to an article in the “Oberlin Quarterly Review” (February, 1846), in which the Board was blamed by the reviewer, (1st) because in the report adopted on recommendation of its committee, false issues were made up with the memorialists, which greatly misrepresented their views; (2d) because one of the principles of action laid down in the report, for the guidance of the Board in its missionary work, was believed to be utterly false, and wholly subversive of the gospel; and (3d) because the whole sympathy of the report was with the slaveholder, and the difficulties in the way of his doing right. All that had been asked was, that in publishing the gospel to the heathen, the Board “would

place slaveholding on that black catalogue of crime, connection with which constitutes *prima facie* evidence against Christian character." But this was just what the Board would not do. The reviewer went on to say : —

"They have taken ground and advanced principles which all Christendom will repudiate. The consequence is, one of two things must follow — either they will abandon their ground, or the work in which they are engaged will most assuredly be taken out of their hands. To suppose that they can carry forward the missionary work in accordance with the principles of this report is utterly preposterous. At the same time we have no doubt it is destined to do immense injury. To many minds, coming from the source it does, it will have all the force of heaven-inspired truth. Others, deceived by its denunciations of the *system* of slavery, and carried along by its smooth and flowing style, and covert way of stating its positions, will not perceive its errors."

A few months later, the American Missionary Society was formed, and it at once became an earnest friend, and, very soon, an influential friend, of the black man wherever he was to be found, not less in the United States than in the West Indies and on the West Coast of Africa. But it should be remembered that the opposition to the American Board as a close corporation, on the part of those who organized the new society, was only less emphatic than their hostility to what they regarded as its pro-slavery character. They believed that if it had been directly responsible to the churches, it would have been more in sympathy with the growing sentiment against slavery, more definite and pronounced in its utterances on the subject, and, particularly, more prompt and energetic in dealing with it in the Choctaw and Cherokee Missions, which, more than everything else combined, had been the occasion of all the controversy, and of the schism in which it culminated.

During the period from the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law to the election of Abraham Lincoln, while the churches, particularly those of New England and of the Northwest, were becoming more decidedly anti-slavery, the managers of the American Board were persistently and almost hopelessly conservative. Had they sought to maintain officially a strictly neutral position, but little fault would have been found with them, for there were very few who wished the Board to become distinctively an anti-slavery society. But they undertook to use their official power to dominate the conscience of the churches, as, to-day, their succe-

sors are doing their utmost to withstand the intelligence of the churches. They restrained the missionaries on their visits to this country, from bearing testimony on their platform against the great national curse. They not only refused to recognize those ministers who had the courage to preach what was then known as "the higher law," namely, that "we ought to obey God rather than men," but by misrepresentation and ridicule, they tried to destroy their influence with the churches. Dr. Storrs, in his Special Discourse in 1885, could not help reminding the Board of the way in which a very moderate utterance of his in 1861 was received by the men who then controlled its policy:—

"The preacher of the annual sermon before this Board in the autumn of 1861 — that hour of darkness in the national conflict against Rebellion — ventured to predict that it was slavery which must fall in the issue of the struggle, and not our benign and venerated government; that, in fact, the temple here to be erected to universal freedom was to receive its stateliest pillars from the shattered strength of the then defiant and disdainful Rebellion. Men wise and honored, then in our councils, felt such words untimely, if not immodestly overbold."¹

However it may be with the preacher of 1885, we are inclined to the opinion that the preacher of 1861 did not believe very profoundly in the infallibility of the Prudential Committee.

Hamilton Andrews Hill.

Boston, Mass.

¹ Dr. Storrs was not elected a corporate member of the Board until 1863, Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, not till 1864, and Henry Ward Beecher, not until 1870. Dr. Thompson did not preach the annual sermon until 1867. Dr. Stone, of Park Street, Boston, was elected a corporate member in 1865, more than sixteen years after his settlement there.

EDITORIAL

ALPHEUS HARDY.

It was the plaintive remark of a distinguished scholar, whose own death in the early summer brought his words vividly to mind, "The summer is like a battle; we gather together when it is over and reckon up our dead."

The death of Mr. Hardy, though occurring in midsummer, was happily free from those circumstances of loneliness which so often give a peculiar sadness to death at that season. He died in his own home, and after a somewhat prolonged illness, which brought together the entire family of sons in daily intercourse around his bedside. And he was buried from his own church in the presence of a large concourse of friends and associates and citizens, who had come from many parts to do him honor. But for those who were absent, as for us all, the return to the work of the year will be overshadowed by the death of Mr. Hardy. It will be in no unmeaning phrase that we shall speak to one another of the loneliness of the places where we were accustomed to meet him. As we "reckon up our dead" his name will come first to the lips of many men. For there were qualities about Mr. Hardy which drew men on beyond respect and trust into unaffected love for him. Without inviting familiarity he allowed companionship. When one had transacted his business with him, it was a pleasure to linger for a moment with the man. His bearing, at all times courteous, was at times winsome. There was not infrequently a singular charm in his presence, a still, dreamy beauty of face, a softening of the eye, a sweetness of expression about the mouth, the relaxation of all the features into lines of gentleness and grace without the loss of strength and vitality, — such a mood of expression as would cause a child to love to climb into his arms. The earliest picture of Mr. Hardy extant, evidently taken in his youth, reveals a face of the most refined and sensitive type of beauty. A stranger would say that it was the face of a poet. And yet the underlying characteristics of feature, as of nature, were firmness, resoluteness, energy, and authority. In the uncovering of the physical, as of the mental and moral life, which comes with death, these characteristics were made prominent. The face as it lay in repose was a Gladstonian face. It was the face of a man born to command, first himself, then others. The authoritative element in Mr. Hardy was appreciable by all with whom he came in contact. He was not aggressive, but he was more than influential. His personality was always felt, as a presiding officer, as a counselor in emergencies, as an executive force in business. To use his own figure, born of his love of the sea, he was everywhere "on deck." We have sometimes wondered what the result would have been had he chosen a more adventurous career. As it was, the cares of business and the perplexities of public relations could not suppress the vigor and exuberance of his

nature, nor exhaust its wholesomeness. He carried the tonic of the sea with him through life.

It is impossible for any one who really knew Mr. Hardy to write of his death as a public loss, except under some sense of personal bereavement. But it is not impossible we believe to love a man, and yet estimate him fairly in his character and in his relations to others.

We cannot, for example, overestimate the confidence which the community reposed in his integrity. The more men knew him, the more they trusted him. It was seen that his integrity was absolutely natural, that it belonged to the whole man, and had the support of his entire moral nature. However scrupulous he might be, nothing was ever assumed for effect. There is a cant of morality which is quite as common and quite as mean as that of religion. Mr. Hardy was as free from the one as from the other. He was honest because he did not know how to be dishonest, or if he knew, could not gain the consent of one faculty of his being to a dishonest transaction. The movement of his moral nature was as fine and accurate as that of a mathematical instrument. And he expected to find in others, who held to the same standards with himself, a rectitude like that which he observed. It was a pain to him to discover the least sign of disingenuousness on the part of any one with whom he was associated in any capacity. To his mind there was but one way of doing any kind of business, and that was the straightforward way. He carried over the discipline of his business training into the management of all trusts, and into the administration of the various institutions with which he was connected.

The reputation of Mr. Hardy on the street and in business circles for good judgment corresponded with his character for integrity. He saw things in right proportion and perspective. He had a true eye. He took the full measure of a situation, and acted according to the issues involved; as when, in response to the call of the government for its first loans, he immediately made large investments for an estate under his care, in its bonds, reasoning that if the government was maintained its bonds would be of assured value, and that if it failed all other investments would be comparatively worthless. And his judgment was energetic, and, if the occasion demanded, courageous. The great fire in Boston began on Saturday night. Meeting a business friend during the week after, who like himself had suffered greatly in the property under his charge, he was asked, in view of the great advance in the cost of building material, if he intended to order soon the bricks for rebuilding. "Why, I put in my order the first thing Monday morning." This promptness insured the early completion of his buildings, and a consequent advantage in the matter of rentals. The institutions with which Mr. Hardy was connected all bear witness to his financial skill. We venture the statement that, in all cases, their property was enhanced under his management. Very few administrators of trusts have been able to show such uniform results in steady gains without corresponding losses.

There was one feature of Mr. Hardy's good judgment, which was, doubtless, more observable in social life than on the street, namely, his sense of propriety. He was never out of place in presence, or in word, or in act. Something of this was due to his modesty, but more to his fine sense of what was fit and becoming. His good judgment expressed itself at the appropriate time and place as good taste. The very quality which gave him influence in business lent a charm to his bearing in society.

We have no wish to introduce into this sketch any of the theological prepossessions or prejudices of the hour, but we cannot refrain, in the thought of his integrity and judgment, from expressing our personal indebtedness to Mr. Hardy for his *opinion* as to the morality of the administration of the Seminary during these years of controversy. After withdrawing from the Board of Trust, yielding his place to his eldest son, he retained full interest in its affairs, and had full knowledge of them, being frequently consulted by the older members of the Board, and it is not too much to say that whatever action was taken met with his unqualified approval. The moral support of a man of such probity and judgment and *information* has been as assuring as it has been grateful under the open charges of dishonesty and under the uninformed criticism of friends.

A characteristic of Mr. Hardy which may not have impressed itself, like his moral qualities, upon the public mind, was his eager and continuous desire for knowledge. The instinct which led the boy, when laid aside for a time from work, to seek an education at Phillips Academy, Andover, continually urged the man to take advantage of every opportunity for information and culture. He was a diligent and discriminating reader of books. He chose many of his companions, quite as much to their advantage as to his, from among men of generous culture. He exemplified the maxim of the Apocrypha, which was often on his lips: "If thou seest a man of understanding, rise early to seek him, and let thy foot wear the steps of his doors." He was an intelligent traveler. He studied into the various enterprises with which he was identified, informing himself especially in all that related to the work of Foreign Missions. There were few subjects of general interest upon which he was not well informed. It was a delight to enter his home and take up the books on his library table and note the range of his reading; or, still more, to pass a quiet hour with him at his fireside, where one was sure to find him in the enjoyment of that intellectual companionship which marked a married life of nearly fifty years. Mr. Hardy had the pleasant art of asking questions. He was willing to receive as well as to give in conversation. He was never dogmatic or opinionated. He had his convictions and beliefs, which were most real and precious to him, but he held them in the breadth and freedom of an open mind, and in the charity of a large and sensitive heart.

It was, doubtless, this quality of charity in mind and heart which won

for Mr. Hardy so wide a friendship among men of different sects, and which made him so conspicuous among the laymen of his own denomination. Men respected him equally for his religious faith and for the manner in which he held it. His tolerance was the outgrowth of his belief, not a sentiment existing in spite of it. One of his favorite quotations from the Scriptures was the passage: "God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him." He accepted the gospel in theory and in practice, in its reality and fullness.

But it was chiefly through his benevolences that Mr. Hardy was known in the religious world. His name was most frequently associated with the greater charities of the church. Within the sphere of benevolence Mr. Hardy was, in no ordinary degree, a charitable man, but he added to his gifts of money, which were constant and generous, the invaluable gift of his time. Had he given his time exclusively, or even in fair proportion, to his own business, he might have greatly increased his estate. But no increase in benevolence consequent upon the increase of property could have compensated for the loss of personal interest and attention. For in giving these he wrought most effectively upon and through others. When the great estate which was to occupy his attention for several years came into his charge, he opened his home, in its love and discipline, to the young lad, heir of the fortune, who became to him, in the return of his affection and honor, as one of his own sons. When the youth from a foreign land who found passage in one of his ships was brought to his notice, he took him in like manner under his care, educated him as thoroughly as one of his own children, and sent him back to his people, his spiritual son, begotten of him in the gospel, to Christianize Japan. Everywhere and in all relations he gave himself, in time, in thought, and, where the object was personal, in love. So he gave himself in love to the kingdom of Christ on earth, for that object was personal. It was the kingdom of his Lord and Redeemer, and its end was the salvation of his fellow-men.

The facts in the more public life of Mr. Hardy are too well known to require mention. We have dwelt upon some of those characteristics of the man which gave to his outward life its significance and value. It was by virtue of what he was that he accomplished the tasks which God gave him to do. He became known and honored, not because he was identified with great interests, but because he carried a certain character and quality of action into their management. As steward of intrusted property, as trustee of educational institutions, as chairman of the Prudential Committee of the American Board, he filled positions of rare responsibility and delicacy. Such a man, capable of so high a service, can ill be spared for his work's sake. And yet, what men will most miss in the loss of Alpheus Hardy, is the quality of his manhood, — his strong, rich, healthful, and inspiring personality.

COMMENT ON CURRENT DISCUSSION.

THE "Christian Union," in its issue of July 7th, thus characterizes the difference between the "New Orthodoxy" and the "Newest Orthodoxy." Both had previously been contrasted with the "Old Orthodoxy," that based on an arbitrary election, which, so far as the Congregational churches are concerned, it declares "might almost be called a defunct orthodoxy."

"The New Orthodoxy believes that every man will be saved who would have believed in Christ if he had known Christ; the Newest Orthodoxy believes that every man will be saved who believes in Christ when he knows Christ. The New Orthodoxy holds that some heathen will be saved by Christ, will know and accept Him when they are saved; the Newest Orthodoxy holds that some heathen will know and accept Christ, and will be saved when they know and accept Him. And this is all the difference between the New Orthodoxy and the Newest Orthodoxy. Both believe that the heathen are lost and must be saved, if at all, by Christ; both believe that Christ will save some of them; both believe that Christ will be revealed to them hereafter though He has not been revealed here; both believe that the heathen so saved will sing the new song, 'Worthy is the Lamb that was slain.' But one school believes that the heathen will be saved first and know Christ afterward, and the other school believes that the heathen will know Christ first and be saved afterward."

This characterization is marked by the scrupulous fairness which we never fail to find in the editorial utterances of the "Christian Union," while the purpose for which it was drawn calls out our heartiest approval. The editorial was written in the interest of peace and of a working unity among the churches. But it misses, as we think, in its statement of "the difference," the essential reason for the "Newest Orthodoxy." The contention on its part is not about *method* — it is not as to *how* those who will be saved will be saved. The discussion which it has raised, and the only discussion which it has designedly raised, has had to do with vital facts. The questions which it has proposed are no abstractions, but questions of flesh and blood. Will men be saved in the mass without Christianity? Are they being thus saved? If any one will convince us that they are being thus saved, that the light of nature is really proving sufficient for their salvation without the knowledge of Christ, we will cease our contention, and transfer our efforts in behalf of foreign missions to other objects. According to our present view of the moral condition of the heathen world, it is the humanity of the "Newest Orthodoxy" which commends itself to us as much as its orthodoxy. We believe that it is humane because it is orthodox, and that its orthodoxy lies in its apprehension of the actual and demonstrated necessity of Christ as a motive power in the salvation of men. The "Newest Orthodoxy" has no competition with any other orthodoxy about method. It is not exclusive toward any, if such there be in any considerable number among the heathen who are Christians without having known Christ. Its concern is for the countless numbers, the ninety-and-nine, who manifestly are not Christians,

and who as evidently will not become Christians, except as they are brought under the only motives which have ever availed to make men Christians. What has the "New Orthodoxy," as defined in the article before us, to offer as a *reasonable* hope for the salvation of the heathen? What is the *practical* power of a Christianity which allows God to save men, but which stops short of the motives to their salvation?

It is becoming more necessary than we could wish to emphasize "the difference" which really exists between the two types of the later orthodoxy, because of the tendency of some of the opponents of the "Newest Orthodoxy" to substitute other issues in place of the one under discussion. Sometimes it seems as if it was supposed that the Christian mind could be satisfied by having its attention diverted from the true and distinctive work of Christianity. For example, the attempt is made to satisfy Christian thought as to the fate of the heathen by insisting upon their guilt. The heathen are guilty, they deserve condemnation. Therefore, the inference is, we ought to accept their fate without entertaining for them the hope of a Christian opportunity for salvation. Who doubts the fact of their guilt, or who questions their desert of punishment? And yet who is *satisfied* with the knowledge of their guilt, or of their deserts, *in the presence of Christianity*? Has not Christianity taught us that it knows no degree of guilt and no weight of condemnation in its work of salvation? Did not our Lord distinctly affirm that He came not to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved? And has not the Church at last learned beyond all power to reverse the conclusion, that Christianity is not in its intention another and more intense form of condemnation, but rather a system of recovery and redemption? And do not our brethren who are just now insisting most upon "the guilt of the heathen," admit that they are entirely accessible by Christianity? But if their guilt does not exclude them from its benefits now, why should it exclude them from its benefits hereafter? And if the *Christian* mind cannot now be satisfied in their condemnation because of their guilt, *apart from their rejection of Christ*, why should it ever be satisfied in this reason of their condemnation? The question of the guilt of the heathen is seen to be irrelevant, because when it is assumed to its fullest extent, it is no insuperable obstacle to their salvation. On the contrary, their condition challenges the heart of Christianity. "I came not," said Christ, "to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."

And again, the attempt is made to divert the mind from the true and sufficient work of Christianity by introducing the relief of a varying judgment. Men will be judged according to the light under which they sin. Christianity, that is, has its equivalent in lenient judgment. But what has judgment to do with character? There is nothing remedial about judgment. It does not necessarily make the offending person better; and it cannot declare him to be good. A judge may make full account of all extenuating circumstances, but he cannot absolutely deny the crime, if it

exists, and invest the criminal, however great his misfortune, with the virtue which he does not possess. Judgment can act in determining degrees of penalty, it can mitigate punishment; but it cannot pass over on to the positive side and make one fit for the reward of goodness. Suppose that full account should be made in the final judgment of the debased condition of the Hottentot, or New Zealander, in extenuation of his guilt, would he be thereby made morally fit for heaven? Can judgment of itself create character? No; that is the office of Christianity. And salvation in the Christian sense is renewed character, a moral fitness for heaven. No leniency in judgment can make that good which is bad, or even indifferent in character. But it is the ceaseless work of Christianity to make that good which is bad. So that we come again to the question of the former paragraph, What outlook have the ninety-and-nine, the manifestly lost, except through the intervention of Christianity? No phrase, we believe, is more deceptive, when used beyond its limitations, than the phrase, "the heathen will be judged according to the light they have had." The fallacy lies, as we have endeavored to show, in confounding the effect of lenient judgment with that produced by Christianity as a work in character. Salvation is not the extenuation or condoning of sinful life, but the renewal of character. It is not the mitigation of penalty; it is fitness for heaven.

A visitor from abroad, who has had exceptional facilities for observing the present theological position of ministers in this country among the different denominations, is reported to have said that he finds the ministry divided into three classes, — the conservatives, the progressives, and the tolerationists. This last term is a happy designation of the large and rapidly increasing number of men in the ministry who, without being in full intellectual sympathy with progressive thought, are yet opposed to the present crusade against liberty of thought in the churches. Their position is seen whenever the attempt is made to commit a church or an organization or a denomination to one type of belief. They will not tolerate narrowness within the recognized limits of the evangelical faith. Neither will they tolerate unfairness. Such men are found in various protest against the endeavor to impose restraints upon missionaries or candidates for missionary service which are not required for the ministry at home. The following resolution, adopted by the Genesee Association of Congregational Churches (New York State), held June 14th and 15th, may be regarded as representative of the attitude of the tolerationists: —

"Resolved, That the 'Genesee Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers' now in session at Arcade, N. Y., pledge to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions our increased affection, prayers, and contributions, and we wish to place ourselves on record as in cordial sympathy with the spirit and purpose of the President of the Board and the senior Secretary in their unifying and peace-making endeavors; and while in hearty accord with the action of the State Association in 'disapproving of the ap-

pointment to foreign missionary labor of men who hold with emphasis, and as an integral part of their theological system, the doctrine of probation after death,' we at the same time exceedingly regret the seemingly arbitrary and divisive course of the Home Secretary and the compliance of the majority of the Prudential Committee in taking the ground that those who do not hold with emphasis, and as a necessary part of their theological system, the doctrine that there positively cannot be a redemption after death of those in heathen lands who have never heard of Christ in this life, shall not be commissioned as servants of the Board, though such simply affirm that where the Scripture is either silent or not clear, they prefer to express no positive conviction."

The speech of Professor Drummond, of Edinburgh, at Mr. Moody's Convention at Northfield for College Students, shows how effective are the free and elastic methods of Evangelism which he has employed in the very remarkable religious movement carried on in the University of Edinburgh. "We did not interfere," he said, "with speculation, and there was no creed, but we sought to promote a personal fellowship with Christ. Our gospel was to save your life, not so much to save your soul. The meetings have gone on for three years, deepening all the while. After six weeks we thought it best to send delegations to our sister universities. These delegations were composed of students and instructors. There was one disqualification against holding the office: if a man was eloquent he was withdrawn. This system of going out became an established thing, and is now termed the Holiday Mission, men giving up their outings to go out through the villages of England, Scotland, and Wales, and holding meetings of young men."

In this connection, and as illustrating the same adaptability in work, we quote the following item from the "British Weekly":—

"To counteract the influence of the anti-Christian socialistic addresses and debates which attract large crowds to the meadows in Edinburgh, on the Sunday afternoons, several of the students attending the university, who have recently come under the magnetic influence as an evangelist of Professor Henry Drummond, and been evidently inspired by his famous book, have adopted the novel plan of reading and commenting, and this with intelligence and vigor, on portions of Newman Smyth's 'Old Faiths in a New Light.' Taking their stand near the expounders of communism, the students have met with appreciative listeners."

The proprietor of "The Independent" has seen fit to publish in his paper of July 28th the correspondence in full, with the exception of the last letter, between himself and Professor Egbert C. Smyth, relative to the teachings of the Bible upon the hypothesis of a future probation for those who have had no Christian probation in this life. It seems that Mr. Bowen wanted the proof-texts, while Professor Smyth, not understanding the request in its literalness, offered to give, through one of his professorial and editorial colleagues, "the Biblical reasons for the hope." We do not refer to the matter to criticise the publication of the corre-

spondence, for we certainly can see no reason to object to its publication, and could only wish that the correspondence might have a reading beyond the circulation of "The Independent." For the correspondence gives the most marked illustration which has recently come to our notice of the ineradicable difference, in the habit of interpreting Scripture, between the two types of mind represented in the published letters. It is impossible for the church to see eye to eye in its view of doctrine so long as some are literalists, living in the letter of the Bible, while others live and think in the current and progress of Scripture. Doubtless we owe much to literalism, but if we surrendered the Bible to the literalists we should be obliged to give up not a little of our Christian faith from the sublime doctrine of the Trinity to the precious hope of the salvation of infants. Texts which favor the hope of a Christian probation for all men are not wanting in Scripture, and have been frequently adduced in discussion, but the hope seems, to those who hold it, to be more fully and impressively developed in the Bible than through isolated passages. We commend to those who are in danger of being misled by the undue emphasis placed upon proof-texts the following words from the address of Archdeacon Farrar to the students of Cheshunt College at its last anniversary : —

"Now, I will say only one word about the last of your great studies — the Bible. There I should like to say that it seems to me, the most luminous principle you can possibly have in studying the Bible is to bear steadily in mind the fact that it is a progressive revelation, — that it is not one book, but sixty-six books ; that it is not a single book, but it is a literature ; and, as Edmund Burke says, 'not only a literature, but an infinite variety of the most venerable and the most multifarious literature.' There used to be an old rule current in theology — '*Bonus textuarius, bonus theologicus.*' If you could quote your texts well you were a good theologian. Everything depends upon the meaning you there attach to the word '*bonus.*' If you have not examined the subject for yourselves, I believe you will be astonished to find that vast numbers of texts which have passed as proof-texts of controversy amongst Christians have been no texts at all, but either texts torn away from their context or used with no reference to their original signification. Coleridge said that the whole of his age was filled with the smoke of theology which sprang from the ever-widening spiral *ergo* from the narrow aperture of single texts. And I am quite sure that a great many denominational views of religion — by denominational I do not mean belonging to one particular church or another, but views belonging to different sets of Christians — have been simply like inverted pyramids standing upon their apex upon one single narrow and misinterpreted text. And therefore what I would earnestly say to you in the study of the Bible is this : Never quote any single text as a proof-text, till you are sure that you are quoting it in its literal, its historical, its actual textual meaning. If you will study the Bible in that spirit, and determine not to make it a chance mosaic of scraps and verses, depend upon it your theology is likely to be a great deal better than otherwise it would be. Irenæus says that people in his day were accustomed to treat the Bible just as if you were to take some great piece of mosaic containing the figure of a king and break up its separate pieces to make into the mosaic of a dog or a fox. In the same way you may undoubtedly use

scraps of Scripture to prove anything you like. I entreat you to observe that in your study of Scripture you must be sure that you get at the right meaning and interpret that in accordance with the whole of revelation."

The "New Englander" of June calls attention, through a very interesting article, to "The Theological Issue in Connecticut in 1833." Few readers of the article will fail to discover the close parallelism between the theological condition in New England then and now, especially in regard to the general nature of the controversy at either time, the character of the parties engaged, and the style of utterance in the preferment of charges.

The "New Haven Controversy" is thus defined by the writer: "It grew out of the attempt of evangelical men to justify the ways of God to man. It was a controversy, not so much about avowed heresy, as about inferences, tendencies, and so forth, and was due to apprehension that *extra Biblical* speculation would land the speculators in Arminianism, Pelagianism, or something worse."

The *personnel* of the controversy is thus sketched: "The respondents against whom charges were made, were three ministers of the Congregational order, all resident in New Haven and Professors in Yale College, Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor, Dr. Eleazar T. Fitch, and Professor Chauncey A. Goodrich. The complainants most conspicuous in bringing these charges before the public were Rev. Joseph Harvey, Rev. Bennett Tyler, and Dr. Leonard Woods; while in the background were Dr. Nathaniel Hewit and Rev. Asahel Nettleton, — all of them except Dr. Woods being graduates of Yale, and pupils of President Dwight, during the first decade of the century."

The following quotations will illustrate the general spirit and temper in which the charges were preferred: —

"It is a signal evidence of public apathy that a professor of divinity in Yale College should publicly impugn the doctrinal standards of the college and the creed by which he professes to be guided, and yet retain his place." "The question is not now whether the standard of Yale College is right or wrong, but can a man honestly profess the truth of it, and take an important post under its auspices, and then give it a flat denial?"

"If the new doctrines and new measures do not materially infuse all our public institutions for benevolent purposes by sowing the seeds of distrust and dissension, we shall have special occasion for gratitude."

"When I see accounts in the public journals of fathers and brethren who are decidedly orthodox and evangelical in their views, and who would sooner lose a right hand than do anything contrary to the gospel, and yet who are so infatuated by some means as to assist in introducing to the ministry, and placing over our churches, men who are most zealously devoted to the work of undermining the foundations of our faith, I confess I tremble for the end."

"The friends of orthodoxy in Connecticut are many of them dragging in a wooden horse (under the name of a theological seminary) filled with the disciples of new divinity and placing it in their own pulpits, and comforting themselves with this supposed act of piety. But presently they will be roused from

their slumbers to see themselves and their families sacrificed upon their own altars."

These utterances seem very familiar. Can it be that some of our religious contemporaries in the weekly press have been guilty of plagiarism?

The article is almost entirely historical, but the writer concludes with these "timely lessons:"—

"(1.) The danger of imputing to men the inferences which seem to us to be the necessary results of their speculation.

"(2.) Theological differences have an exaggerated importance to those who are in the arena of controversy.

"(3.) The great advantage of an ecclesiastical system which tolerates freedom of thought and a large measure of theological divergence without reading the whole structure. As McLeod Campbell wrote in 1856, 'free discussion within the church is better than the constant necessity to form a new sect if one has any new thought to utter.'"

THE OPINION OF THE ENGLISH RELIGIOUS PRESS ON THE DECISION IN THE ANDOVER CASE.

THE following extracts are from the editorial columns of those papers which represent the English churches most closely related in polity and faith to the Congregational churches of America. We have quoted from all the papers of this class to which we have access. It will be of interest to our readers to see how the "Decision," and the "Case" itself, appear to those who are of our spiritual kin, but who are removed from the heat of controversy:—

The Nonconformist and Independent, July 7, 1887.

THE ANDOVER CASE.

The decision of the Visitors in reference to the alleged heresy of the professors of the famous American Congregational College at Andover has at last been made known. It will prove, we fear, not less unsatisfactory to the champions of orthodoxy—as it was understood by those who drew up the old creed upon which the prosecution of Dr. Egbert C. Smyth, the Brown Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and his colleagues was based—than to those who advocate such modifications in the expression of Christian doctrine as progress in Biblical criticism, to say nothing of scientific and philosophic thought, demands. A brief review of the history of the case before we proceed further may be of service to those of our readers who have not closely followed the controversy. It seems that, during the last few years, several articles have appeared at intervals in "The Andover Review," which is edited by five professors of the theological college—or "seminary" as our American brethren term it—that have been looked upon as more or less heretical and dangerous. The murmurings of the heresy-hunters had become so loud at the end of 1885 that the editors virtually challenged, it is said, inquiry into the alleged discrepancy between their teaching and the creed to which they had subscribed. The ball was now set rolling. Andover is governed by a Board of Trustees, to whom, primarily, the *initiation* of proceedings against professors for holding what may

be regarded as unsound doctrine seems to belong. But it has also a Board of Visitors, who may be regarded as a Court of Appeal, and who claim to have the power to dismiss obnoxious professors. These facts must be borne in mind in order to the correct understanding of the story.

Early in last year the Rev. Dr. Wellman vainly tried to induce the Board of Trustees, of which he is a member, to set the Visitors in motion, with a view to the dismissal of the professors charged with holding heretical doctrines. The Trustees, however, saw nothing sufficiently alarming in the articles complained of in "The Andover Review" to call for their intervention, and it would have been well for the American churches if the matter had terminated here. The alumni who constituted themselves the Defenders of the Faith in Andover, finding that the Trustees would not move in the matter, asked the Visitors to help them to put the professors on the rack, and were only too successful. The charges were formulated, and last October all parties were summoned to a hearing, at which the accused professors were defended by counsel. Objections were made by the latter and allowed, which led to the hearing of the case on an amended complaint about six months ago, when eminent lawyers were engaged on both sides. The main charges urged against the professors were of maintaining and inculcating — at variance with the creed : (1) that the Bible is not the only rule of faith and practice, but is fallible and untrustworthy, even in some of its religious teachings ; (2) that Christ in the days of his humiliation was a finite being — in other words, was not God and man ; (3) that no man has power or capacity to repent without the knowledge of God in Christ ; (4) that the Atonement essentially and chiefly consists in Christ's becoming identified with the human race through his incarnation, that by his union with men He might endow them with power to repent and render God propitious to them ; (5) that the Trinity is modal or monarchian, and not a Trinity of Persons ; (6) that the work of the Holy Spirit is chiefly confined to the sphere of historic Christianity ; (7) that faith ought to be scientific and rational rather than Scriptural ; and (8) that there is, and will be, probation after death for all men who do not decisively reject Christ during this earthly life.

The Visitors have been six months considering their verdict, and now the result of their deliberations has been published. Professor Smyth, who does not seem to have written a line of the articles complained of, is dismissed from the Brown Professorship ; the other four professors, who are the real authors, are acquitted. How was this extraordinary result arrived at ? In the following very dubious fashion : the Visitors were three in number, and the first case taken — each of the accused professors being tried separately — was that of Dr. Smyth, it being agreed that the legal arguments in the case against him should cover the legal ground of all the cases. The case of Dr. Smyth was closed on a Saturday, and the other accused professors made their statement on the following Monday ; but on that day one of the Visitors, Dr. Eustis, was unable to be present. Dr. Smyth was condemned for having taught or allowed to be taught in "The Andover Review" : (1) that the Bible is not the only perfect rule of faith and practice, but is fallible and untrustworthy, even in some of its religious teachings ; (2) that no man has power or capacity to repent without knowledge of God in Christ ; and (3) that there is, and will be, probation after death, for all men who do not decisively reject Christ during the material life. This condemnation was carried by the votes of Dr. Eustis and Mr. Marshall, the one a clergyman and the other a lawyer, both being, accord-

ing to "The New York Christian Union," "of not more than local repute," while Dr. Seelye, the third Visitor, a man of great eminence as a scholar and thinker, voted for the acquittal of Dr. Smyth. When the other professors had to be dealt with, Dr. Eustis declined to act, as he had not heard their defence, and, the votes of the remaining two Visitors neutralizing each other, the charges were declared, in their cases, not to be sustained. It will seem, therefore, that Dr. Smyth has been condemned for the writings of colleagues for whom Dr. Eustis opened, whether intentionally or not, a door of escape.

We have but little room left for commenting upon these painful proceedings, whilst the fact that the whole case will probably go before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and may lead to years of litigation, also checks our pen. It may be that the Board of Visitors are legally right, and that the professors have, even by setting forth in a magazine views not in perfect harmony with the ancient creed of the college, rendered themselves liable to dismissal from their office. But if so, the mischief wrought by trust-deeds which fetter the movements of intellectual and spiritual life becomes sadly evident. Such trust-deeds in connection with theological colleges, in which every influence that can develop the growth of religious thought should be welcomed, are even worse in their operation than when crushing out the life of individual churches. For a ministry trained to concealment of ideas, or taught to distrust every effort to enlarge the realms of truth, may blight the Christianity of a generation.

The Christian World, July 7, 1887.

CHRISTIAN FREEDOM IN AMERICA.

The Andover Case, which we have repeatedly had occasion to bring before our readers, has arrived at what may be called a provisional termination. The Board of Visitors, who claim to have supreme authority over the institution, have deprived Professor Egbert C. Smyth, D. D., of the Chair of Ecclesiastical History in Andover Theological Seminary, and have dropped the charges which were brought against Dr. Smyth's colleagues, Professor Tucker (Sacred Rhetoric), Professor Churchill (Elocution), Professor Harris (Christian Theology), and Professor Hincks (Biblical Theology). This looks something like finality. But the Trustees of Andover contest both the rightness of the decision of the Visitors and its legal conclusiveness. They hold that no decision adverse to the position of Dr. Smyth ought to have been pronounced, and it is considered possible, if not probable, that they will appeal against the decision of the Visitors to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. No one, however strongly he may disagree with Professor Smyth, is likely to exult in the victory won by his adversaries, or to find much comfort in the illusion that he and his opinions have been snuffed out. On the other hand, the failure of the attack, in so far as the other Professors were concerned, can yield but scant satisfaction to any one. It is not denied that the four who escaped are of the same mind with the one who is compelled to vacate his chair.

We shall be much surprised if the general contention of the Trustees, as stated by themselves with lucidity and force, does not commend itself to a large majority of religious persons, and in particular to a large majority of Congregationalists in this country. They protest, in the first place, against the manner in which they have been left out in the cold by the Visitors. The constitution of Andover bestows upon the Board of Trustees important duties of a judicial character. "No man shall be continued a Professor in this

institution who shall not continue to approve himself to the satisfaction of the Trustees, a man of sound and orthodox principles in Divinity." The Visitors were meant to be "a second Board, whose duties should be supervisory and appellate," "a safeguard, not a substitution." The Trustees maintain, therefore, that they ought to have been invited to play an official part in the trial of the professors, and not to have been "refused a standing at the hearing before the Visitors." But they could not consider themselves thus relieved from their obligations under the constitution. "Accordingly we have carefully weighed," they say, "the evidence both of the complainants and the respondents presented at the trial, and have sought light from all other accessible sources; and our judgment is that the charges brought against the professors are not sustained." Having carefully examined the opposite contention as presented with great ability by Dr. Dexter, we are bound to say that the arguments by which the Trustees support this assertion seem to us exceedingly strong. The charges against the professors admit of brief statement. They are alleged to deny that the Bible is "the only perfect rule of faith and practice," holding it to be "fallible and untrustworthy, even in some of its religious teachings," and to affirm that the hope of salvation is not forbidden even with reference to those who do not in this life accept Christ, it being possible that Divine grace may renew them in spiritual life in the world beyond the grave. Such are the charges by which, in democratic America, in the nineteenth century of modern enlightenment, that Christian denomination which plumes itself upon its devotion to progress and its audacity of freedom has been deeply moved. It cannot, with any reasonableness, be alleged that Dr. Smyth and his brethren deny the inspiration of Scripture. They merely — as the Trustees urge — decline to "adopt a certain theory of inspiration." The Andover creed runs thus: "I believe that the Word of God, contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, is the only perfect rule of faith and practice." Nothing is here said "about the way or method in which the Bible became a perfect rule of faith and practice." In other words, add the Trustees, "it prescribes no theory of inspiration." In particular, it does not allege that there is an essential difference between the inspiration of the Spirit in the Bible and the inspiration of the Spirit in the soul and character of the believer. The professors explicitly affirm "that we have in the Bible a trustworthy and authoritative expression of the mind and will of God." Professor Smyth publicly said last October: "I know of no professor at Andover who has ever thought of questioning the supreme authority of the Scriptures as the record of special Divine revelation, and the only perfect rule of faith and practice." It is profoundly depressing to know that a man who, honestly and cordially, speaking for himself and his colleagues, could thus express his faith in Scripture, should be arraigned in free America for unsoundness in his view of inspiration. Turning to the second of the so-called errors for which Professor Smyth has been driven from his Chair, we find, strange and paradoxical as the statement may appear, that it is in the intensely *orthodox* and *evangelical* character of Professor Smyth's theology, that his fond clinging to the hope that those, or some of those, who die without believing in Christ, may after all be saved, has its origin. He holds in its extreme form the old Protestant dogma of the impotence of human nature for all spiritual good. He believes that no man can be saved by merely following the light of natural reason, and obeying the law within. Only by renewing in the image of God, through faith in Christ, can salvation be wrought. Heathen, therefore, how-

ever worthy they may be of honor on account of their natural virtues, cannot, he holds, be saved in this life if they never have heard the name of Christ. The idea of their being lost eternally is too horrible ; and, therefore, he will not relinquish the hope that, in the period succeeding death, they may hear of Christ, or see him, and be converted and healed. Surely, if this be heresy or error, it is the mildest and most innocent and beautiful form of faith that ever bore those evil names ! Dr. Smyth has lost his Chair mainly for believing that, in this life, man, without knowledge of Christ, cannot save himself, and for hoping that, after death, the omnipotent God who made him will save him.

The British Weekly, July 1, 1887.

THE DECISION IN THE ANDOVER CASE — REMOVAL OF DR. EGBERT C. SMYTH.

The decision in the Andover Case has at last been announced, and is very peculiar. Dr. Egbert C. Smyth has been removed, and the other professors acquitted on a purely technical ground. There were three Visitors — Dr. Eustis, President Seelye, and Mr. Marshall. Of these, Dr. Eustis and Mr. Marshall voted to have Dr. Smyth removed on the ground that he taught contrary to the creed and statutes of the institution, "that the Bible is not the only perfect rule of faith and practice, but is fallible and untrustworthy even in some of its religious teachings ; that no man has power or capacity to repent without knowledge of God in Christ ; that there is, and will be, probation after death for all men who do not decisively reject Christ during this earthly life." The extraordinary thing is that the articles from which the citations were made to convict Professor Smyth were not written by him, but by the other professors, and yet these get off. It happened thus. Dr. Smyth's case was finished on a Saturday. On the Monday following, Dr. Eustis had a funeral to attend, but intimated his willingness that the case of the other professors should be decided in his absence. This was done, and the result was a tie — Dr. Seelye on one side and Mr. Marshall on the other. So the professors remain. On the face of it this seems like wanton trifling with great and sacred interests, and it is not surprising to hear that the case goes to the Supreme Court. Unless some explanation is forthcoming of the scandalous farce of Monday, all the Visitors will be justly held unfit for any position of responsibility. The Board of Trustees, with one exception, issue a declaration in favor of the professors.

The decision, so long and anxiously waited for, will be received on all sides with indignation and contempt. If the Visitors had wished to aggravate the difficulty, to displease everybody, and to make themselves supremely ridiculous, they could not have gone to work in a better way. By a majority of two to one they removed Dr. Egbert C. Smyth. Then they agreed to take the charges against the other professors in the absence of one orthodox member at a funeral. They knew that the other professors were exactly in the same case as Dr. Smyth. They knew that the two Visitors who were to try them would differ, as they did about Dr. Smyth. Yet the farce went on. And so Dr. Smyth is removed for indorsing passages written by men who are retained as professors. The writing is condoned ; the indorsing is condemned. And all this to save one day of time, months of which have already been shamefully wasted. The result will be, in all probability, years of disastrous and embittered controversy.

We have given in the above quotation from the "British Weekly" all that has come under our notice from that paper, but we judge from the

following reference in the "Watchman" (Boston) of July 28, that the "Weekly" has elsewhere treated the subject more fully. The "Watchman" may be relied upon in its quotation of adverse criticism upon Andover theology, and the passage quoted will at least show that the "British Weekly" is an impartial critic:—

"The 'British Weekly' comments on the Andover case, impartially disparaging the Visitors and the professors, and by implication the complainants. Of the professors and their theology it speaks with contempt. They 'are Christian men of letters rather than scholars.' And as to their doctrine it is derisively remarked:—

"'There is an unbelief which must be treated with earnest consideration—in speaking of which contemptuous flippancy is unpardonable; but the American "new theology" we respect little, and fear not at all. Much of it is as easy to manufacture as a summer cooling drink. Take equal parts of Kingsley, Carlyle, the easy bits of Herbert Spencer, and the "Nineteenth Century," flavor with Scripture according to taste, and serve up with scraps of Tennyson and Matthew Arnold.'"

BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

EVIL, OR THE EVIL ONE? MATT. vi. 13.

THE change from "evil" to "the evil one" in the revised version of The Lord's Prayer has caused no little dissatisfaction. Upon this may have turned in the minds of some the refusal to accept the work of the revisers. But this is sheer prejudice, and should be overcome, provided the change was made on adequate grounds. I shall try to state the case so that a careful reader will be able to form an intelligent opinion.

"Evil" and "the evil one" are two renderings of a singular form, common to the masculine and the neuter gender of the attributive adjective *ponēros* employed substantively with the definite article. The general meaning of *ponēros* corresponds with that of the English adjective "evil." It occurs in the New Testament seventy-eight times,¹ and in the version of King James is translated "evil" fifty-one times, "wicked" nineteen times, "bad" once, "lewd" once, "malicious" once, "grievous" once, "that which is evil" twice, "wickedness" once, "harm" once. My present purpose does not require me to consider the shades of meaning the adjective may have, but only its interpretation as used substantively with the article, and in the singular, masculine, or neuter. The usages of Greek attributive adjectives used substantively with the article are not altogether the same without regard to gender; and when they are the same, gender affects interpretation. In the first place I shall show that regarding form alone. Not two interpretations only, but

Six different Interpretations are possible, the most of which may be amply illustrated from parallel usages in English.

(1.) In Greek, the masculine singular of an attributive adjective with

¹ The most approved texts omit the last clause of Luke xi. 4, but have *ponēros* in Acts xxv. 18.

the article is regularly employed, generally to represent a class of persons. The same usage occurs scores of times in the English Bible. Thus, "*The wicked in his pride doth persecute the poor, . . . the wicked boasteth of his heart's desire, and blesseth the covetous. . . . The wicked, through the pride of his countenance, will not seek after God.*" (Ps. x. 2, 3, 4.) It is, however, much more common in English to annex a noun, or to employ the plural number or an antecedent pronoun with a relative clause; as, "*The virtuous man is respected,*" or, "*The virtuous are respected,*" or, "*He that is virtuous is respected.*"

(2.) In Greek, the masculine singular of an attributive adjective with the article is regularly employed to represent a particular individual already mentioned. I can present nothing quite parallel in English, but "the aforesaid," as sometimes used in formal papers, may serve as an illustration.

(3.) In Greek, the singular of an attributive adjective with the article, as well as of a noun or a noun and an attributive adjective with the article, is regularly employed to represent an object as the one of its kind in special relation to the circle to which the speaker belongs, or as the pre-eminent individual of those which can receive the same designation. This can be illustrated from English common nouns with the article, if not from English attributive adjectives; as, the square, the jail, the courthouse, the railroad station. We are constantly distinguishing in this way what has a special relation to our circle. "The doctor," is our family physician. "The cat," is our household cat. Contrast this use with the generic use. "The horse must be fed." "The horse is an intelligent animal." "The dog is on the rug." "The dog is man's most faithful friend." "The cat wants to come in." "The cat is a sly creature." There have been many saviors; but we call only one by way of preëminence "the Saviour." In the conceptions of men there is an indefinite number of devils; but when we speak of "the devil," we so designate one by a signal preëminence.

(4.) In Greek, the neuter singular of an attributive adjective with the article is sometimes used generically to represent a class of things. This rarely occurs in English, yet the proposition, "There is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous," presents two examples of it, for "the sublime" is equivalent to "that which is sublime," and "the ridiculous" is equivalent to "that which is ridiculous." The terms are concrete, not abstract.

(5.) In Greek, the neuter singular of an attributive adjective with the article may be used according to (2) and (3) above.

(6.) In Greek, the neuter singular of an attributive adjective with the article may be used to represent an idea purely abstract, as is often the case in Paul's Epistles. This is rare in English, but in the words, "A Treatise on the Beautiful and the Sublime," there are two examples of it.

The first ground of decision between these different interpretations is, that an adjective with an article of a form common to both the masculine and the neuter gender is legitimately presumed to be masculine when it is not required to be neuter by other elements of the thought, or by the context.

The second consideration is, that in the view of Christ and his first disciples, as well as in that of their successors, Satan was the prince of numberless fallen angels ready to perform his behests, and that he was

malignant, alert, restless, a subtle tempter to sin, and too mighty for human force alone to cope with; and that it is hence more natural to suppose that deliverance from Satan was inculcated as constantly to be sought by prayer, rather than deliverance from evil aside from any particular agency. There is, then, a strong probability that this is a petition for deliverance from Satan, provided *ponēros* with the article was employed as a designation of Satan in New Testament times. There was just as much propriety in his being thus designated as in the familiar English designation, "the evil one;" for the correspondence in meaning of the words is as close and exact as is ever found in words of different languages. The question of usage is, then, of prime importance.

The third consideration is, that the meaning that was associated with *ponēros* in Matthew vi. 13, when the Gospel was written must have been the meaning of whatever Syriac word was employed by Christ; and that this meaning would be transmitted for generations, and would be the interpretation found, if any, in the writings of the early Christian Fathers.

The fourth ground of decision is the New Testament usage of *ponēros* as employed substantively; or, if it has several usages, the relative frequency of these usages.

The final ground of decision is congruity with other elements of the thought and with the context. This last consideration is the chief criterion of interpretation in general. Often it is of itself decisive. Its voice in an aggregate of cases is largely determinative of usage. It must, however, be very clear and strong in any single case in order to be allowed when it conflicts with usage.

As was before said, *ponēros* and the article, as employed in Matt. vi. 13, are of a form common to both the masculine and the neuter gender. Form distinguishes each gender in the nominative and accusative cases, but in the genitive and dative cases their forms for the masculine and neuter are identical. In the New Testament the singular of *ponēros* is employed substantively sixteen times in the singular, namely, twice with the distinctively neuter form, five times with forms distinctively masculine, and nine times with forms common to the masculine and the neuter gender. I have omitted from the count, as not pertinent to the discussion, two cases in, "A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good, and an evil [man] out of the evil [treasure of his heart] bringeth forth that which is evil" (Luke vi. 45), where the bracketed words are supplied from the first part of the verse. And I have not counted it in Luke xi. 4, the clause which contains it being without sufficient authority.

The form distinctively neuter singular, employed substantively, is translated "that which is evil," and occurs in Luke vi. 45, just cited, and in "Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good" (Rom. xii. 9). The contrasted clause, "that which is good," is in both cases represented in the original by an adjective and the article of the distinctively neuter singular form. The whole class of evil things and the whole class of good things are meant. These examples come under (4) above.

The forms distinctively masculine singular, employed substantively, are in Matt. xiii. 19; 1 Cor. v. 13; 1 John ii. 13, 14; v. 18.

I shall hereafter cite from the version of King James, and annex so much of what corresponds in the Revised Version as contains noteworthy changes.

"When any one heareth the word of the kingdom, and understandeth

it not, [then] cometh *the wicked* [one], and catcheth away that which was sown in his heart, — [then] cometh *the evil* [one], and snatcheth away that which hath been sown in his heart." (Matt. xiii. 19.) The revisers agree with the version of 1611 in supplying the words "then" and "one." If they do not here follow the version of 1611 in the rendering of *ponēros*, they do give the word by which it is rendered in that version in fifty-one cases out of seventy-eight, as was stated above. The parallel statement, "then cometh the devil" (Luke viii. 12), shows that "the evil one" and "the devil" are designations of the same being, so that whatever Syriac word Christ may have used, it is evident that the term "the evil one" was used by Matthew here, and was known to those for whom Matthew wrote, as a designation of Satan. This is a designation by way of preëminence, according to (3) above.

"I write unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning. I write unto you, young men, because ye have overcome *the wicked* [one], — *the evil* [one]. I have written unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning. I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome *the wicked* [one], — *the evil* [one]." (1 John ii. 13, 14.) The knowledge of God as characterizing the fathers, and victory over the great adversary as characterizing the young men, here bring God and Satan into contrast, for otherwise "the evil one" thus placed in preëminence was some well-known human being, and their warfare had been a warfare with flesh and blood, which is an utterly absurd hypothesis.

"We know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not,¹ but he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and *the wicked* [one] toucheth him not," — "but he that was begotten of God keepeth him, and *the evil* [one] toucheth him not." (1 John v. 18.) No one can hold that in the view of John "the evil one" who toucheth not him that is begotten of God is any other than Satan. John does, then, in this Epistle use the term "the evil one," as a designation of Satan, at least three times.

"Therefore put away from among yourselves *that wicked* [person]. Put away *the wicked* [man] from among yourselves." (1 Cor. v. 13.) The exigency of the thought does not allow *ponēros* to be considered here as a designation by way of preëminence of either man or devil. One of the members of the Corinthian church had been guilty of shameful wickedness. Paul has been giving general directions concerning this case. He here adds a particular direction, which the translators of King James evidently understood as specifically relating to the case which called forth these instructions. This interpretation accords with (2) above. But as rightly translated by the revisers, it is rather to be regarded as a rule covering all like cases, according to (1) above.

The forms of ponēros common to both the masculine and the neuter singular, and used substantively, are in Matt. v. 37, 39; vi. 13; xiii. 38; John xvii. 15; Eph. vi. 16; 2 Thes. iii. 3; 1 John iii. 12; v. 19.

"The field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom, but the tares are the children of *the wicked* [one];" — "and the good seed, these are the sons of the kingdom; and the tares are the sons of *the evil* [one]." (Matt. xiii. 38.) Compare in their connection John viii. 41, 44, "Ye do the works of your father. . . . Ye are of your father, the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do;" and 1 John iii. 10,

¹ That is, the commission of sin does not characterize him.

"In this the children of God are manifest and the children of the devil;" and it will be clear that "the evil one," whose children the tares represent, is none other than the devil. This also is plain from the parable itself and from Christ's interpretation of it.

"Put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high [places]. Wherefore take unto you the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of *the wicked*," — "the fiery darts of *the evil [one]*." (Eph. vi. 11-16.) Taking this passage as a whole, it is evident that by "the devil" in the first sentence, and "the wicked" or "the evil one" in the last sentence, one and the same adversary is meant.

"But the Lord is faithful, who shall stablish you, and keep you from *evil*," — "and guard you from *the evil [one]*." (2 Thes. iii. 3.) In the preceding verse Paul had asked the prayers of the Thessalonian Christians that he might be delivered from unreasonable and evil men. This reminds him of what he was immeasurably more anxious about, namely, their great danger from a mighty and malignant foe, and he assures them, not that the Lord will unconditionally guard them, but that the Lord is faithful who will guard them, thus implying that what the Lord will do in his faithfulness will be in a measure determined by their faithfulness in the performance of their covenanted obligations, and further, indirectly admonishing and inciting them. Nothing less than guarding them from Satan is sufficient for correspondence and completeness of thought. And that the designation of Satan as "the evil one" was not strange to Paul we have already seen. This, then, may be set down as another instance of designating Satan as "the evil one."

"Not as Cain [who] was of *that wicked [one]*, and slew his brother," — "not as Cain was of *the evil [one]*, and slew his brother." (1 John iii. 12.) Comparing this with v. 8, — "He that committeth sin,¹ is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning," — and with the verses of this Epistle before considered, it is beyond a doubt that John here means the devil.

"[And] we know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in *wickedness*," — "the whole world lieth in *the evil [one]*." (1 John v. 19.) In this Epistle John is constantly setting God and Satan over against each other. He does this in the preceding verse, where, as we have already seen, he calls Satan "the evil one." Satan is represented in the New Testament, not only as an enemy of God, but as the ruler of a kingdom. John, in his Gospel, xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11, reports Christ as calling Satan "the prince of this world." The preposition translated "in" in 1 John v. 19 is rendered in twenty-five different ways by the translators of King James, besides combinations of some of their renderings with other words, as *therein*, *thereby*, *therewith*. One of its meanings is "in the power of," "under the sway of," "subject to;" as, "a man *under the power of an unclean spirit*" (Mark i. 23.), "a man *under the power of an unclean spirit*" (Mark v. 2). "Now we know that whatso-

¹ He whom the commission of sin characterizes.

ever things the law saith, it saith to them who are *under* the law." (Rom. iii. 19.) Giving this meaning to the preposition, 1 John v. 19 reads, "We know that we are of God, and [that] the whole world lieth under the sway of *the evil [one]*." This restores the balance to the two parts of the verse, and gives a meaning, clear and consistent, and in harmony with the New Testament teachings, according to which a child of God is one who has been redeemed from the power of Satan, and he who has not been thus redeemed is still a bond-slave of Satan. This relevancy of meaning, together with John's certain usage in the four other cases where he has employed *ponēros* substantively in this Epistle, establishes the correctness of the interpretation just given.

"I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from *the evil*." — "I pray not that thou shouldest take them from the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from *the evil [one]*." (John xvii. 15.) Christ is about to know the hour and the power of Satan, and his loved friends are about to be left, without the safeguard of his bodily presence, to encounter the seductions of Satan and his rage in all forms of persecution, with deliverance only through violent death. It is, then, presumable that Christ does not pray merely that the Father will keep them from evil in the abstract, or from the evil that is in the world, or even from sin, but rather from the arch-foe who is the prime author of all the evil to which they can be exposed, and also the great tempter to evil or sin. In conformity with the distinctive English idiom marking the particular relations of the thought, I translate, — "I ask, not that thou wilt take them out of the world, but that thou wilt keep them from *the evil [one]*." This exact word for word rendering meets every requirement of usage, context, circumstance, and New Testament modes of thought. Even a moderate appreciation of these must exclude all doubt as to the right interpretation, especially since, as we have already seen, this designation of Satan as a malicious enemy is five times used by John in his first Epistle, and had been more than once by Christ, as reported by Matthew.

"But let your communication be Yea, yea, Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of *evil*." "But let your speech be Yea, yea, Nay, nay; and whatsoever is more than these is of *the evil [one]*." (Matt. v. 37.) Profanity is the habit of the Orient. There is reason to believe it has come down from early times. Peter, when charged with being one of Christ's followers, would hardly have broken out into cursing, had not this been an old habit. Introductory to the restriction just cited, Christ had repeated a maxim against the violation of a pledge confirmed by an oath, and had given a general precept forbidding swearing. It could have been no more than a *general* precept; for the Bible contains precedents for oaths on solemn occasions. But here the entire paragraph, verses 33-37, shows that Christ is speaking of interlarding oaths in ordinary conversation. To say that this form of evil comes of evil would seem to lack the pith of sense. In New Testament thought the source of any manner of evil is not evil, but the evil one. It is, then, safe to say that Christ declares that whatever in the matter of assertion exceeds affirmation or denial "is of the evil one."

It is hardly a thing aside to say here, that, outside of the narratives of the Temptation in Matt. iv. and Luke iv., the Greek word, of which "devil" is the English representative both etymologically and in meaning, occurs in the Gospels only six times, which barely exceeds the number

of times he is there called "the evil one." It may be added that the arch-enemy seems to have taken the designation of "the evil one" because of his malicious activity in evil; "the devil," with reference to his character, especially his subtle capacity for devising evil; and "Satan" as the prince of evil.

"Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, That ye resist not *evil*; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also."—"I say unto you, Resist not *him that is evil*; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." "And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain." (Matt. v. 39-41.) In these verses Christ teaches how to demean one's self towards an injurious person, not simply as under an injury, and most assuredly not as regards the tolerance of wrong; so that at least two meanings of the noun "evil" are excluded, and no meaning of it satisfies the thought. Christ gives a brief precept and appends illustrations. The correlation of precept and illustrations demands that the injurious persons of the illustrations be included in the generic term of the precept. Verse 39, rendered word for word, and with the Greek idiom preserved complete, and instead of the Latin verb "resist" using the Saxon verb corresponding with the Greek, is,—But I tell you not to withstand *the evil* [*person*]; but whosoever shall smite [more exactly, rap] thee upon thy right cheek, turn to him also the other.

This interpretation falls under (1) above. It would accord better with the English idiom to substitute the indefinite article, and let an indefinite individual of a class represent his class. Also the rendering "injurious" befits the thought better than "evil." It seems to me that "an injurious person" is somewhat preferable in style, and much superior in clearness, to "him that is evil" of the revisers; but they were trammelled by rules.

Before particular consideration of Matt. iv. 16, it is meet to present

A Summary of Interpretations of the singular of *ponēros* used substantively in the thirteen instances already examined. It has the concrete generic meaning, "that which is evil," in the two cases where it has the distinctively neuter form. It has the concrete generic meaning, "the evil man," in the sense of "the wicked person," once where it has a distinctively masculine form; and in the sense of "the injurious person," once where it has a form common to the masculine and the neuter gender. It has the meaning, determinate by way of preëminence, "the evil one," in four cases where it has distinctively masculine forms, and in five cases where it has forms common to the masculine and the neuter gender. It has been found to be neuter only in the two cases where it has the distinctively neuter form. Hence, in

New Testament usage the general meaning of *ponēros* as used substantively in the singular is "the evil one;" and it is neuter only where it has the distinctively neuter form; and it nowhere has the abstract meaning "evil."

Does Matt. vi. 13 present an exception to the last two statements? But

The Early Christian Fathers must have known how it was understood in the Apostolic age; and they, so far as their opinions have been preserved, regarded the final clause of Matt. vi. 13 as asking deliverance from the evil one. And

The Exigency of the Thought and correspondence with frequent teach-

ings of the New Testament, instead of demanding an exception, require *ponēros* to have the meaning here which it has elsewhere in nine cases out of eleven where it must be or may be masculine. The preceding part of the discussion sufficiently indicates the harmony of this interpretation with New Testament teachings. It remains to show its congruity with the other elements of the sentence.

In the New Testament twelve different verbs are translated "deliver." The verb translated "deliver" in Matt. vi. 13 means "to rescue," as from the power of an enemy, when the person to be rescued cannot save himself. This meaning has absolute fitness with reference to the evil one.

The word translated "lead" is a mixed verb, the chief root of which is found in the last syllable of Christo-pher, "the Christ-bearer," and corresponds both etymologically and in general meaning with the word "bear;" but "take" in one of its uses is the exact equivalent here.

The meaning of "tempt" and "temptation," as now almost exclusively used, has succeeded to the meaning "to try" in the two senses, "to make trial of," and "to attempt." The Greek verb commonly translated "to tempt" in the New Testament is also translated in the version of King James "to try," "to essay," "to go about," "to examine," "to prove." It is used in the New Testament in each of the three senses, "to make trial of," "to attempt," "to tempt;" and also in the general sense "to try," inclusive of "to tempt." Its derivative noun has corresponding meanings.

From these preliminary defining statements follows the *Interpretation of Matt. vi. 13.*

Bear us not into trials. God does bear — in his providence, *carry or take* — his children into trials. He does this sometimes for their purification (whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth); sometimes as preparatory for special work; and always for their good and his glory. But we instinctively shrink from trials. We should not heedlessly rush into them; and we may seek for guidance, lest we needlessly incur them. And more than this, we are here taught to pray that we be not borne into them. The very frame of mind that asks not to be borne into trials is one of the essentials to their working their designed effect, and not proving lost afflictions; also, it may often be a means of obviating their necessity.

Bear [or take] us not into temptations. God has seen fit to allow Satan liberty of action within prescribed limits, and He even bears men where they must meet the temptations of Satan, which temptations are the sorest trials to the Christian. We are to ask God that He will not take us where we shall meet the temptations of Satan; still He will permit us to encounter more or fewer of them. But the Lord will always come to the help of those who call upon Him (He is faithful), and will rescue even those who seem utterly overthrown and completely in Satan's power. To realize all this is an element of the Christian's strength and safety, and is essential to his being able to receive the exhortation of James i. 2, "*Account it complete joy when ye fall in with [meet, encounter] subtle temptations.*" Complete joy may be felt by him who, through encountering subtle temptations with martial alacrity and steadfastness, gains the full robust strength of mature Christian character.

As the word rendered "temptation" in the first clause of Matt. vi. 13 is so comprehensive as to include both trials and solicitations to sin, especially those of the arch-tempter, the fitting complement of this clause is

a petition of deliverance from the evil one. And the experience of Christians accords with this interpretation; for something would be wanting to the completeness of the prayer, to the comprehension of all their needs, if it did not embrace a petition for deliverance from Satan. The compilers of "The Litany" only voiced a cry of Christian hearts when they said, "From the crafts and assaults of the devil, Good Lord, deliver us."

As has been said, the noun of the first clause is not adequately rendered by "trial" alone, or by "temptation" alone, as the words are now commonly understood. Translators, like witnesses in court, should be sworn to "tell the whole truth." It is just as much a sin against faithfulness to omit as it is to add. It is no more a departure from an exact rendering to employ in case of necessity coördinate words to represent the meaning of one word, than it is to introduce one or more subordinate words, as is so often done, to make up the full meaning. And, *vice versa*, a faithful rendering does not require every word of an original to be separately represented.

The issue of the entire discussion is the conclusion that the combined force of every relevant principle of just interpretation sustains the rendering,

Take us not into trial and temptation, but deliver us from the evil one.

Isaiah Dole.

KEENE, NEW HAMPSHIRE.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

GENERAL BIOLOGY. By WILLIAM T. SEDGWICK, PH. D., Associate Professor of Biology in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and EDMUND B. WILSON, PH. D., Professor of Biology in Bryn Mawr College. Part I. Introductory. Pp. vii, 193. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1886.

In this volume we have an attempt to place the science of Biology upon a more substantial basis for elementary students than it has hitherto had. The comparatively recent impetus given to this study has brought forth a host of text-books of varying degrees of excellence. The best of these are unsatisfactory in many respects, and are apt to leave the mind of the student too narrow to appreciate and confidently attack the many problems which are crowding to the front and demanding attention at the present time. They deal too much with mere anatomy. The problem of life cannot be solved by anatomical study. The authors of this work seek to give the learner a knowledge of vital phenomena in addition to that of structure. The first four chapters are devoted to a consideration of living matter and vital energy. These subjects are admirably treated, and will prove very suggestive even to one who does not intend to undertake the accompanying laboratory work, for which full directions are found at the end of each chapter. A serious fault of this portion of the work is that so much attention is paid to the chemical and physical properties of living matter that the student is likely to infer that life is nothing more than the manifestations of these; whereas the whole tendency of modern science is to teach, as stated by Huxley, that the differ-

ence "between living bodies and those which do not live is an ultimate fact."

Following these introductory chapters are descriptions of the common brake, which is selected as a typical form for the study of the biology of a plant, and of the earth-worm for that of an animal. The anatomy, histology, physiology, and development of these are most thoroughly and accurately described, being treated in greater detail than is to be found elsewhere. The laboratory directions are full and clear. It is the desire of the authors that the student should verify for himself, so far as possible, everything mentioned in the text, and thus arrive at a full understanding of the place in nature filled by these chosen examples. It is their belief that the grasp of the principles of biology obtained is in proportion to the thoroughness with which a single form of life is studied; and experience supports them in this conclusion. Practically one cannot help wishing that some other animal than the earth-worm had been selected, as that necessitates for its full study a greater degree of mechanical skill than the average young person possesses, and discouragement is apt to follow the failure to demonstrate some important feature. For other reasons, however, the choice is an excellent one.

The work is by far the best of its class. The instructor will find it well adapted to his needs; and yet one wishing to pursue the study by himself will meet with little difficulty in the systematic demonstration by its aid of the more important biological phenomena. After its use one should be well prepared for the further study of either botany, zoölogy, physiology, or medicine. It is the intention of the authors to publish a second part, which shall be more distinctly zoölogical in its character.

In mechanical execution the book excels the others of the series. The illustrations are new and exceedingly helpful.

Leslie A. Lee.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Dogmatik. Darstellung der christlichen Glaubenslehre auf reformist-kirchlicher Grundlage, von Eduard Böhl, Prof. in Wien. Amsterdam: Scheffer. 8vo, pp. lx, 654. 12 mks. — This work is, as its title indicates, a handbook of reformed dogmatics in the strictest sense. The author is a thoroughly orthodox reformed theologian, and his attitude toward the symbols of that church may be gathered from the following sentences: "Wir wollen nun nicht pure Nachbeter sein, aber wir wollen innerhalb dieser Gränzpfähle (i. e. the symbols of the reformed church) mittelst Exegese und anderer Hilfswissenschaften, uns also einrichten, dass Niemand uns daraus vertreiben kann." "Wir gehen demnach im Folgenden unmittelbar von der heiligen Schrift aus, und zwar unter der Controle der Bekenntnisse unserer Kirche, mit denen wir uns aufs innigste einwissen." The introduction is devoted chiefly to polemics against Schleiermacher, Biedermann, and Ritschl. The work handles dogmatics in the traditional way under the heads, Theology proper, Anthropology, Soteriology, and Eschatology. — *Vorlesungen über christliche Glaubenslehre*, von J. T. Beck, weil. ord. Prof. der Theol. in Tübingen.

Herausgegeben von Jul. Lindenmeyer. Band I. Erster Theil: Prolegomena und Einleitung. Band II. Zweiter, specieller Theil. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 1886-87. Small 8vo, pp. x, 548; viii, 784. 18 mks. — The second volume, which has recently appeared, completes the most important work of the late Tübingen theologian. The book presents a marked contrast to that of Böhl. The free position of Beck over against traditional dogmatics is well known. It is impossible to characterize him with any accuracy either as orthodox or as heterodox. He was Beck alone, and his theology was peculiar to himself. He endeavored to draw his dogmatics solely from the Bible, in entire disregard of all traditional theology, and the Bible thus occupied with him a very exalted position. Indeed, he vied with the strictest orthodoxy in maintaining, over against all attacks, the authority of the Bible as a divinely inspired book. He has been called, with right, "the most celebrated representative, in our century, of the exclusive and realistic Biblical tendency in theology." The present work reveals clearly both the merits and defects of Beck's system, and at the same time exhibits in an unusual degree the greatness as well as the peculiarities of the man himself. — *Das Dogma von Christi Person und Werk*, entwickelt aus Christi Selbstzeugniss und den Zeugnissen der Apostel, von W. F. Gess. Basel: Detloff. 8vo, pp. xxviii, 486. 7.60 mks. — This interesting volume forms the conclusion of the author's work "Christi Person und Werk," of which the first part (Christi Selbstzeugniss) in one volume, and the second part (Das apost. Zeugniss) in two volumes, appeared some years ago, and have lately reached a second edition. The present volume is related to the former volumes as Systematic to Biblical theology. It is divided into two books, which treat respectively of the work and of the Person of Christ. Christ's work is discussed under the heads: His work in the days of the flesh; his work between death and resurrection (from the preaching of the Gospel in Hades the author concludes a probation after death for certain men), between the resurrection and the ascension, between the ascension and the second coming, the second coming itself ("Das Tausendjährige Reich ist die Bereitung zur vollen Freiheit der Entscheidung für alle die, welche vom Endgericht auf Erden lebend werden getroffen werden"), and his work in the "fullness of times." The customary treatment of Christ's work in his three offices is rejected. The author's standpoint is positive and in the main orthodox. The chief emphasis in the first section is laid upon the vicarious atonement, in the second upon the Divine Sonship. — *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, unter Mitwirkung von Beurath, Böhringer, Dreyer, Ehlers, Furrer, Hasenclever, Holtzmann, Kind, Lüdemann, Marbach, Nippold, Seyerlen, Siegfried, Werner, herausgegeben von R. A. Lipsius. Sechster Band, enthaltend die Literatur des Jahres 1886. Leipzig: Reichardt. 1887, 8vo, pp. x, 528. 10 mks. — This important annual, already so well known, may be regarded as practically indispensable to the theologian who wishes to keep fully abreast of the times in scientific theology. The mass of literature noticed is enormous, and English and American works receive their full share of attention. The book aims to give a comprehensive view of all that has been accomplished in the various branches of theology during the past year. The various subjects are taken up in order (Old Testament, New Testament, Church History, History of Religion, Dogmatics, Ethics, etc.), and the most important works in each department are briefly reviewed. — *Doctrina duodecim Apostolorum*.

tolorum, Canones Apostolorum ecclesiastici ac reliquae doctrinae de duabus viis expositiones veteres. Editit, annotationibus et prolegomenis illustravit, versionem latinam addidit Franciscus Xaverius Funk. Tübingae: Laupp. 8vo, pp. lxxviii, 116. 3.60 mks. — This edition of the "Didache" is intended to form a part of the first volume of Funk's Apostolic Fathers. It contains extended Latin prolegomena, the text of the "Didache" with a Latin translation and copious notes, together with annotated texts and versions of the various parallel documents. The author is quite reactionary in many of his positions. He maintains the integrity of the "Didache" as we have it, denying the existence of an original "Two Ways," and accepting the genuineness of the passages I: 3, II: 1, and III: 1-6. He claims that Barnabas drew from our "Didache," not from an earlier common source, and puts the completed work into the latter part of the first century. Its author was a Jewish Christian of Syria or Palestine. — *Abriss der Kirchengeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Ergänzungsband zu Herzog's *Abriss der gesamten Kirchengesch.*), bearbeitet von Lic. Theol. G. Koffmann. Erlangen: Besold. Large 8vo, pp. viii, 200. 4 mks. — To write a history of one's own times is a peculiarly difficult and delicate task, but the author in the present instance seems to have accomplished the work unusually well, and the result is a very interesting and readable sketch. The treatment of the church in America leaves much to be desired, but we have ceased to expect any great display of knowledge in regard to the American church upon the part of German historians. Revivals and the Salvation Army receive especial and not very flattering notice as in a measure characteristic of American Christianity. But the work in general may be recommended for its reliability. The treatment of Romanism is especially valuable, and the present strifes in Germany, both political and theological, are well though briefly characterized. — *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechisch-römischen Heidenthums.* Erster Band: *Staat und Kirche im Kampfe mit dem Heidenthum*, von Victor Schultze, Prof. an der Universität Greifswald. Jena: Costenoble. 8vo, pp. viii, 455. 12 mks. — This important work handles a subject which has been strangely neglected, and upon which new light has been greatly needed. The persecutions which the church suffered during the first three centuries have been the subject of innumerable treatises, but the downfall of heathendom before the new religion has had few historians. The importance of the subject makes such a book as the present one of unusual interest. The author, who has already distinguished himself by his work in Christian archaeology, wrote two articles upon Constantine in the "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte," vols. vii. and viii. (mentioned in the January number of the "Andover Review," p. 114), which in part prepared the way for the present work. The subject is treated under four divisions: I. Beginn und Organization des Kampfes (Constantin der Grosse, Die Constantinssöhne, Die Mitarbeit der Kirche); II. Die heidnische Reaction unter Julian; III. Wiederaufnahme und Fortführung des Kampfes; IV. Der Ausgang des Kampfes. In his preface the author says: "Der vorliegende erste Band behandelt die auf die Vernichtung des klassischen Heidenthums gerichteten staatlichen und kirchlichen Anordnungen und Massnahmen von Konstantin d. Gr. an bis zur Zeit Justinians. Der zweite abschliessende Theil soll den Rückgang des Hellenismus in den verschiedenen Ländern und auf den wichtigeren Lebensgebieten aufzeigen."

PERIODICALS.

In this connection may be mentioned an article by F. Görres in the "Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie," 1887, Heft III, pp. 343-377. *Die Verwandtenmorde Constantins des Grossen*. A detailed discussion of the various murders of which Constantine has been accused, which leads in the main to results very unfavorable to his character, and in certain points exactly opposed to the position taken by Schultze in his articles in the "Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch." mentioned above, in which Constantine's character is vindicated in so far as possible. — *Die Essäer des Philo*. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte, von R. Ohle. "Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie," 1887. Heft II, pp. 298-344, and Heft III, 376-394. — These articles endeavor to prove that the passage in Philo's *Quod omnis probus liber*, which refers to the Essenes, is an interpolation, in which case (if the previous results of Lucius and Hilgenfeld be accepted) there remains no reference to them in Philo's works. The author sums up his results in the following words: "Die 'Essäer des Philo' sind als Vertreter einer 'vorchristlichen Hæresie in Israel' aus der Kirchen- oder Ketzergeschichte zu streichen. Trotzdem behalten sie natürlich auch so noch, gerade wie die Therapeuten, einen bedeutenden Werth für die Geschichte des christlichen Mönchthums, denn 'eine Urkunde, die als unecht erwiesen ist, ist damit noch nicht als werthlos erwiesen.'" — *Der Epheserbrief*, von H. von Soden (Schluss). Ibid. 1887: Heft III, pp. 432-498. The author's first article in Heft I has already been noticed (March). In the present article are discussed *Die dem Epheserbrief eigenthümlichen Lehraufstellungen* and *Die Entstehungsverhältnisse des Briefes*. It is concluded that the epistle was written by a Jew of the dispersion, an intimate friend of Paul's, who was very familiar with his ideas. It was written between 70 and 90, probably in Rome, and was addressed, not to the Ephesians, but to the Christian Church as a whole. The author was acquainted with the earlier synoptic literature, and made use of the Apocalypse, but his epistle was in turn used by the Gospel of Luke, by the Epistle to the Hebrews, and by 1 Peter.

Arthur C. McGiffert.

MARBURG, PRUSSIA.

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Government Printing Office, Washington. A Digest of the International Law of the United States, taken from Documents issued by Presidents and Secretaries of State, and from Decisions of Federal Courts and Opinions of Attorneys-General. Edited by Francis Wharton, LL. D., author of a Treatise on Conflicts of Laws and of Commentaries on American Law. In three volumes. 1886. Vol. I., pp. xxxiii, 825; Vol. II., pp. 832; Vol. III., pp. 837.

Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Aphorisms on the Three Tribes. By Edward Owings Towne. Pp. 41. 1887. \$1.00.

PAMPHLETS. — James Harrington, and his Influence upon American Political Institutions and Political Thought. By Theodore W. Dwight. [Reprinted from "Political Science Quarterly."] Pp. 44. — *John Wilson & Son, Cambridge.* The Origin of Languages, and the Antiquity of Speaking Man. An Address before the Section of Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Buffalo, August, 1886. By Horatio Hale, Vice-President. [From the Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science," Vol. XXXV.] Pp. 47. — *Iverson, Blakeman & Co., New York and Chicago.* Captain Glazier and his Lake. An Inquiry into the History and Progress of Exploration at the Headwaters of the Mississippi since the Discovery of Lake Itasca. Pp. 58; — The Source of the Mississippi, comprising, I. Letter from Messrs. Iverson, Blakeman, Taylor & Co.; II. Report of Hopewell Clarke, Chief of the G. B. F. & Co. Expedition to the Headwaters of the Mississippi, October, 1886. [Reprinted from "Science," Dec. 24, 1886.] Pp. 16. — Obligations of the United States to initiate a Revision of Treaties between the Western Powers and Japan. By James King Newton, A. M., Professor of Modern Languages, Oberlin College. Pp. 25. — *Democrat Co., Madison, Wis.* "How should the Boards of Control of State Universities be constituted?" Address before the Alumni Association, University of Wisconsin, June 22, 1886. By George H. Noyes. Pp. 24. — *Congregational S. S. and Publishing Society, Boston.* A Vesper Service. Nos. 3 and 4. For the Use of Congregations, Colleges, Schools, and Academies, for Sunday Evening Worship. By the Rev. Joseph T. Duryea, D. D. No. 3, pp. 13; No. 4, pp. 12. 1887. — *J. B. Harrison & Sons, Franklin Falls, N. H.* Notes on Industrial Conditions. By J. B. Harrison. Pp. 32. 10 cents. 1886. — *Charles W. Sever, University Bookstore, Cambridge.* Electricity and Life: or the Electro-Vital Theory of Nature. By Edward C. Towne, B. A. Pp. 32. 1887. — *Cupples, Upham & Co., Boston.* Arguments against Woman Suffrage, by Rev. H. M. Dexter, D. D., carefully examined and completely answered. By D. P. Livermore. Pp. 112. 1886. — *Forty Years' Ministry.* A Sermon preached in the Congregational Church, Burlington, Iowa, April 4, 1886. By William Salter. Pp. 16. — *Marcus Watson, Saccarappa, Me.* The Word of Life. A Sermon preached in the Congregational Church at Saccarappa, Me., February 8, 1885. By Edward E. Bacon. Pp. 17. — *Normal School Steam Press, Hampton, Va.* America. Richard Armstrong. Hawaii. Pp. 121. 1887. — *N. J. Milliken, Canandaigua, N. Y.* A Sermon on the Death of Abraham Lincoln, preached in the First Congregational Church, Canandaigua, N. Y., April 16, 1865, by the Pastor, O. E. Daggett. Pp. 16. 1865. — *Charity Organization Society, Indianapolis.* Organized Charity in Cities. A Paper read before the National Conference of Charities, held at Cleveland, O. By Oscar C. McCulloch. Pp. 39. — *Am. Home Missionary Society, N. Y.* Denominational Coöperation in Home Missionary Work. A paper presented in behalf of the Executive Committee, at the Sixtieth Anniversary of the American Home Missionary Society, at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., June 2, 1886. By Rev. Walter M. Barrows, D. D., Secretary. Pp. 14. 1886. — *Geo. H. Ellis, Boston.* The National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches. Official Report of the Proceedings of the Twelfth Meeting, held at Saratoga, N. Y., Sept. 20-24, 1886. Pp. 243. 1886. — *Reform of the Marriage Laws.* By Edmund H. Bennett. [Reprinted from the "Forum."] Pp. 10. — *Scribner & Welford, New York.* The Monthly Interpreter. Edited by Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M. A. March, April, and May, 1886. — *Leonard Scott Publication Co., Philadelphia, Pa.* Shakespeariana, September, October, and November, 1886; March, June, and July, 1887. \$1.50 per annum. — *Kansas Publishing House, Topeka.* Lost Israel Found: or The Promises made to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, all fulfilled in the Anglo-Saxon Race. Established by History; Verified by Prophecy. By E. P. Ingersoll. Pp. 84. 1886. — *Friedrich Andreas Perthes, Gotha.* August Neander, Erinnerungen von Philipp Schaff, D. and Professor der Theologie in New York. Mit einem Bildnis. Pp. 76. 1886. — *Carl Schoenhof, Boston.* Diesseits und Jenseits im Lichte des Wortes Gottes. Eine Betrachtung über Evangelium Lukas 16, v. 19-31. Von C. Gründler, Pastor in Annaburg. Pp. 28. 1886.

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THE ULTIMATE CRITERIA OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

THE word criterion, from the Greek *κρίτης*, decider, judge, is defined by Webster as "a standard of judging." The criteria of Christian doctrine, then, are those standards with which such doctrine is properly compared, and to which it is required to conform. In seeking for such criteria, Protestants have been wont to point to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as "the only infallible rule of faith and practice." We see no reason to depart from this fundamental principle of the Reformation. Whatever the Word of God contained in those Scriptures really justifies we are willing to abide by as divine truth. If, for example, the words of Christ really contain the doctrine of endless torment for all who die impenitent, then that doctrine must be accepted by all Christians. Whatever the discoveries of science may render probable, whatever the Christian experience of centuries may seem to establish, whatever the longings and convictions of the most cultured and saintly souls may come to be, — these, if opposed to the true significance of the Master's words, must, each and all, be cast aside as misleading, and Christians must say, Let Christ be true, and every man a liar. Let it be conceded, then, that we have in the Bible "the objective norm of faith." Let it be conceded, also, that this criterion is ultimate in point of *authority*.

But a further question now arises, — the question, namely, as to the true significance of the Scriptures. To some they seem to mean one thing, to others they seem to mean something very different. How is the dispute to be decided? To what arbiter shall the contending parties now appeal? They have, indeed, the ultimate criteria in the order of *authority* before them, but in the

order of *procedure* they must go on to something beyond, to something which shall decide upon the meaning of these criteria themselves. This difficulty arose very early in the history of Christianity. The disciples disputed concerning the meaning of Christ's words and appealed to Him for explanation. Later Christians appealed to the apostles, and Christians, later still, to those who had seen the apostles to interpret the sayings of Christ, and so settle the doctrine and practice of the churches. It was thus that the Roman Catholic tenet respecting the value and authority of ecclesiastical tradition arose. If the words of Christ were still regarded as ultimate criteria in point of authority, for all Christian doctrine, yet the doctrine itself was shaped only in accordance with the traditional interpretation of those words. An appeal was taken in every case of dispute from the words themselves to the tradition of the church. It is here that, to many minds, Romanism still seems to possess a great advantage. Rome has at least distinctly faced the difficulty of diverse interpretations of Scripture, and provided for it. At her best she made Scripture the criterion of doctrine, tradition the criterion of Scripture interpretation, and catholic consent the criterion by which to distinguish between true and false tradition. Thus in the Roman Church catholic consent was made, in the order of procedure, the ultimate criterion of Scripture interpretation, and so of Christian doctrine. This catholic consent was to be ascertained by the deliberations of her great councils and expressed by the voice of the Pope, speaking *ex cathedra*. Thus Rome provided for the weary truth-seeker to the very end of his quest. She did not leave him in his bewilderment with only the general statement that the Bible is "the only infallible rule of faith and practice." Luther himself plainly recognized the need of some criterion by which to distinguish between true and false interpretations of Scripture. His famous words before the Diet were, "Unless I be convinced by Scripture and *reason*, I neither can nor dare retract," etc. It would not have been sufficient or safe for him to make his appeal to Scripture only. His opponents were ready with Scripture, and also with their interpretation of it sanctioned by the traditions of a thousand years. It was absolutely necessary for Luther to meet their traditional interpretation with an interpretation of some other sort. Their interpretation was a criterion by which their doctrine would have been approved and Luther's condemned. Hence his immortal appeal from their tradition to reason. He was fairly driven to that exclamation,

and Protestantism, as a whole, has done little more as yet than to reiterate that sentence of Luther. From generation to generation it has asserted the infallibility of Scripture and the right of private judgment, — the right, that is, of reason in the interpretation of Scripture. It has done but little to answer the question, Who shall decide between individuals whose reason and conscience lead them to opposite conclusions? It has persistently ignored the question, What shall be the ultimate criterion of Christian doctrine, — not in the order of authority, but in the order of procedure — of investigation? This question, which Rome answered so distinctly from the start, still underlies most of our theological controversy. It lay at the bottom of the dispute between Dr. Harris and Dr. Patton, the former seeking in the Christian consciousness a criterion not ultimate, indeed, in the sense of being above Scripture, but ultimate, perhaps, as an aid in Scripture interpretation and the shaping of Christian doctrine. Dr. Patton, on the other hand, seemed to assert, as though it were something opposed to the Christian consciousness, the prerogative of reason as a court of ultimate appeal for the decision of such questions. We fail to see, however, that there need be any contradiction between the verdicts of the Christian consciousness, properly understood, and reason in any legitimate sense of the word. On the contrary, each is most helpful to the other, indeed essential, if the best results are to be obtained from the use of either. This, we trust, will become more apparent from the following considerations.

First, the ultimate criteria of Christian doctrine are not found in Scripture when it is interpreted by the critical understanding alone.

This would seem to be almost self-evident. To the perception of spiritual truth man brings other faculties besides the logical. Especially helpful on this point are the suggestions made in Professor Samuel Harris's recent work, "*The Self-Revelation of God.*" "There is," he says, "a spiritual insight analogous to that of genius, which sees into the significance of the reality revealed. In the revelation of God in the Christian consciousness the humblest mind has a vision of God, and of the universe in its relation to him, which ungodly genius, with all its powers, cannot see."¹ So Alford, in his commentary on 1 Cor. ii. 14, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, and cannot know them because they are spiritually discerned," says, —

¹ *Self-Revelation of God*, p. 87.

In the natural man "the *πνεῦμα*, or spirit, being unvivified and uninformed by the Spirit of God . . . is in abeyance, so that he may be said to have it not," and hence cannot know the things which are spiritually discerned. Let it be carefully noted here, however, that these quotations are not made, neither were they intended by their authors, to disparage the logical faculty, as though there was some other peculiar power to know God and his truth which can dispense with reason. We are solicitous only to show that in the interpretation of the Bible, and in formulating Christian doctrine based upon that interpretation, the best possible has not been done, the *ultimate* criteria of Christian doctrine have not been reached, if our reliance is solely upon the critical understanding. It has its proper work — a large and most honorable one — in the search for truth, but it is not to be employed as though it was the *whole* of man's power to know to the utmost "the things of Christ." It is the more necessary to emphasize this fact, because with the largest class of minds which concern themselves in the investigation of truth, and of religious as well as secular truth, the natural tendency is strong to exercise the logical faculty chiefly, and to rely upon its conclusions almost as though they were infallible. Hence so many systems of theology, logical and apparently complete, yet unsatisfying, unconvincing, lifeless. Into this error the successors of the great leaders of the Reformation soon fell. If the Augsburg and other Confessions were formed with due regard to reason in that large sense in which Luther had appealed to it, namely, man's whole power to know the truth, yet in the use which was made of these symbols we see how disastrous it may be to follow blindly the dictates of reason when it means nothing more than a narrow logic. Says Professor Gerhart:¹ "The symbols ruled with papal rigor. They ascended the ecclesiastical throne, and became the criteria for the sound interpretation of Scripture. Their superior authority appears in the German motto, 'Nach dieser Regel suchet in der Schrift.' Indeed, so sure was Calovius that he possessed the ultimate criteria of Christian doctrine, that he declared it 'impious and profane audacity to change a single vowel-point in the Word of God, and to substitute a smooth breathing for a rough one, or a rough for a smooth.'" We are not surprised to learn that, with such a robust confidence as that in his own opinion of the written Word, he used daily this prayer, "Imple me, Deus, odio haereticorum!"²

¹ *Andover Review*, 1885, p. 218.

² Hagenbach, *Hist. Doc.* vol. ii. p. 153. Ed. 1862.

But, second, the ultimate criteria of Christian doctrine are not found in the Scriptures when these are interpreted alone, or chiefly under the influence of the emotional nature.

This has been the common resort and the common error, in every age, of many who have been either constitutionally deficient in the logical faculty, or who have been too wise to suppose that it alone was a sufficient interpreter of the Word of God. Hence the mystics, pure, earnest, sometimes great souls, gifted, too, in many instances with wonderful spiritual insight into the meaning of Scripture and the mind of Christ, — yet vague, visionary, unreliable, and unsatisfactory. Even in the best of them, their spiritual emotion, their inner light, their *feeling* in short, as an interpreter of Scripture truth was an insufficient, often a delusive, guide. From Jacob Boehme and Swedenborg down to Brother Jasper and the wildest plantation exhorters, the men who have sought to dispense with reason and human learning, who have professed to be so enlightened by the Holy Ghost as to obtain direct visions of God's truth and the meaning of the Scriptures, have reached conclusions at the best often impracticable, — at the worst, disastrous. There is no special faith-faculty by which we can know God, or interpret Scripture, or verify Christian doctrine, apart from reason and independent of the utmost effort of the critical and logical understanding. The ultimate criteria of Christian doctrine are not found in the Scriptures interpreted alone or chiefly under the guidance of our emotional nature.

Third, the ultimate criteria of Christian doctrine are not to be found in the Scriptures as interpreted by the individual Christian consciousness.

Notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject, a word of explanation may still be proper with reference to the use and meaning of the phrase Christian consciousness. In the minds of some it is weighted with suspicion, — justly so, perhaps, — first, because its meaning is somewhat vague, and again because it was undoubtedly used by Schleiermacher in a way which endangered the authority of the Bible. A concise statement on this point is found in Vaughan's "Hours with the Mystics" (vol. ii. page 341). He says: "In Schleiermacher's theology the individual Christian consciousness is made the test according to which more or less of the recorded history of the Saviour is to be received. . . . Thus, if any say 'certain of the miracles, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, do not make a part of my Christian consciousness, — I can realize spiritual communion with

Christ independently of these accessories,' Schleiermacher tells him he may dispense with believing them." Of course, such a position is indefensible. The acceptance or rejection of any part of the Bible must depend largely upon the conclusions of the critical understanding, reverently and diligently weighing all the evidence, external and internal. Only it should be insisted upon that the individual reason is no more competent to speak the final word on any such question than the individual Christian consciousness. Indeed, it is less capable, because this latter, rightly understood, includes all that the individual reason can achieve, and much besides that is greatly helpful in distinguishing between truth and error. And, in spite of all that has been said against Schleiermacher's view of the Christian consciousness, it is doubtful if even he ever meant that any portion of sacred Scripture should be quite so lightly set aside as his critics have represented. Is it not his underlying thought that the Christian consciousness which is to dispense with any portion of the Scripture narrative must itself be the result of the most pains-taking investigation, — the product, in part, of the critical faculty tasked to its utmost, — yet not of that alone, but of the individual's whole power, spiritual as well as intellectual, enlightened, too, by the Holy Ghost, to apprehend divine truth? However that may be, one thing is certain, — that the theologians who rank, by general consent, as the disciples, in greater or less degree, of Schleiermacher, have been conspicuous throughout Christendom as the expounders and defenders of the Scriptures. The bare mention of their names is sufficient evidence of this. The names of Neander, Twisten, Tholuck, Nitzsch, Olshausen, Julius Müller, Lange, Lücke, Bleek, are not the names of men who have labored to undermine the authority of Scripture. They are known in all our seminaries as the great and successful champions of the Word of God. Yet all these men, and others like them, while not indorsing Schleiermacher's views of the Christian consciousness entirely, have, nevertheless, believed in it in some sense as a most important aid in ascertaining and determining the true doctrine contained in and concerning the written Word. It would seem, then, that a belief in the Christian consciousness, in some sense, is not necessarily incompatible with due respect for the Bible. If we should judge by the historic facts in the case, we might say that the men who have cherished such a belief have promoted the cause of sound Biblical learning beyond all others. Let us not be overcome, then, by any prejudice against the phrase. Let us say

rather with Professor Harris, of New Haven, "The intelligent use of the word, in its broader application, would be advantageous in our philosophy and our theology."¹

In order that our use of the phrase may be intelligent, if possible, let us now seek to define, as clearly as may be, what we mean by the Christian consciousness. For all practical purposes it is scarcely necessary to trouble ourselves with the metaphysics of the subject. Premising only that, as we use the word, we may be conscious not only of our own mental states and acts, but also of our surroundings, of things not ourselves, and that we use the phrase Christian consciousness as almost the exact equivalent of Christian experience, we attempt the analysis of it as follows. As the living root and basis of the *Christian* consciousness there is found in every man what we may distinguish as the *religious* consciousness, that is, man's natural sense of his own dependence, and so his natural sense of an absolute Being beyond himself on whom he is dependent. It is this which impels all men above the level of the brute to worship. Here we have religion in its first and simplest germ. It is a part of human nature — a *fact*. It cannot be ignored or discredited. When Schleiermacher and Neander turned back from the logic and learning of their day to this "feeling," as the living source of religion in the human heart, they did not have recourse to a vain imagination of their own, but to a universal and living reality. This, however, though the basis, is by no means the whole of the Christian consciousness. The *Christian* consciousness is this *religious* consciousness educated, developed, and enlightened by all that is most helpful and ennobling in Christianity itself. Hence there goes to the production of the Christian consciousness, in addition to the natural, religious consciousness, first and chiefly that wisdom which comes, and can come only, from the study of the Bible. Though the Bible may be discredited for a time by tradition, as under Romanism before the Reformation, or by reason, as in Germany when the vulgar rationalism was at its height, it is not, therefore, rendered powerless. The sacred writings are always potent to make men wise unto salvation. It is especially their potency which transforms the natural, *religious* consciousness into the *Christian* consciousness. Again, there goes to the production of the Christian consciousness all that scholarship and critical investigation can achieve. Though these alone are found at times insufficient to give the victory to faith, — though they have sometimes appeared

¹ *Self-Revelation of God*, p. 34.

for a season to be terrific foes, yet, even at their worst, they accomplish much in aid of faith. The Christian consciousness of to-day is far richer and stronger because of Strauss and Tübingen. Still further, there goes to the production of the Christian consciousness all that philosophy and science can reveal. Here, too, skepticism has often triumphed for a day, yet not without rich contributions meanwhile to Christian knowledge and Christian feeling. The Humes and Huxleys are helpers in one way. Another element which enters into the Christian consciousness is derived from Christian life and Christian history. Our wider theological outlook, our heightened sense of man's worth, even in his lowest conditions, our sensitiveness to the sufferings of the slave and the prisoner, in a word, our faith in the Son of Man, our *feeling* that Christianity is true, could not be so broad and strong were it not for our own experience of the Christian life of the present age, combined with our knowledge of the Christian life and Christian experience of the preceding centuries. And, finally, there enters into the formation of the Christian consciousness all that prayer and the present aid of the Holy Spirit in enlightening and converting human souls are permitted to accomplish. We see, then, how real and how rich even the individual Christian consciousness may become in the mind of a great Christian scholar. This feeling, — itself the ripened product of a life of prayer and study and large experience and faithful service to the Master, — in the case of a single man, like Mark Hopkins, for example, would be no mean criterion of Christian doctrine. Any phase of Scripture interpretation, any article in any doctrinal symbol which conflicted with the Christian *feeling* of such a man, would most likely be in some respect untrue. It is no such will-o'-the-wisp as some would have us believe. It is the precious product, we repeat, of natural religious feeling, and sound learning, and Scripture study, and ardent piety, all illumed and blessed by the Holy Ghost. It is more than religious feeling, for it includes this. It is more than the logical reason, for it includes that. It is more than learning, for it includes that also. It is more than piety and prayer, for these are only two of its essential factors. It is, as said before, the result of all these combined, ripened and illumed by the Holy Spirit. Such, then, is our conception of the *individual* Christian consciousness, — the whole consecrated power of a Christian soul to apprehend the truth of God revealed in the Bible. And yet we hold that when even this is brought to the interpretation of the Scriptures, it is not enough to yield the

ultimate criteria of Christian doctrine. However great, or wise, or consecrated the individual may be, no single human being can look into the Scripture, interpret its words, deduce its doctrines, and say this is final. No single individual, whatever his reasoning power, his learning, his piety, is great enough or good enough to give us his single interpretation of Scripture, and say the Scriptures, as I have interpreted them, are the ultimate criteria of Christian doctrine. Augustine, Calvin, Luther, Edwards, each has brought some part of material to build the glorious temple of Christian doctrine, but the ultimate statement of divine truth has not been furnished us by any one of them.

For, fourth, the ultimate criteria, or standards of Christian doctrine, are found at any given period in the teachings of the Bible as interpreted by the *common* Christian consciousness.

We would define this as the common feeling in any given age of the most enlightened and pious men in all Christendom about Christ and his truth. We would define it thus, because the thing we mean by the common Christian consciousness is sufficiently indicated, and the attention is not distracted by the suggestion of details respecting its nature or office. As the *individual* Christian consciousness is the product of the various forces we have enumerated, combining to produce the Christian feeling and experience of the individual, so the *common* Christian consciousness is the product of all that is most valuable in the Christian experience and knowledge of all Christendom.

Here the idiosyncrasies of the individual are left behind, his errors corrected, his narrowness enlarged, his weakness made strong. As the individual reason of even the greatest thinker needs to be modified, corrected, and aided by the collective reasoning of all other effective thinkers, so the individual Christian consciousness is modified and aided by the common experience, the common feeling of the saints of the whole church of God on earth. It is here that we find the court of ultimate appeal in all questions touching the meaning of the Scriptures and the statements of Christian doctrine. It is here that all the soundest exegesis of the past and present, — all most acute and valuable perceptions of truth, both intellectual and spiritual, in the domains of philosophy, science, religion, and society, by the greatest minds and purest saints, are silently, almost unconsciously, brought together, weighed, tested, compared, sifted. And those conclusions respecting the Bible, respecting the meaning of the Scriptures, respecting all Christian doctrine, which are found most in harmony with Christ

as He has been discerned in all the experience of his Church, are *ultimate* in the sense of being the last and best, in the order of procedure, of investigation, at any given period in the church's history. They are not ultimate in the sense of possessing authority above the Scriptures which they interpret; they are not ultimate in the sense of being final, so that no further progress can be made; but they are ultimate in the sense that, up to date, they are the latest and best conclusions respecting the truth of God in Christ.

Suppose, now, some one should incline to deny the jurisdiction of this court, and to reject its verdicts. To whom, or to what, could he appeal? To Scripture, as interpreted by some chosen master, or by his own critical understanding, or by his own religious emotion, or by some fancied inner light vouchsafed to him alone, or by his own individual Christian consciousness? In any such case the overwhelming probability is that the individual would be in error, the common Christian consciousness right. Yet there should be no servile submission of the individual on this account. For, first, the common Christian consciousness is itself valuable only because it is in part the product of the freest and utmost effort in the quest for truth by a great and choice company of individual seekers; and, again, it is given now and then to some individual to catch, before all his fellows, the latest utterances, the newest and profoundest meaning of the Christian consciousness of his generation. Such individuals are God's chosen instruments, not for reversing or destroying the true verdicts of the past, but for enlarging and enriching them, with the new significance, the yet more precious testimony of the Christian consciousness of the present. Thus Luther, before the Diet, while opposing, indeed, the *consensus* of opinion and feeling in some respects, hitherto prevailing in Christendom, was in reality appealing to a tribunal older than the Church of Rome; namely, Scripture interpreted by reason, — meaning by reason surely not the logical understanding alone, but reason in the broad sense of all that was most reasonable, according to the fullest knowledge, the best light of that day and generation. And what was this but that common Christian consciousness which, ever growing and ever becoming more impatient of the papal fetters, had filled the soul and nerved the arm of Luther until it made him a leader while it made thousands his friends and followers. Every great inventor is so because he is a little more receptive than his contemporaries of the universal reason. So every great religious reformer is such

because he is more capable than others of being filled with the swelling tide of the common Christian consciousness. If there are great waves, it is because they draw up into themselves more of the boundless ocean.

In seeking, however, for the ultimate criteria of Christian doctrine, while allowing for the exceptions we should not forget the rule. In our ordinary perplexity we cannot always have a living seer to divine for us the new significance of the Christian consciousness of our generation. And if we could have such an one, we should be quite as likely to stone him as to believe him. Hence the question confronts us again: if we reject the verdicts of the common Christian consciousness, what arbiter is there to which we can appeal with any greater confidence? There is none. Practically, as a matter of fact, the ultimate criteria of Christian doctrine, at any given time, are the Scriptures, as interpreted by the common Christian consciousness of that time. Nor is the smart objection that it is far easier for any generation to interpret the written Word than to understand its own Christian consciousness a valid one. Doubtless some are far more sensitive to, and understand more clearly than others, the best Christian judgment and feeling of their day. As already said, now and then some individual is so preëminent in this as to become a great reformer. But it is a characteristic of the Christian consciousness of any generation that it cannot be entirely misunderstood by any. The most conservative, the most unwilling, are forced not only to understand its verdicts, but to heed them. They awake, as it were, and realize that a change has taken place in their feelings and opinions. They *cannot* write or preach as they once did. The mystic power that wrought this change in these good men was not the power of evil. It was the common Christian consciousness of their day. They had to understand it; they had to yield to it in greater or less degree.

This suggests, in conclusion, the following reflections: 1. The common Christian consciousness as an interpreter of Scripture and Scripture doctrine is *universal* in its influence. All feel its power; all have their views of Christian doctrine modified thereby. Like the air we breathe, its effect is about the same, whether consciously or unconsciously received. Take, for example, the doctrine of infant salvation. Calvin said: "The fall of Adam hath involved in eternal death, without remedy, many nations with their infant children." In the Synod of Dort, when the subject of infant damnation was being discussed, "no Calvinist of any land uttered a

word of doubt or of mitigation." "The four Congregational ministers of Boston in 1690, replying to the Quaker George Keith, declared, "That God hath nowhere revealed to us that He hath accepted of the satisfaction of Christ for all who die in infancy, and where there is no revelation there is no ground for faith."¹ Yet now the doctrine of infant salvation is so generally received that it seems almost a slander to recall these utterances of the fathers. Whence the change? It is not due solely to any exercise in critical exegesis, though this has contributed its part. Nor is it due solely to any new line of argument, in theology, or philosophy, or natural science, wrought out by the discursive reason with such cogency as to confute the iron logic of Calvin, though such argument has undoubtedly contributed its full share towards the result which has been reached. For, as has been shown, the common Christian consciousness is itself the product of all that the critical understanding and the logical or discursive reason can achieve, as well as of other finer and more spiritual factors. But in the case of the vast majority of Christians now living the change of view regarding infant salvation has come involuntarily, almost imperceptibly, as the inevitable result of the ever-growing, ever-improving Christian consciousness; the educated judgment, the common feeling of enlightened Christendom; the finely distilled product of all that has been wisest and best in all the by-gone ages of Christian knowledge and Christian experience. It is this, silently yet constantly and most effectually interpreting "the Word of God contained in the Scriptures" to all intelligent believers, which has reversed the former doctrine of infant damnation.

2. The common Christian consciousness as the interpreter of Scripture and Scripture doctrine is *progressive*. Though ultimate up to any given moment, it is not final. It is ever leading into a fuller knowledge of the divine Word. But yesterday it was content to read in a literal sense, "thou shalt not suffer a witch to live;" to-day it is busy with the theories of Wellhausen and his opponents. Truth is the same forever, but our knowledge of it ought to be changing daily. Daily we should understand it better; daily we should receive, if possible, a fuller draught than ever before from the divine fountains. To this the Christian consciousness inevitably conduces. The heights of Christian knowledge which were its utmost goals two centuries ago it has now left far behind. Its interpretations of Scripture, which were

¹ Sermon by W. Gladden, *Springfield Daily Republican*, March 15, 1879.

once the latest light breaking forth from God's holy Word, — so new then as to startle the nations that sat in darkness, — are superseded now by brighter rays coming from the same sacred source. Take, for example, the salvation of the heathen. Dr. Wayland, in 1823, preaching in Boston before the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, used these words: "Solemn as is the thought, we do believe that dying in their present state, they (the heathen) will be exposed to all that is awful in the wrath of Almighty God." In saying this he but voiced the prevailing belief of that and former generations. The common opinion then was, and had been for centuries, that the heathen would be cast into hell. Yet now the belief is generally professed that not a few, but "vast multitudes," of the heathen will be saved. To this all agree. The chief dispute is about the method by which this salvation of the heathen is to be wrought. So strong has been the current of progress from the old views on this subject to those which now prevail. Strangely enough, it is our most conservative religious teachers who no longer care to insist upon the teaching of the Westminster Catechism here. Indeed, they seem in haste to reject its declaration, that "they who having never heard the gospel know not Jesus Christ cannot be saved, be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature or the laws of that religion which they profess." It would seem to be almost heresy to say this now. Andover has said very little, if any more, as to the essential condition of salvation for the heathen as for others. The catechism says, "those who having never heard the gospel know not Jesus Christ, cannot be saved." Andover says they must at some time hear the gospel and know Jesus Christ in order to be saved. That should not seem to be very heretical after it is once settled on high authority, — Dr. Withrow and others, — that the great majority of them are going to be saved somehow. And we are confidently assured now that those who "know not Jesus Christ" can be saved, and will be saved in "vast multitudes." They are to be saved by the "essential Christ," or by an "implied faith," or by "election," through the sovereign will of God. So wide is the new departure even of the self-constituted champions of unprogressive orthodoxy. Now, whence so great a change? Whence the difference between Dr. Wayland in 1823 and Dr. Withrow in 1886? It is due to the progressive Christian consciousness. It is this which has made it simply impossible for any intelligent Christian to think and feel to-day about the fate of the heathen as was common a century ago.

And this same Christian consciousness will ultimately decide what doctrine shall prevail about the *method* of their salvation. Out of the present discussion, as in part the result of it, as well as from all the learning and prayer and piety and Christian knowledge of our time, there will come forth, in half a century or more, a settled conviction respecting the *method* of God's grace in saving the heathen, which will be just as generally and tacitly accepted as the fact of their salvation is accepted now.

3. The common Christian consciousness, while continually interpreting and testing the Scriptures and Scripture doctrine, can never supersede them.

We need have no fear on this point if we truly believe that "the Word of God is contained in the Scriptures." If it is not, those Scriptures will be superseded. Even the critical understanding alone would be sufficient to overthrow them; much more the Christian consciousness, which includes all that is potent in the understanding, and far subtler forces besides, which are "mighty before God to the casting down of strongholds." Those who fear that the Scriptures may be superseded or their authority discredited by the Christian consciousness, betray the weakness of their faith in the power of that divine Word which is contained in the Scriptures. If, indeed, any portion of what is now received as the canon of sacred Scripture does not contain in any true sense the "Word of God," that portion of the canon will in time be surely set aside. But we may rest forever assured that no Scripture which is really "inspired of God" will ever be set aside or superseded by either the common reason of humanity or the common consciousness of Christendom. On the contrary, nothing will so quickly, so gladly, so reverently recognize and cherish that divine Word which at the first began to be spoken by prophets and holy men, and which at length became incarnate in Jesus Christ our Lord, — blessed be his holy name forever! — as that consciousness of his truth and power and surpassing beauty which He himself produces in the hearts of all true believers, by ways some of which we have tried to indicate. When the faint but sweet echoes heard in stranded shells along the shore supersede or silence the roar of the ocean itself, then, not sooner, will the common Christian consciousness supersede or silence the mighty harmonies of the Word of God contained in the Scriptures. No matter to what heights reason may climb, no matter to what culture the human spirit may attain, Christ as the culmination, the fullness of the divine Word set forth in the Scriptures, will still be far on,

infinitely above all human achievement, the glorious and ever-living Word. And He, as found in the Scriptures, and as apprehended and interpreted by the common Christian consciousness of each successive age, will be, as He should be, the *ultimate* criterion of all truth.

Asher H. Wilcox.

NORWICH TOWN, CT.

THE EFFECT OF THE SCIENTIFIC TEMPER IN MODERN POETRY.

(*Concluded.*)

IV.

For, more and more, as time hastens by, our poetry takes its stand on the stern and sacred ground of fact. Modern science has ruthlessly destroyed the greater part of the subject-matter of our older poetry. The sweet old classic myths, the dew-drenched mediæval epic with its dragons and gnomes and fair bewitched ladies,—they have vanished, not only from our faith but from our verse. Our heroes no longer slash off each other's heads in the charming old fashion, and wander about in search of a convenient wizard to put them on again; mermaids do not abound in the British Channel or the Atlantic; and even the dear fairies have ceased to trip through our verse in dainty guise. Our poetry that rings true ignores such subjects utterly. If we wish to find them treated we must turn to the poetry which is but a morbid though often a powerful effort to reconstruct the past. In whatever direction we look we find evidence that modern poetry has consecrated itself to the study of actual conditions. What is the difference between the loftiest poem and the crudest naturalistic romance? Not that one studies fact while the other rejects it, but that the one photographs while the other interprets. Both insist on literal and accurate truth; both exclude the adventitious elements of interest which were once considered essential. Preternatural and improbable incidents are as rigidly ruled out by a Wordsworth as by a Zola; they are ruled out through the whole extent of modern poetry.

To substantiate this assertion in detail would be interesting; but the exclusion is, perhaps, most remarkable, as it is certainly most complete, in one special direction. In the solemn moments

when they approached the nearest to the secret of existence, and dealt with the elemental passions of the human heart, the older poets almost invariably sought to add depth and sacredness to their creations by the introduction of an objective supernatural force. Even the poet of unlimited resources and most free from any taint of morbidness has not shrunk from this expedient. In his most intense situations, where the emotions are strained to the utmost, and the real is separated from the apparent, Shakespeare emphasizes most strongly the supernatural element. The mysterious hags surround Macbeth upon the blasted heath; the gray ghost of the murdered Dane still walks his castle ramparts; the spirit of Cæsar seals the fate of Brutus. In the crisis of the drama, when the actual life of actual man is most intensely portrayed, come these strange visitants of pity or terror.

But to us they appear no more; or, if they appear, it is but as faint allegorical attractions, as interesting subjective illusions, or at best as the ornament of a graceful mediæval revival, employed in the same spirit as obsolete words, or the quaint customs of a dead chivalry. Where in modern poetry shall you find a genuine, vigorous, effective ghost? Where, indeed, except in the morbid imaginings of a solitary Yorkshire girl, cut off from the current of modern life; and even in that wonderful study of "Wuthering Heights" the ghastly horror of the conception lies in the fact that the spirit of Catharine is neither visible nor mentioned, and is realized only as reflected in the awful bearing of the man possessed. Even in Browning, the lover of abnormal types and diseased conditions, this element is entirely absent. His interest and ours no longer centres in the spirit summoned back to earth; it centres in the twisting and turning of the mind of the so-called medium, his tricks, his whines, his clever sophisms, his half-beliefs. The most effective of the older methods of exciting awe has been lost to us.

"I look for ghosts — but none will force
Their way to me; 't is falsely said
That ever there was intercourse
Between the living and the dead."

This is the conclusion of our serious thought, reflected in our serious poetry.

Surely there has been seen, in the whole history of poetic development, no so radical and remarkable a change as has occurred to-day; and to all lovers of poetry the change must seem at first, I think, a very doleful one. We look about — those of us whose

enthusiasm is not aroused by the stupid parts of nature, by worms and sticks and the articulation of cockroaches' tails — with a mournful expectation of finding life very prosaic. Our childhood's paradise, the sphere in which the imagination lived and worked, has seemingly been hurled away into space; it is no wonder that we gaze after it with sorrowful hearts, and feel that the power of poetic vision will droop and die, deprived of its natural atmosphere.

Yet, after the first, we begin to see that there may be compensations for our loss. We suspect dimly that the mystery of light may be as suggestive as the mystery of darkness; that men and women, aglow with passion, radiant with thought, wondrous in personality, may prove as interesting as the most delightful of nymphs and griffins; that, in short, the truest idealism may rise from the most genuinely realistic basis. In the midst of our regret for the charming elements of old romance we remember Landor: — "The human heart is the world of poetry; the imagination is only its atmosphere. Fairies and genii and angels themselves are at best its insects, glancing with unsubstantial wings about its lower regions and less noble edifices." As we fear lest the rejection of the supernatural imply denial of spiritual agencies, we feel, in listening to Carlyle, that perhaps we are only beginning to look for those agencies no longer without us but within us: "Ghosts! There are nigh a thousand million walking the earth openly at noontide; some half-hundred have vanished from it, some half-hundred have arisen on it, ere thy watch ticks once." There comes to us a deepening sense of the mystery and solemnity of actual life, and we begin dimly to surmise that the true function of the imagination may be to work, not in subservience to capricious speculation, but in harmony with perceived reality.

But the true significance and scope of this change can be definitely apprehended only when we consider it, not as an isolated phenomenon, but in relation to the other great movements in the historical development of poetry. The briefest summary of these movements will suffice.

Till the end of the Elizabethan period English poetry hardly knew how to deal with the mass of material presented to it. A world of marvel pressed in upon the poet on every side; and the strange romance of actual existence blended with the ungoverned creations of fancy to produce in his mind a shifting phantasmagoria as confused as it was beautiful. His personality was literally swamped in the flood of passion and beauty that surged

around him. Choice was a matter of accident, not of method; order and arrangement were hardly thought of.

Then came the reaction. A generation arose which felt keenly the incoherent and disorganized character of this extraordinary poetry; and it went to the other extreme. Harmony and proportion were its watchwords. It introduced law into methods of form, control into methods of thought. Its work was necessary, but the effect on poetry was narrowing; for it rejected all phenomena which it could not classify; it restricted scope while they perfected method; and the laws under which it worked were inferred, not from reverent study of the controlling principles of nature, but from self-centred speculation.

Thus the romanticists ignored law, while the classicists despised fact; and the world of the one is incoherent, while the world of the other is artificial. Before the revolution the classical spirit was, on the whole, predominant, though new forces were beginning to appear. The poet still felt that if any phenomenon refused to be assigned some special place in his neatly arranged scheme, the world and not himself was responsible for the confusion. And as the subjects which could be utilized by a literary method of so narrow a scope were practically exhausted, the outlook for poetry was not encouraging. The emptiness, not only of poetry but of all knowledge, was indeed clearly recognized by the keenest minds at almost the beginning of this period. Wrote Cowley in a panegyric on Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation:—

“Thou, Harvey, sought for Truth in Truth's own book,
The creatures; which by God Himself was writ;
And wisely thought 't was fit
Not to read comments only upon it,
But on th' original itself to look.
Methinks in art's great circle others stand
Locked up together, hand in hand.
Every one leads as he is led,
The same bare path they tread,
And dance, like fairies, a fantastic round,
But neither change their motion nor their ground.”

Nothing could better describe the condition of poetry during part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was obvious that unless some renovating and enlarging impulse from without should infuse fresh vigor into poetic thought, that thought was doomed. The direction in which such an impulse would most efficiently work, was also obvious. It should unite the essential power of the two opposing schools. It should recognize as the

central point of the universe a controlled and even will; yet it must also open itself to the full to every revelation from the outer world.

The influence came; and it came from the most improbable quarter. The scientific temper, falsely conceived, had seemed to be drying up the very roots of our poetry; the scientific temper, rightly apprehended, was to infuse into its veins a fresh and vigorous sap. We cannot here trace the development of science during the long transition from speculation to observation; but the end is known to all. The characteristic of the scientific thought of the century has been the union of a profound recognition of law with a passionate reverence for fact. The scientific temper has permeated in all conceivable directions our modern life; it has therefore come in direct contact with the instincts of the poet. Now this union presented the very elements for the lack of which, as we have tried to show, poetry was withering away. It retained and encouraged the orderly methods which had become almost a law of thought; but it invigorated them by bringing them into harmony with the formative principles of nature. It taught that true harmony lay back of human invention in the very constitution of the universe, and that man was not to evolve it from his own imaginings, but to discover it in the workings of objective and eternal law. Thus it at once sanctioned and exalted the classical love of method. And, on the other hand, it has shown us the legitimate use of these thoroughly disciplined faculties; for it has taught us to devote them to the interpretation of the wonderful world around. This world had been practically ignored from the time of Elizabeth to that of Cowper; it had never indeed been studied with critical yet wakeful eyes. It has been reserved for the scientific spirit to rediscover it for us, and to proclaim that there is without us an inexhaustible wealth of poetic material never systematically explored. And the more our poetry listens to this summons, the more clearly it perceives the truth of the message. It discovers a world so rich in wonder and beauty that the loftiest poetic power finds full scope in its interpretation, and need never be tempted to seek within itself a creation more full of spiritual significance; and, realizing with amazement the infinite breadth and depth of the revelation that awaits it without, it inevitably rejects with impatience, and almost with scorn, the spurious, strained, and unreal fancies with which its childhood was pleased.

It is really wonderful, when one considers, to see how few and

scattered are the elements in the great world of reality which have been touched by the interpreting finger of poetry. Scarce, indeed, and constantly repeated, are the governing motifs of our older poetry. One can almost catalogue them on one's fingers. The elementary passions of man — love, hate, jealousy, ambition, fear — are grandly rendered in broad, simple touches ; but of the subtle play of character upon character, of those infinitely complex and delicate situations which make up life, we find few hints. The English country in May, with its quiet meadows, its daisies and larks, is preserved for us in dewy freshness ; but for any description of star-y-pointing mountains, or the multitudinous roar of the ocean, we look in vain. As we glance about us at the seething earth and then turn to our book-shelves, we must feel, I think, that, except in its most obvious aspects, the world of nature and of human life alike wait their interpreter.

To a great extent they wait him still. The new vistas opened are so bewilderingly many that the feet of poetry naturally pause before entering upon them. Yet in the great outburst of song which ushered in the century, and has continued with no pause till the present day, we may already trace a change, — a change so great that it seems inconceivable until tested by careful and minute analysis. Two great tendencies are to be traced in this modern poetry. On the one hand, there is an extension of the scope and variety of poetic form, which allies itself to the classical enthusiasm for good technique, broadened by contact with the scientific perception of harmonious law. This tendency bears fruit in the high technical standard for verse obvious in every magazine ; it has given us the exquisitely modulated melody of a "Christabel," and the fine workmanship of a Rossetti. On the other hand, the enlargement of scope is even more noticeable in the case of subject than in that of form. It is amazing to see how many more topics are now treated in poetry than ever before. Even the time of Elizabeth seems poverty-stricken indeed, as compared to our own, when subjected to this criterion. Wordsworth has shown us the beauty of the lives of ordinary men and women ; Shelley and others have created the imaginative treatment of nature for its own sake ; Browning has brought within the sphere of poetry subjects upon a cursory glance most unpoetic. But not only extensively but intensively — to use technical terms — has the province of poetry been enlarged. We treat of more subjects ; but still more striking is the greater minuteness and accuracy of method in rendering any given theme. For this

change, the scientific temper, which has first taught us the power of detailed vision, is obviously responsible ; and the change is in accordance with the strictest law of scientific development. Literature, like everything else, proceeds from vague to definite, from general to specific. It no longer asserts ; it contemplates.

When poetry first began to appreciate the charms of observation it passed through a brief but curious phase. For a time it appreciated nothing else. The pseudo-scientific school at the close of the last century could see nothing in nature but an accumulation of details. Were the details sordid ? No matter ; there they were, and they should be described. Listen to Cowper, on the raising of cucumbers : —

“The seed, selected wisely, plump and smooth
And glossy, he commits to pots, of size
Diminutive, well-filled with well-preserved
And fruitful soil, that has been treasured long,
And drank no moisture from the dripping clouds.
These on the warm and genial earth, that hides
The smoking manure, and o’erspreads it all,
He places lightly ; and as Time subdues
The rage of fermentation, plunges it
In the soft medium,” etc., etc.

It is as impossible to deny that this is scientific as to affirm that it is poetic. Poetry, however, soon recovered from this attack of literalism. It realized that its function was not to catalogue but to interpret, and that the power to transfigure was as necessary as the power to perceive.

Thus from the time of Wordsworth, our modern poetry gives us objective truth, faced unflinchingly, lovingly, and minutely, but fused with the true imaginative spirit. A comparison of bits of description will show us clearly the distance we have traveled since early times. We will take first the same effect, and that a vague one ; but even in dealing with mist and vapor, the clear-cut precision of the modern stands out sharply against the weird cloudiness of the elder poet. Our first quotation is from the great Saxon epic, *Beowulf*. Mr. Arnold’s beautiful lines hardly need an introduction : —

“They in a dark land, cliffs of wolves dwell, windy nesses, dangerous marshes, where mountain-stream, under cloud of the nesses flows down below, a lake under the earth. . . . That’s no un-haunted place. Thence the boiling of waters rises up high, wan to the clouds, when the wind rouses the hateful storms, while dark grows the air, the heavens weep.”

"Ye storm-winds of Autumn
Who rush by, who shake
The windows, and ruffle
The gleam-lighted lake, —

"Ye are bound for the mountains !
Ah ! with you let me go
Where your cold distant barrier
The vast range of snow,
Through the loose clouds lifts dimly
Its white peaks in air.
How deep is their stillness !
Ah ! would I were there !

"Where the white mists forever
Are spread and unfurled
In the stir of the forces
Whence issued the world."

Let us take an instance in which a closer resemblance might be expected. Probably no two poets were ever more nearly akin in temperament than Spenser and Keats ; and whatever differences exist were rather on the ethical than on the æsthetic side. When, therefore, we find a fundamental contrast in their treatment of the same subject, we naturally infer that it may be ascribed less to the individuality of the authors than to the distinctive characteristics of their times. Listen, then, to a forest of Spenser's, — Spenser the elaborate, the overloaded with detail, — and then to a forest of Keats' : —

"Enforced to seeke some covert nigh at hand,
A shadie grove not far away they spide . . .

"Much can they praise the trees so straighthe and hye,
The sapling pine, the cedar proud and tall —
The vine-propp elm, the poplar never dry,
The buidler oake, sole king of forests all,
The aspen, good for staves; the cypress funerall" —

And so forth, and so forth. Fancy the courage of a modern poet who should venture to describe his trees as "straighthe" and "hye." They are excellent words, and perfectly true ; but there is about them something obvious which fails to appeal to the modern reader.

Keats has but one tree in his forest ; and he gives the spirit of it, not by enumeration of details, but by grand imaginative grasp of the whole. Yet who can read the lines without feeling himself in the very presence of the hushed and dusky wood ?

"As when, upon a tranced summer night,
Those green-robed senators of mighty woods,

Tall oaks, branch-charmèd by the earnest stars,
Dream, and so dream all night without a stir,
Save from one gradual solitary gust,
Which comes upon the silence, and dies off
As if the ebbing air had but one wave."

Or, if one like to compare with Spenser a modern fragment in the enumerative method, take Wordsworth, with his

"Tall ash-tree, sown by winds, by vapors nursed,
In the dry crannies of the pendent rocks ;
Light birch, aloft upon the horizon's edge,
A veil of glory for the ascending moon ;
And oak, whose roots by noontide dew were damped,
And on whose forehead inaccessible
The raven lodged in safety."

But it is impossible to substantiate such an assertion as we have made by any mere group of quotations. Its truth can only be tested by a familiarity with the whole range of English poetry. Failing this, the next best thing which we can do is perhaps to judge Hercules from his foot, — to take up, that is, one or two narrow lines of topic common to all poetry after the comparative method. An exhaustive and minute analysis of this kind would be necessary as an adequate criterion of our statement ; but it would fill volumes ; and a few hints may at least show the method which such an analysis ought to follow.

The number of lines which invite investigation almost defies choice. Any one would serve our purpose of demonstrating the increased minuteness and accuracy of modern poetry ; but it will be as well to take the line in which such a growth of minuteness would not be *à priori* expected. Now, if anywhere, it is in the treatment of character that we fail to expect clearness of outline. The mental sciences have this century been thrown into a confusion from which they have hardly emerged, and it is too soon to predict the effect on literature of the new psychology. Yet we find on observation that the growing passion for the specific has introduced a new development, so curious that it might seem too fantastic to note, were it not the last step in a perfectly logical series.

The earliest treatment of man in literature is purely abstract and general. Deucalion and Adam appear as simple types of the race. A little later, and the process of individualization begins. Greeks and Trojans are differentiated in the *Iliad* ; the hero stands off sharply from the crowd of "raskell many" in *Beowulf*. Another step, and the process is carried farther. In Chaucer we

find the type, not of a race, but of a class. The Knight, — not the individual knight, you perceive, but the knight in general, — the Abbess, the Squire, the Parson, are rendered with so keen a touch that we may almost say that character begins to emerge.

Let us take another step — a shorter one this time — to the age of Elizabeth. Here indeed is a development! We find no longer man in the abstract, man the type of a whole class. The individual stands before us, separate from all other men, a Macbeth, an Othello, or a Lear. And here notice that in a certain sense the specific implies and includes the general. The Hesiodic conception of Deucalion teaches us little concerning a Hamlet; but in reading of Hamlet we find perpetually implied the truths of a universal humanity.

It would seem that we had now taken our last step. Have we not arrived at individual Man, and is not this the ultimate unit?

Let us try the experiment. Pass over two centuries more. Take down the most voluminous author on your shelves. Consider Browning. Here is a poet absolutely devoted to the study of human life; here is a canvas crowded with figures. With figures? No, not exactly. With moods rather, with psychological situations. He has carried the process of analysis and specialization a step further. His method is neither Chaucerian nor Shakespearian. His unit is not the type; it is not the individual: it is the state, the phase, the isolated and peculiar experience of the soul. The condition of a nature at some crucial moment — this is his constantly recurring theme. His favorite verse-form of the dramatic monologue is admirably adapted to such treatment; but the same method is no less evident in his longer poems. Where does the interest centre in "Paracelsus"? Does the name call up the clear-cut conception of a synthetic character, apprehended as a whole? Does it not rather suggest the successive phases of a soul's development? As the type was behind the individual, so indeed must the individual be behind the phase; but the interest penetrates deeper, and fixes itself on the complexities of a special situation.

This method is in a measure that of all modern poets — even of Rossetti, the least scientific of them all. But it belongs in a peculiar sense to Browning; and therefore it is that he deserves to take rank above all other poets of human life. He has made his own, in the study of character, a new method; and this method not only harmonizes perfectly with the scientific spirit of close investigation, but completes the sequence of continuous differentiation carried out from the earliest times.

In other lines of investigation, less complicated by conflicting tendencies, the growth in specialization is even more obvious. Almost any element which offers itself to the poet's vision will furnish such a line. Suppose we take one which from its picturesqueness promises to be easy to follow, and devote a few minutes to the development in English poetry of the sense of color. Fancy first what a modern Nature-poem would be without it. Take from Shelley the "moon-light colored cup" of his lily, with the "fiery star which is its eye"; from Tennyson the "rosy plumelets of the larch," the "laburnums, dropping-wells of fire," and "all the silvery gossamers that twinkle into green and gold," and see how life and interest vanish. A colorless world is as dreary in poetry as it would be in reality. But let us see how far this element was emphasized in early times. Mr. Gladstone's curious hypothesis, which accounts for the complete absence of color-epithets in Homer by supposing the old Greeks to have been color-blind, is familiar to all. Turning to the dawn of our own literature, we find in the frequent nature and armor descriptions of Beowulf scarcely a single color-term, unless it be the strange "snake-colored" applied to a sword. In Chaucer, the next great representative poet, there is a certain change. That his perception of color was strong and true is obvious from such a vivid piece of work as the Cock in the "Nonne-priest's Tale," and from such bits as these: —

"Emelie, that fairer was to seene
Than is the lillie on her stalke greene,
And fresher than the May with floures new,
For with the rose-colour strof her hew" —

"And northward, on a turret on the wall,
Of alabaster white, and red corall
An oratorie, riche for to see."

But his evident appreciation only makes the customary absence of the color-element more striking. Even in the "Knights Tale," where the treatment is purely pictorial, such passages as the above can be counted on one's fingers. In the Prologue there are but a half-dozen touches, each dismissed in a single word. The white and red embroidery of the Squire's tunic, the scarlet stockings of the Wife of Bath, the black beard of the Sompno, are sharp, clear, and effective; but they are obvious and brief. The scale is limited to half-a-dozen full tones — scarlet, green, gold, and the modifications of white. Half-tints are unknown, and subtle combinations do not exist. In the poets that follow Chaucer, the

same deficiency is obvious. An occasional exquisite and natural touch makes us wonder all the more at the surrounding barrenness. Here, for instance, are two lines from that lovely poem, "The Flower and the Leafe," showing with what delicate feeling the poet had observed the translucent effect of little, new leaves against a bright sky.

"Branches brode, laden with leves new,
That sprongen out agen the sunne-schene,
Some very red, and some a glad light greene."

But it is the only unconventional touch in the whole eighty-five stanzas, except the original simile applied to the grass: —

"So small, so thicke, so shorte, so fresh of hue,
That most like unto greene wool, I woot, it was."

Glancing hastily through the later lyrists, we find the scale equally limited, the descriptive touches equally conventional and few. It is hard to believe, judging from this point alone, that these men ever looked straight at the shimmering hues of nature.

When we reach the Elizabethans, we certainly expect a change. Rich, sensuous, impassioned, they leave on our minds a wealth of sumptuous imagery which criticism instinctively characterizes as "highly-colored." But when we analyze this impression, and test it by specific reference, it mysteriously evaporates. Spenser is certainly the most prodigal author of the time. His very name calls up to the mind a gorgeous and brilliant pageant. We cannot study now the means by which he produces this effect; but it is certainly not through the use of color. His scale is the old conventional limited one; his allusions are few and commonplace. In the first book of the *Faerie Queene* there are only ten color-epithets. His only really powerful work in this line is in the *chiar-oscuro* of which he is a master: —

"At last he came unto a gloomy glade,
Covered with boughs and shrubs from heaven's light,
Whereas he sitting found in secret shade,
An uncouth salvage and uncivil wight —

"His yron cote, all overgrowne with rust,
Was underneath enveloped with gold,
Whose glistring glosse, darkened with filthy dust,
Yet well appeared to have been of old
A work of rich entayll and curious mould."

If, then, in the magnificent style of the Elizabethans we find such poverty, it is obvious what we may expect from their successors. In the eighteenth century the world becomes cold as ice and gray as ashes. It is positively wan.

And now let us turn to our own time. Here is a stanza of Shelley's, chosen at random, — a stanza which will also illustrate the exquisite use of a scientific conception : —

“As the dissolving warmth of dawn may fold
A half-unfrozen dew-globe, green and gold,
And crystalline, till it becomes a winged mist,
And wanders up the vault of the blue day,
Outlives the noon, and on the sun's last ray
Hangs o'er the sea, a fleece of fire and amethyst.”

We must not linger over the wealth of quotations that entices us. We can hardly open a page of modern descriptive poetry which is not aglow with rich color, or suffused with delicate, soft tints. The extension of the scale is no less remarkable than the frequency of its use; and the fine accuracy of discernment forms the most striking contrast to the broad, sparing touches of the elder poets. Here, for instance, is a bit from a poet of the second order, William Morris : —

“The sun is setting in the west ; the sky
Is clear and hard, and no clouds come anigh
The golden orb, but further off they lie
Still-gray and black, with edges red as blood,
And underneath them is the weltering-flood
Of some huge sea, whose tumbling hills, as they
Turn restless sides about, are black or gray,
Or green, or glittering with the golden flame.”

The increased definiteness which we notice in this line is characteristic of all. It would be delightful to take up the treatment of form, of music, of a hundred phenomena ; but we must content ourselves with a bare assertion, of which we have simply suggested the proof. Everywhere alike we should find our own poetry accurate where the old is careless, definite where the old is vague, detailed where the old is general. This, then, is the result of that new reverence for fact, introduced by natural science, which seemed at first sight so mournfully to have curtailed the possibilities of poetic work. On the one hand it has enlarged the sphere of poetry by the introduction of a new world of subjects ; on the other, it has trained the poetic vision to a delicacy of perception before unknown.

V.

Thus in all directions we find that the change which has transfigured science has breathed also upon our modern poetry. We started with questioning the power of the imagination to assimilate

the elements which form the scientific spirit; and our analysis has resulted in an answer to our question more satisfactory than we could possibly have foretold. Science has turned the eyes of poetry from the self-centred study of its own capricious fancy to the willing and joyful service of observed fact. The synthetic instinct of the imagination has been vindicated by the most recent and deepest discoveries of scientific law, so that poets hereafter may emphasize with a new assurance of truthfulness the interdependence of this complex universe. And the scientific belief in an ever-active determining energy, working through every form of life, and sweeping all things forward, has touched with renovating power the very soul of modern imaginative thought. The formative ideas of science have exerted over our modern poetry an influence as widespread as it is profound.

Our chief question has thus been answered. But there is another, which must at least be definitely recognized before we close, though we can hardly award to it an adequate treatment. Our implied attitude has been throughout optimistic. We have spoken as if the sphere of poetry would be both enlarged and enriched by this new power. Is this inevitably true? Is the strong influence of science an unmixed good? If so, it is hard to account for the unreasoned convictions of people in general, and the apparently real conviction of thinkers, that the influence of science in literature is attended by serious dangers, which tend insidiously to destroy the life of poetry by robbing it of its characteristic powers. The dangers exist; no candid mind can ignore them; and their gravity is measured by the importance and vigor of their causative principles. The idea of force may result in the mechanical fatalism which sees behind the whole phantasma of existence no loving Will, but an inert impersonal power. The belief in the essential unity pervading nature may level down instead of up; failing to raise the natural to the level of the spiritual, it may drag the spiritual to the lower material plane, till the physical aspect of life engrosses attention, and soul is viewed as the mere function of automatically-active matter. The love of fact and the habit of minute observation may fetter the imagination till it lose its glorious spontaneity and give place to a barren enumerative faculty.

These dangers are not only potential, but actual. They have entered into the very depths of much of the poetry which already exists. In our running analysis, we have seen how curiously some of them are exemplified in the school of poetry at the close of the last century, which dimly apprehended and mechanically ren-

dered certain elements in the spirit which has produced our modern science. But much more strikingly in the poetry of our own generation do we find illustrations of each and all of these tendencies. A dismal fatalism is a note that modern poetry too often repeats. In one form or another, it pervades much of our otherwise finest work. Sometimes the poet succumbs to it utterly, and his work is thereby rendered comparatively ineffective, whatever elements of power it contain. This is the case with Morris. Sometimes he struggles against it, and the strength of his conflict gives to his verse a vibrating vitality. This is the case with Arnold, Tennyson, Clough, and hosts of others. Perhaps of all our modern poets, Browning is the only one completely free from this taint. The second tendency, to over-emphasize the physical, is too obvious to need more than a mention. The name of Swinburne is enough. As for the third tendency, that the imagination may wither away, it appears in rather a different form. Stupid poetry is not unknown among us; but we have nearly learned the lesson to-day that a versified enumeration of facts is non-poetic. Darwin's "Botanic Garden" and Fletcher's "Purple Island" are not works of this century; and the only instance that I can remember of just this sort of work is, curiously enough, the queer catalogues of Whitman. But the same conviction, that there is no longer any free scope for the imagination since its new material must be drawn from observed fact, is evident in the sizable and despondent school that utterly ignores subject, uses over and over again the old motifs, and devotes its entire attention to elaborating technique.

Fatalistic poetry, materialistic poetry, stupid poetry, — these are all to be found among us. We cannot deny that in a certain sense they are fostered by the principles of natural science. Where shall be our safeguard against them?

We must look for it, not without, but within. We find it in the eternal nature and function of true poetry. For the imagination is in its very essence a spiritual faculty. It exists only as it bears witness to the reality of the unseen; and so long as the spiritual world endures, it will continue to draw unflinching vigor from a source beyond itself. Viewed in the light of its calm assurance of unseen truth, the laws and ideas of which we have spoken become transfused with a spirit not their own. From a deadening they change to a life-giving influence. The passion for Fact can never result in the narrowing spirit of bald enumeration; for the function of the imagination is to interpret. Thus

it rejoices in the inexhaustible material without, and submits itself with joyous and grateful humility to the study of the world of glowing wonder in which the soul of man is placed. The sense of Unity, finding its home and centre in faith, testifies to the infinite spiritual significance of every atom; thus it stands forth with absolute assurance as the guarantee against isolation, which is death. And the thought of omnipresent Force becomes to poetry a source of never-failing inspiration, hope, and joy; for poetry knows that that Force is God.

"I have gone the whole round of Creation; I saw and I spoke!
 I, a work of God's hand for that purpose, received in my brain
 And pronounced on the rest of His handwork — returned Him again
 His creation's approval or censure: I spoke as I saw, —
 I report, as a man may, of God's work — All's love, yet all's law.
 Now I lay down the judgment He lent me; each faculty tasked
 To perceive Him, has gained an abyss, where a dewdrop was asked.
 Have I knowledge? Confounded it shrivels at wisdom laid bare.
 Have I forethought? How purblind, how blank, to the Infinite Care.
 Do I task any faculty highest, to image success?
 I but open my eyes — and perfection, no more and no less,
 In the kind I imagined, full-fronts me, and God is seen God
 In the star, in the stone, in the flesh, in the soul and the clod.
 And thus looking within and around me, I ever renew,
 With that stoop of the soul which in bending upraises it too,
 The submission of Man's nothing perfect to God's all-complete,
 As by each new obeisance in spirit I rise to His feet."

Vida D. Scudder.

BOSTON.

PRAYER IN PUBLIC WORSHIP.

"Quand il a nommé son temple maison d'oraison, Dieu a montré que la prière est le principal de son service." — JOHN CALVIN.

It is a significant fact that among the descendants of the New England Puritans, and among the Calvinistic Protestants of France, there is to-day a similar, though entirely disconnected, outreaching after a more worshipful form of public service. In a report made to the General Association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts in June, 1886, attention was called to the fact that nearly half the churches of the State had in some way modified their old order in the direction of more worshipful forms. The report, not made by a novice but by an honored clergyman who has been in the ministry nearly forty years, earnestly recommended that attention be given to enriching the services of

the Lord's day, and making them more truly devotional. "To a larger extent than ever yet," it says, "our sanctuaries are to become houses of prayer." . . . "Refusing that straightness of prescribed form which always has proved itself a form of death, [our order] is going to afford all the variety of modes and forms of worship which can be made vital, and which the needs of differing classes of men shall require. There are uses, for example, for which a perfectly extemporaneous worship will ever be best. These uses will continue to be met. For other uses a certain proportion of forms, prepared but not imposed, are helpful to the best results." . . . "Ministers and churches are to see to it that no empty forms or idle words abuse their worship; while in spirit and in truth, and also in holy beauty, all souls and all tongues unite in the service of the Lord's day in the Lord's house."¹

The same subject of forms of worship was also under discussion in May, 1886, by the *Conférences générales* of the Reformed Church of France; while later in the year two articles in the "Revue Chrétienne" of Paris advocated an advance in the direction of the above report.

Significant truly, and of what? Not of what some zealous churchmen would have the world believe, that Puritanism is a defunct power, of which traces will soon be found only in history; but of the fact that Puritanism—and to a less degree the reforming spirit of French Calvinism—is to-day a living power; that it is more mindful than it once was of the broader wants of man's religious nature; and that at last it feels itself free, as it once did not, to appropriate and profit by the liturgical wealth of the ages. Free, for the reason that it has now fulfilled one part of its mission. There is now no more danger of the world's returning to its thralldom to the Pope of Rome than there is of its worshipping the Sphinx at the foot of the Pyramids; but there was such danger in the seventeenth century, and it was not wholly past until reformed Christianity had taken on its grand new life in this mission century. And so long as this menace threatened, there was need that some vigorous, determined, and intelligent body of Christians, like our ancestors, should deny themselves all the extrinsic beauties and accompaniments of worship which might entice men back into that deadly bondage. That it was a self-denial to many of the most intelligent of the founders of our

¹ The last National Council of Congregational Churches (Chicago, 1886), also, appointed a standing committee on the "Improvement of Public Worship."

New England commonwealth, must be evident when we reflect that they were men who were not only eminent in piety, but also distinguished for their learning, — university men, familiar with the lore of the ages, and not oblivious to the valuable elements in the historic liturgies. Not ignorantly, and not, we must believe, without a pang, but with a conscientious purpose, they gave up the good with the bad. And now, not blindly but with discrimination, taught by the ages, but not hampered by them, we, their descendants, are to resume so much of that discarded wealth as shall meet the wants of living men. That, we give due notice to our liturgy-bound friends, is the true significance of this new out-reaching among Puritans and Calvinists.

The *rationale* of the movement may be better understood after tracing briefly the history of the church liturgies. In the ancient church, by the beginning of the third century, we discern two distinct orders of service, adapted respectively to the worship of catechumens, or persons not yet received into full fellowship, and to the worship of the faithful who had access to the divine mysteries; in which latter service the Lord's Supper was administered. This rite, it is well known, was at first observed in connection with the early *Agapæ*, or love-feasts, of the church. When these were discontinued, indeed before they had been wholly abandoned, the Lord's Supper was transferred to the morning service of worship. Until now this service had been open to all, believers and unbelievers; and for some time after the transfer, as in the time of Justin (middle of the second century), there appears to have been no exclusion. The latter half of the second century, however, witnessed a marked advance from the earlier simplicity of worship, and by the days of Tertullian (died A. D. 220) a distinction was made between the earlier part of the service, to which all might still come, and the latter part, from which all who were not baptized were excluded. The earlier part of the service was very simple, consisting of the confession of sins, the chanting of psalms and hymns of praise to Christ, reading of the Scriptures, preaching, and prayer for those who were to retire, as well as, in some churches, for authorities and for the poor and the sick. The succeeding service was more formal, and by the close of the third century had developed into an elaborate ritual. The essential parts may be resolved into: (1) The offertory, or presentation of gifts; (2) The salutation, or kiss of peace; (3) A confession of faith, which early assumed the form of the Apostles' Creed; (4) The eucharistic or thanksgiving prayer, generally embodying the

seraphic hymn, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts," etc.; (5) The Consecration of the elements, using the Scripture words of institution, and a prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit to sanctify the bread and the wine; (6) A prayer of general intercession for the living and the dead, embodying the Lord's Prayer; and (7) The Communion proper. These elements were uniformly present, and, although elaborated in somewhat different order and form, there was sufficient agreement among the churches to prove their common origin. In the third century there was, no doubt, considerable latitude still given to those who officiated, the liturgy being still unwritten; but in the fourth century written forms gave to the service substantially the order still preserved to us in such ancient liturgies as those of St. James and St. Mark. The distinction at that time obtaining between the mass of the catechumens and the mass of the faithful continued until the sixth century, when, with the overthrow of paganism and the introduction of infant baptism, it disappeared from the Western Church. Thus the entire service became, in course of time, distinctively sacramental, and the elements of Scripture reading and preaching, once so prominently recognized, fell into comparative disuse.

So the service stood at the time of the Reformation. Men spoke no longer of going to worship God, or to receive instruction in the word of God, but of going to mass; the whole Christian service crystallizing around a priestly act in which the Son of God was again offered up for the sins of believers. When the reformers exposed the theological errors of this practice, and attacked its attending corruptions, they of course changed radically their own forms of worship. These changes, however, were far from uniform. On the one hand, churches which had the support of the state, like the Lutheran and the Anglican churches, contented themselves with doing away the absolute evils of the old system, scrupulously preserving all that was good and permitting what was indifferent.

Luther, it is well known, prepared a "German Mass," embodying much of the devotional part of the old service, and allowed pictures and crosses in the churches; though he magnified the reading of the Scriptures and the preaching of the word. But while he gave his approval to this formal "Order of Service in the Congregation," and never dreamed of dispensing with a liturgy, he expressly said that this order should not be binding if a better appeared. In the same spirit, and largely influenced by

Luther, all the churches of Northern Europe prepared reformed liturgies.

The Book of Common Prayer was in large part a compilation from the Roman Breviary, Missal, and other books of ritual. The order for the Morning and Evening Services was a compression, with some significant omissions and additions, of the offices used at the seven canonical hours. The order for the Communion Service, together with the collects, epistles, and gospels, were translations and adaptations of the Latin Missal.

On the other hand, such isolated reformers as Zwingli and Farel, going to an extreme in their repudiation of the Roman doctrine of the sacrament, were consistent with themselves in throwing away the entire historic ritual. Following these men, but with considerable more of conservatism both in doctrine and in matters of worship, were Calvin, Knox, and in general the reformed churches which had no strong state support.¹ Somewhat conservative, we say, these were. John Calvin was before all things a scholar and a theologian, and was in no sense an image-breaking enthusiast. The severely simple ritual which his predecessor, Farel, had instituted at Geneva was remodeled by him and given more of character and dignity. Believing, as his words at the head of this article indicate, that prayer is the chief element in the worship of God, Calvin prepared forms of prayer and an order of service for the morning of the Lord's day, and also forms for the administering of baptism and for the celebrating of the Lord's Supper. And it is to be noted that in his order for the morning service, instead of devising something new, he went back to the church of the second and third centuries, and adopted substantially its ante-communion order of worship, as follows: —

ORDER OF SERVICE IN THE CHURCH AT GENEVA.

Sentence.

Our help is in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth.

AMEN.

Exhortation to Confession, as follows:

Brethren, let each one present himself before the Lord, and with all simplicity confess his sins, and follow me with his mind, while I go before with these words:

Confession of Sins and Prayer for Forgiveness.

[Following the prescribed form given below.²]

¹ Guided by Knox, the Church of Scotland was the only state church to forego the use of a prescribed liturgy.

² I have attended worship in a Walloon church in Leyden, where this confession is still in use in its original form. Following is a translation: —

Psalm, sung by the whole congregation.

Prayer by the Minister.

[The form not prescribed, save that he "begs God to grant the gift of the Holy Spirit, in order that his Word may be faithfully expounded, to the glory of his name and the edification of the Church; and be received with becoming submission and obedience of mind."]

Sermon.

Prayer, at some length, following a prescribed form.¹

Apostles' Creed.

Benediction, in the words:

The Lord bless you and keep you. The Lord make his face shine upon you, and be gracious unto you. The Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace. AMEN. [To this was sometimes added:] Depart in peace; remember the poor; and the God of peace be with you. AMEN.

O Lord God, eternal and almighty Father, we acknowledge and sincerely confess before thy Holy Majesty that we are miserable sinners, conceived and born in guilt and sin, prone to iniquity, and incapable of any good work; and that in our depravity we make no end of transgressing thy commandments. We thus call down destruction upon ourselves from thy just judgment. Nevertheless, O Lord, we anxiously lament that we have offended thee, and we condemn ourselves and our faults with true repentance, asking thee to succor our wretchedness by thy grace.

Deign then, O most gracious and most merciful God and Father, to bestow thy mercy upon us, in the name of Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord. Effacing our faults, and washing away all our pollutions, daily increase to us the gifts of thy Holy Spirit, that we from our inmost hearts acknowledging our iniquity, may be more and more displeasing to ourselves, and so stimulated to true repentance; and that He, mortifying us with all our sins, may produce in us the fruits of righteousness and holiness pleasing to thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. AMEN.

¹ The form is too long for insertion, but may be summarized as follows:

Acknowledgment of unworthiness to appear before Almighty God, but claim to come in the name of Jesus Christ, trusting that he will be present interceding for us.

Petition for forgiveness, fitting the suppliants for further prayer.

Prayer for magistrates, that they may be instruments for furthering God's kingdom.

For pastors; and that the churches may be rescued from hirelings.

For all men,—that the lost and wandering may be reclaimed, and that the enlightened may have spiritual enrichment.

Commendation of those in affliction, asking that they may be turned thereby to repentance, and that they may be consoled.

In particular praying for those brethren who are dispersed and suffering under the tyranny of Antichrist.

That recognizing the utterness of our guilt, we may ourselves turn with full purpose of heart to Jesus Christ, that he "may extinguish our old Adam and renovate and invigorate us for a better life."

Closing with a paraphrase at considerable length of the LORD'S PRAYER.

It is not generally thought that Calvin had any perceptible influence upon or sympathy with the Prayers of the Anglican Church, however much he may have contributed to its Articles of Religion. It is a noteworthy fact, however, that one striking feature of this Genevan order of worship was afterwards introduced into the English morning and evening services through the influence of two of Calvin's intimate associates. In the first reformed Prayer Book of 1549 these services began with the Lord's Prayer, without the opening sentences, the general confession, and the declaration of the remission of sins. A revision of the book being demanded, Archbishop Cranmer invited over from the Continent to his assistance Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr. The former, who was deferred to with great honor by Cranmer, had been intimate with Calvin at Strasburg, in fact had invited him to that place when he was banished from Geneva. He was familiar, too, with Calvin's form of public worship which he first prepared at that time (1538-40) for the Strasburg church. Moreover, at the very time when the revision was making, Valerandus Pollanus, Calvin's successor in the Strasburg church, was in London, and published a Latin translation of the Strasburg (French) order of service. Accordingly when the Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI. appeared, — marking "the furthest point in the Puritan direction which was ever reached by the liturgy of the Church of England," — the Daily Prayer service began, like Calvin's order, with introductory Scripture sentences and the Confession and Declaration of the Remission of Sins.¹ Though the absolution clause did not appear in the Genevan form, — Calvin having been, as he afterwards said, "over-easy in yielding" to opposition to it, — it did belong to the Strasburg order, the Confession in Pollanus's translation being followed by these words: "*Hic Pastor ex Scriptura sacra sententiam aliquam remissionis peccatorum populo recitat, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*" Thus that striking characteristic of the beginning of public worship by acknowledging, and praying for the forgiveness of, sins — a feature of which no trace appears in all the historic liturgies for a thousand years, or from the time of St. Basil onward — was restored to the Anglican and Reformed Protestant world by Calvin's ritual. The pertinence of tracing this point so carefully will appear beyond.

¹ Even Archbishop Laurence, who obtained his promotion for trying to prove (in his Bampton Lectures) that the XXXIX. Articles were not Calvinistic (! !), admitted, though with very scant courtesy, that these opening services were derived, through Pollanus, from the Strasburg liturgy.

We have dwelt at such length on the Calvinistic type of the reformed worship for the reason that the New England churches have inherited from it the spirit and general character, if not the precise order of their worship. When in the seventeenth century there recurred in England a state of things which had obtained on the Continent in the sixteenth century, making our Puritan ancestors fear a speedy return to Rome, what so natural for them as to resort to the simpler methods of worship of their continental brethren? That they soon went beyond their models in a non-liturgical and non-sacerdotal direction is to us no matter of wonder, for reasons already explained; but it is to be remarked that these men were in exact accord with their continental friends as to the elements which should enter into the public worship of God. Prayer, praise, devout attention to God's word, — no one of these was to be overlooked. It would be a grand mistake to say that the Puritans of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, or of the English Commonwealth, through devotion to preaching forgot to worship. It was not so much the preaching, as the praying and psalm-singing soldiers that the Cavaliers derided and ran away from at Marston Moor and Naseby. It was not preachers, but worshipers, who prayed with faith, and

“ Who roll'd their psalms to wintry skies ”

who laid our New England foundations. That they stood not upon the order nor upon the liturgical beauty with which they voiced their prayer and praise, was well. It was one mission of theirs to demonstrate that man could worship his Maker acceptably without any ecclesiastical machinery. This mission they have discharged.

Addressing ourselves now to our task, what suggestions may be made towards the liturgical improvement of our more formal Sunday services? We begin with the assumption that the one supreme object of assembling in church is to worship God; not to be entertained, not to be instructed even, but to worship God. Everything connected with the service should contribute, directly or indirectly, to this end. What fails of this should thereby be excluded. Now of the several elements which enter into our worship, prayer, praise, and attention to God's word, the two latter are measurably well provided for. Not that there is not room in most of our churches for a more worshipful service of praise. We ought to have more grand chorals, more devout chants; but, on the whole, the general introduction of improved hymn-books into our churches has had a happy effect. Choirs no longer usurp

the people's function of praising God. The operative period of our church music is past, the sickly sentimental period is passing; and the future may be trusted to take care of itself. Again, the growing practice of the responsive reading of the psalms not only adds a new element of praise, but tends toward making our reading of the Scriptures a more worshipful element of the service. We are coming to recognize other uses of revealed truth besides giving to the preacher a subject for his discourse; and our Sunday readings are taking a wider range than they once had. What is yet to be desired among us is to see more Bibles in our pews, and more frequent references made to them, with occasional congregational readings of passages like the Beatitudes, the Prologue to John's Gospel, Paul's grand Triumphal (Rom. viii. 31-39), or his Psalm of Love (1 Cor. xiii.). These will doubtless come in due time. Nor can our sermons be fairly charged with lack of a devotional spirit. As was facetiously said of a respected clergyman of Essex County, in a late report of his church to the Conference, we generally preach on some religious topic. The homiletical themes of the venerable pastor of the West Church in Boston do not find large favor among us; nor do we longer in our pulpits treat "religious topics" from the view-point of scientific theologians. By its reverent presentation of divine truth the sermon uniformly aims to put men into a conscious and becoming relationship with God. Succeeding in this it is acceptable preaching.

But how now of our prayers? To say that they are not what they should be is a truism. We do not need to be reminded of this by our friends who pray by the book; we see it ourselves. But we do not see a remedy for it in a simple resort to fixed forms of prayer. To bind ourselves rigidly to such forms would only make matters worse; and happily this is an impossibility for us without subjecting ourselves to that entire system of ecclesiastical bondage which we have forever abjured. What we want, if that is possible, is to combine the advantages of freedom and prescription. The writer was present at Union Park Church in Chicago the Sunday after the great fire. The spiritual and sympathetic pastor, true as well as tender, dignified as well as devout, untrammelled by any forms, so led the devotions of that congregation that every burdened worshiper went home feeling that a ray of light from heaven had shone upon him; that there was yet something to live for, and work for, and find joy in, even in that stricken city. I venture to say that the Right Reverend members of the House of Bishops who lately met in Chicago, could they

have been present at that service, would have consented that there was one occasion when the sympathetic soul of a minister of God who was in close contact with the hearts of his people voiced the needs of that great city as no liturgy ever written could have expressed them. On the other hand, who has not listened to vagaries in public prayer such as to make him long — just for that service, perhaps — for the most interminable and unintelligible litany ever penned.

The liturgist rightly enough claims that the staple of human life is a recurring round of sins and sorrows and cares ; that it is made up of experiences peculiar to no country nor clime nor period. Chicagos are burnt but once in a thousand years. Therefore, he says, let our public prayers voice these universal wants. To which it may be answered, that although there are universal wants, yet even these take on a local coloring. The temptation against which the worshipers in Trinity Church need to be strengthened are vastly different from those for which King Mwanga and his court will need divine grace, when once they begin to pray. Should not these differences, therefore, be recognized in the public prayers of the kingdom of Uganda and of the city of Boston? Then these crises that come to communities are not to be neglected because they are few and brief ; for the spiritual histories of men at these times are often momentous, outweighing in their influence for eternity long years of ordinary living. Provision should be made for all such critical hours.

But granting all this, and all other things that can be said in favor of freedom and personality in prayer, it must still be admitted that there are certain standing wants, old as humanity, which, as a rule, ought to be voiced whenever men come together to worship God. And what is the custom in our churches with regard to these universal wants? Do we not know that our prayers oftener reflect the subjective experiences of the minister than the objective needs of the individuals, the church, the community, the nation, the world, for which he is supposed to pray? In this regard I am inclined to think our (American non-liturgical) attitude somewhat unique. Foreign pastors, even when they do not use printed prayers, are careful to voice the multitudinous wants of society in its varying classes, the rich and the poor, the leisurely and the burdened, the virtuous and the vicious ; to review the work of the church, and ask blessings upon all its departments of effort, spiritual, beneficent, and social ; to take cognizance of the state, praying for kings and for all in authority ; and, in general,

to look out upon life as an objective reality, needing for its welfare certain gifts or blessings from the Most High, which blessings they proceed to invoke, never dreaming that their personal feelings fit or unfit them for making these requests. With us, on the other hand, how often is the public prayer a simple struggling heavenward of the minister's own soul, leaving in the background, if not all untouched, this wide range of positive human wants. This feature was strikingly impressed upon the writer in passing from a city in Switzerland, where he had sat for some weeks under the ministrations of good Pastor B., to Paris, where he attended service at the American Church. Pastor B. carried the objective in prayer to a marked extreme. Besides asking for all things requisite for the bodies as well as the souls of his congregation, and remembering all the governments represented among them, the missionary intelligence of the week was duly spread before the Lord, current events received appropriate notice, — certain members of the congregation got their entire information as to the whereabouts and welfare of General Gordon from week to week from these prayers, — and if anything was forgotten by the minister, or left to the unbesought mercies of the Lord, it escaped the notice of the Americans. The Parisian preacher was a true representative of the higher order of American Congregational ministers, intellectual, spiritual, refined. His prayer lifted the souls of the worshipers to the portals of heaven. There were in it devout adoration, holy meditations, fervent aspirations, a positive if not pronounced confession of sins and prayer for forgiveness; but all moved upon the plane of the suppliant's own experiences. A lofty plane that was; no one could truly follow him without feeling the divine touch; but there was little or no attempt to present the objective wants even of the congregation, much less of the great world. If there was a petition for the presidents of the two great republics, even that seemed somehow to grow out of the preacher's own necessity of expression.

Now reason seems to call for a happy medium between these two extremes of subjective and objective petition in public prayer. We rightly shrink from objective details, such as the calling of proper names before a congregation; we are averse to seeming to instruct the Almighty as to passing events; but there is a certain range of topics, apart from any individual experience, which one who ministers for the public ought, as a rule, to traverse at the leading Sunday service. We have not, and are not likely soon to have, a litany, with its multitudinous specifications; nor

are we in a fair way to introduce the numerous special collects for which printed liturgies provide. For the present, at least, most of our petitions will continue to be offered up by the minister in his pastoral prayer. Yet, without infringing this custom, there may be helpful modifications.

In the first place we might separate from the pastoral prayer all the elements which, in harmony with our general order, may be disposed elsewhere. One such element, of the first importance, is that of the confession of sin and prayer for forgiveness. To churches of evangelical beliefs, to whom sin is still a reality and forgiveness a necessity, there is absolute need of emphasizing this feature of our devotions. But, as it is now, instead of having a becoming prominence, it is often thrust into the background, and sometimes is forgotten altogether, amid the adorations and thanksgivings and aspirations and general supplications which this prayer must embody. Why not, then, put ourselves in harmony with all the earlier (non-Lutheran) reformers by giving to the Confession and Prayer for the Forgiveness of Sin a distinct and prominent place near the opening of the service? As we have seen, it was John Calvin whose keen logic showed him the fitness of this arrangement. From him the continental churches adopted it, and from them the English Church derived it. It is safe to say that no single change which we could make in our order of prayer would be more helpful to true devotion than this, or would tend more strongly toward the *true* conservatism which we all desire to cherish. Again, we could disjoin from the pastoral prayer all petitions for blessings upon the truth preached, by assigning these invariably to the prayer at the close of the sermon. We could also simplify this exercise by adding a brief liturgical prayer after the Scripture reading, in which prayer all the congregation should join. Being thus reduced to its true proportions as a prayer of general intercession, the "long prayer" could be more readily followed and appreciated by the congregation. This might be much facilitated if successive stages, as of adoration, aspiration, thanksgiving, petitions for individual blessings, petitions for the community and state, and intercessions for the church, could be rounded into such periods — closing, possibly, with some set formulæ — as would be recognized by all the worshippers.

The changes thus suggested are apparently small, but let us see how they might be made to affect the devotional character of a whole service. Following is an order of morning worship similar

to what obtains in many of our churches, with the sole exception of the detachment of the penitential and Scriptural prayers from the pastoral prayer :—

ORDER OF MORNING SERVICE.

INTRODUCTORY. — Organ Voluntary. Doxology. Lord's Prayer. Anthem.

PENITENTIAL. — Confession of Sin and Prayer for Forgiveness.¹ Responsive Reading. Gloria.

SCRIPTURAL. — Hymn. Scripture. Summary of the Commandments (Matt. xxii. 37–40), with the *Kyrie Eleison*,² said or sung in response.

INTERCESSORY. — Prayer of General Intercession. Organ Response. Hymn. Offering.

HOMILETICAL. — Sermon. Prayer for Blessing upon the Truth. Hymn. Benediction.

The one supreme end of the service, we have said, is the worship of God. It will be observed that, following this aim, each one of these successive parts, conveniently designated introductory, penitential, scriptural, intercessory, and homiletical, has in it a prayer, as well as a song of praise. All unite in the Lord's

¹ A form in use in a Congregational church in Massachusetts is the following :—

(*Call to Confession, by Minister.*)

"The law is holy, and the commandment holy and just and good."

"Enter not into judgment with thy servant,

For in thy sight shall no man living be justified."

"But if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness."

LET US THEREFORE MAKE CONFESSION BEFORE GOD.

(*Confession and Prayer.*)

Almighty and most merciful Father : We have sinned and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done ; And we have done those things which we ought not to have done. But do thou O Lord have mercy upon us. Spare thou those O God who confess their faults. Restore thou those who are penitent, according to thy promise declared unto mankind in Jesus Christ our Lord. And grant O most merciful Father, for his sake, that we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life ; To the glory of thy holy name. AMEN.

(*Declaration of Remission, by Minister.*)

"And the Lord said, I have pardoned according to thy word. . . . I, even I am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins. . . . Return unto me for I have redeemed thee."

² After each of the two commandments is sung —

"Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law."

After "On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets" —

"Glory be to thee, O Christ, in whose strength we renew our vows to keep these laws."

Prayer. The confession may be offered by the minister alone, or, better, by the whole congregation. The responses, "Lord have mercy," etc., sung by the choir and congregation after the two commandments, should be chanted as reverent prayers, thus giving to the Scriptural part a distinctively devotional element. The intercession ought, of course, to be devotional; while the sermon, if true to its mission, will lead on to a prayer, in which shall culminate the worshipful spirit of the hour.

All will agree that if we are to make lasting progress in this direction it must be, not by revolutionary strides, but by making, from time to time, such moderate changes as shall be consonant with the genius of our order, and as shall commend themselves to the reason of our congregations. To this end, when changes are made, the reasons therefor must be clearly and convincingly set forth. When such reasons can be given, no people are more ready than those of our New England churches to make advances, even in matters of liturgy; but let them once feel that innovations are proposed from mere love of novelty, or in imitation of a system which sets up as the only correct form of divine worship, or because a minister has got some kind of an ecclesiastical bee under his broadcloth, and there is Puritan enough in them yet to resist every change.

For the two modifications here proposed we justly claim: (1) That the use of a General Confession of Sin in the earlier part of our service — which is but a return to the usage given by Calvin to the English and Reformed churches — is needed, both for its devotional value and for its conserving influence upon the doctrine of sin which underlies our evangelical system. (2) We believe that the fitness of using the two commandments immediately after the Scripture reading, to sum up the divine teachings, will be conceded by all. For the use of a prayer that these laws may be observed, we repeat the argument of this whole article, namely, that every part of a divine service should have interfused with it a prayerful element. For the use of this particular liturgical form of prayer, we urge both its inherent beauty and the fact that — in its characteristic portion — it is one of those common inheritances of the church which, like the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, has been hallowed by ages of pious use, and is thereby entitled to our recognition, as it is open to our appropriation.

Geo. A. Jackson.

SWAMPSCOTT, MASS.

EMERSON IN NEW-ENGLAND THOUGHT.¹

THE reading public has patiently waited for Mr. Cabot to fulfill the trust committed to him by the family of the Concord essayist, to give a patient, trustworthy, and adequate account of his life and career. Ample time has been taken, — over five years, — during which short or partial memoirs of Emerson have been abundant, for the execution of his task. The result justifies the confidence of the family, and will be keenly appreciated by thousands on both sides of the Atlantic, who have been waiting to verify Emerson's ethics by a better knowledge of the man. It is often the case that one who has constantly given his thought to the world as a writer leaves only gleanings for his biographer; but in this instance, while there is little variety in a career whose strong lines are already well known, — a career in which internal portraiture takes the place of contact with external life, a career in which the centre of interest is in the hero as a man of thought who speaks chiefly through his daily journal, — the painting of the inward man, so that he is essentially his own biographer, is like giving a closer knowledge of one whom we knew already, and in whose thought our own lives have expanded into beauty and power. There is nothing to surprise the faithful student of Emerson in these pages; the impression is the constant confirming of convictions already formed; the complete man is here unfolded in the letters and journals which Mr. Cabot has edited with consummate discretion and good taste. There is not a line too much, nor hardly a line too little, in the entire work; the biographer is not thrust forward at the expense of his hero, nor are there any remarks which do not grow directly out of the plainest necessity. The biography is as judiciously written as if the eternal gods had held the pen and administered justice on every page; but with all this repression, there is nothing wanting to a full elucidation of Emerson's career or to a sufficient explanation of his secret. It is a biography of our most distinguished literary American, of which even Plutarch might have been proud to be the author. It everywhere tells what one wishes to know about Emerson, and it tells no more. It deals with him honestly, and, on the whole, with the conviction that the utmost skill of the historian of a notable man's life is the simplicity of the truth. It is a much needed piece of work, extremely well done.

¹ *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson.* By James Eliot Cabot. In two volumes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 12mo, pp. 390, 431.

It is not the purpose of this article to give an exhaustive study of Emerson in the new light now thrown upon his life. The purely literary side of his career will not lack suitable attention. No estimate of his work as the first of American authors will be attempted. Attractive as this subject is, and the "Memoir" fully sustains the rare unity which subsists between the man and his writing, one must not be led aside from a special task to take it up. It is now forty years since Theodore Parker, with the magnanimity of a great scholar, rose to an appreciation of Emerson's merits as the leader of American literature in an essay contributed to the "Massachusetts Quarterly Review," from which there is not a word of praise to be discounted to-day. He saw Emerson as one of the immortals, and dedicated to him his best work, the "Ten Sermons," as the one in whom their spirit was best fulfilled. It was Emerson's experience, both in Europe and America, so far as people gave his work serious consideration, to be regarded as one of the authors whom Goethe would have included in his world-literature. He could not be kept within the confines of good English, but, like Goethe, crossed over sea and through dialects which he could not speak himself until he compassed the bounds of civilization. Parker was sure in his word of prophecy for his friend. He said: "Emerson belongs to the exceptional literature of the times, and while his culture joins him to the history of man, his ideas, and his whole life, enable him also to represent the nature of man, and so to write for the future." This is exactly the note of the man which is struck in the opening of his career, even in his earliest years. It was, in fact, the hereditary note; it was the bearing of a self-reliant youth, unconscious that in a certain lofty carriage of the head he had the air of one dwelling apart in another sphere. Judge Loring completes the portraiture for this period. "My clearest recollection," he says, "is that Emerson was singularly free from faults, and this was the substratum for his subsequent expansion in character and intellect." His grandfather once said to his own father, who was walking before him on their way to church: "William, you walk as if the earth were not good enough for you." "I did not know it, sir," he replied, with the utmost humility. Ralph Waldo had his father's distinguished air in this respect, and it was supported by a voice and a ripeness of thought which indorsed the outward bearing. The child was the father of the man. His early seriousness threw him constantly into company with those older than himself; he had a way of saying things that could not

be forgotten from the first years of childhood. When he was in his eighteenth year, fresh from college, and teaching a young ladies' school at Kennebunk, he confesses: "I was at the very time already writing every night in my chamber my first thoughts on morals and the beautiful laws of compensation and of individual genius, which to observe and illustrate have given sweetness to many years of my life." There was no time after he had passed out of childhood, when his mind was not taking its own direction and finding its way to the ideal world. Slow to sluggishness as he seemed to be in things of outward life, in the sphere of speech and action, his sight inward was unfailing, and his intuitions were keener and stronger than those of most men at his age.

Emerson's intellectual maturity was such that his style was acquired, and the serious habit of his mind formed, by the time that he had reached his majority. His growth was like an accelerated force of nature, where nothing is lost in the increments of power. His journal reveals this maturity with great clearness. It is the record of his daily mental life. Out of this portfolio, which resembles Amiel's "*Journal Intime*," grew the materials which found place in his early sermons, lectures, and essays; it expressed the substance of his entire thought. He was always at work upon some ethical problem. It was not the meditation of the scholar, revolving different systems in succession, so much as the discovery of increasing powers in himself, or the resolution of the difficulties by rising to more inclusive thought. He had the strength to blaze his own path through the wilderness of human speculation, and it was really his independent brooding over the ethical problems of life, as they are seen in themselves, which gave both the detachment from traditions and the capacity of seeing truth in the clear that marked his didactic teachings. Nothing is more remarkable in this "*Memoir*" than the rising constantly above the present limitations of spiritual law to its significance in the mind of God. The purity of his life, the sanity of his temperament, the detachment of his mind, wrought for a common end in the larger treatment of the whole of his own existence. Emerson constantly looked at himself in ethical dissection as the typical or representative man. His writing is at the furthest remove from the exaltation of himself as an individual; his aim, if he studies himself, is simply to assert the individuality of the race. He has the spirit of the writers of the New Testament manuscripts; he sets down his thought regardless of where it hits, with a certain grand impartiality. As you gain

possession of his method of thought, if this is possible where there is no system beyond a few affirmations, two things are to be noted. One is the limitations imposed by his own narrowness as an individualist; the other is the largeness of the man on the side of the free and discursive spiritual reason. All the conditions of childhood and youth were in favor of his religious training, and in early manhood the imagination was quickened along spiritual lines, which became lines of power. The extracts from his journal tell the story of the marvelous growth of his spiritual discernment. He is already the intuitionist, the seer, the man who speaks for God. The reading of his essays in connection with "Nature," and his earliest lectures, including the "Divinity School Address," reveals a gradual growth into largeness of spirit, into a grasp of realities which refuse adequate expression in words. The two persons in him, the individualist and the seer, are not in conflict, nor are they fused together, but they enable him from the first to reach a point of view not taken by his contemporaries. He sees everything as if he were the sole person in the universe, but this is united with the capacity to grasp things as wholes, to feel atmospheres, to measure life and force through the imagination. The real and the ideal meet in him in such equal proportions as they have met in few men at any time. It is as if Plato and Aristotle had wrought at their best in imparting to him their characteristic qualities. There is no boyhood, no youthful period in Emerson; he is a man, and has the thought and expression of his ripest years almost from the start. He is engaged in serious thinking when young men of his age to-day are hardly beyond their base-ball enthusiasms. As a youth of twenty summers, he writes of the situation in New England that "the light of Christianity seems to be somewhat lost." Looking forward to the preparation for the ministry at this time, he says: "When I have been at Cambridge and studied divinity, I will tell you whether I can make out for myself any better system than Luther, or Calvin, or the liberal besoms of modern days." He is already self-reliant to the extent that he sees things for himself. In his thirtieth year he is in Europe, and here the same mental independence is manifested. There were four men in England who stood for him as objects of personal interest before all Europe, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Landor, and Carlyle, but when he had seen them, he still hungered for the sight of a man who should fill out his ideal in thought and action. His eye is for the grand manner; his thought has the largeness of his ideals.

It is necessary to see this capacity for inclusive thought, and especially of spiritual thought, in a proper light, if Emerson is to be understood for what he is worth in relation to the religious life of New England. No man has more powerfully influenced it or been less conscious of the way in which he did it. His mental constitution was such that he constantly saw beyond the moment and felt his way where he could not see. The writer of the fragments of philosophic verse prefixed to his essays displays a unique power of seeing things in their wider relations as wholes, and it is here that Emerson surprises and helps those who read his writings and enter into his spirit. Neither Calvin nor Priestley nor Locke can keep him in their fine-spun boundaries of thought. He is not the logician who can follow their theories or consent to their conclusions. His imagination, controlled by a pure heart and by practical common sense, outruns their lumbering gait and sees things from the centre and in their relative proportions. Theodore Parker in 1847 said: "His position is a striking one. Eminently a child of Christianity and of the American idea, he is out of the Church and out of the State. In the midst of Calvinistic and Unitarian superstition, he does not fear God, but loves and trusts Him. He does not worship the idols of our time, wealth and respectability, the two calves set up by our modern Jeroboam. He fears not the damnation these idols have power to inflict, neither poverty nor social disgrace. In busy and bustling New England comes out this man serene and beautiful as a star, and shining like 'a good deed in a naughty world.' Reproached as an idler, he is as active as the sun, and pours out his radiant truth on lyceums at Chelmsford, at Waltham, at Lowell, and all over the land. Out of a cold Unitarian Church rose this most lovely light." This statement represents at his full maturity what Emerson began to be even during his residence at the Harvard Divinity School. He was not a theologian in the doctrinal and logical sense, but most eminently so in the fact that his mind was habitually occupied with religious truth. Again Parker unconsciously speaks the word which best describes the position. Remarking upon the effect of reading his books, he says: "Emerson leaves you tranquil, resolved on noble manhood, fearless of consequences; he gives men to mankind, and mankind to the laws of God." These were really the ends to which his whole life was given — Manhood and Godhood. It was the development of the divine in man and the reunion of man with God. It has been said that if you scratch the skin of a New Englander, you find a

Puritan. It is true of Emerson that he was rooted and dyed in Puritan thought. Seven generations of Puritan blood had not flowed through his veins for nothing. Deeply imbedded as his thought was in the strong convictions of his spiritual fathers, imbedded to the extent that he calls himself the devotee of "ancestral religion," his imagination constantly lifted him into the sphere of the grand religious life of his great ancestors, whose souls were on fire with the severity and majesty of their thoughts of God, and whose actions were the complement of their thought. He rose to their heights and never lost his appreciation of their work. No man has better estimated their services to New England or the nation.

He began his career as a thinker, when the grand enthusiasm and the grand manner that went with it had been lost, when the Puritan constituency had divided into two hostile camps and the doctrines of a severe religion stood out in a grim relief from which many recoiled. His father's position threw him into the Liberal household. He first saw the world under the light of Liberal ideas. His immediate traditions were hostile to the Puritan party. He sniffed at what seemed to him a hard and formal religion. But it was impossible for Emerson to be a partisan. He had from the first a largeness of thought which very few could reckon at its proper value in the religious embitterments of his early manhood. He approached Christianity on the ethical side, and his earliest discourses were not unlike the "Essays" which, after the publication of "Nature" in 1836, were his first introduction to the world. They contain, perhaps, more fully than any other writing his religious creed. The papers on "Self-Reliance," "Compensation," "Spiritual Laws," "Love," and "The Over-Soul" reveal the natural working of his mind in the realm of spiritual truth. His ideas of God and Man and Nature seem to have been partly the absorption of the ethical atmosphere in which he was trained, and partly that revelation of the truth which is given to positive men who are pure in heart and in thought. He never had the change from a sinful to a consciously religious life, which is the traditional preparation of the soul to see God. His childhood, his youth, and his early manhood were all of a piece; always simple truth was "his utmost skill." His opinions grew into shape as the native atmosphere of his soul. He had relation in a formal way to the Unitarian faction, but, like Channing in his later years, he was one of the severest critics of the Unitarian position. He saw in it the antipodes of Orthodoxy,

but its truth of life and of spirit was subordinated to a dogmatic position which could not be maintained with consistency. It appears from his journals of this time that he regarded both the Orthodox and Unitarian positions as indefensible in point of fact, because they were the logical extremes of defection from a larger apprehension of central truth about God, the Christ, and the Holy Spirit. He had a natural reverence for the religion of his ancestors, with a growing aversion to its practical manifestations in social life. He had a growing dislike for the religion of his own kith and kin because, while it reduced the Son of God to a Son of genius, it constantly turned to Him for the authority conveyed by a divine revelation. There was a fatal denial in the Unitarian position of the very dogma on which they claimed to be superior to the old faith. They were trying to reach a catholic position by a vicious method which prevented even the sons of the Puritans from obtaining that larger insight into divine truth which the expansion of life required. It is very important to note the likeness of method by which both parties hoped to reach a larger apprehension of the truth, and the reason why neither party could satisfy a mind intent upon central ideas as Emerson's was. In the divergence of Emerson from both parties, as religious dogma was then understood, are to be found the fruitful seeds of later changes and present movements which have the character of a religious revolution. Both the Orthodox and the Unitarian agreed in their belief in the individual judgment as to how much or how little truth should be held. Neither party had, and neither party seemed to be in a position to grasp, the whole truth. They were dealing with opinions about God's relation to man; about the method by which man might be renewed in his spiritual nature; about the reality of God's contact with the soul through the Christ; about the method of operation in the Over-Soul; and the whole matter was in the perpetual seesaw of individual opinion, where there could be little advance and less satisfaction as time went on. The earlier fervors of the Puritan faith had lost their power to inspire life, and the minimizing of Christian belief had not brought the power to compel society to righteousness of thought and act. It was Emerson's fortune to see the defect of the religionists who had the best right to his respect, and to reach as an individualist nearer the central position which both parties had strayed from, than any other Christian thinker of his day. He had that sanity of thought and spirit which revealed to him the defect of formalizing doctrines that are best held in freedom,

which was the error of the ancestral religion of New England; and he was too spiritual a man to be contented with the game of hide and seek which the Unitarians of that day were playing with the revelation of God to man in the Person of Jesus Christ. He was himself an individualist, and no man of his time had more of the firmness of convictions which he could not explain beyond his affirmations; but, without giving reasons, there was a basis for his conclusions in the spiritual largeness and openness of his thought of God and man which enabled him to gain a better vision of spiritual relations and activities than was vouchsafed to men less detached from the prejudices of current belief. This could not be seen at the time, nor was Emerson probably conscious of the remarkable affirmations which the divine voice within his breast compelled him to make; but the power that slowly went out of him into New England society, the voice of a religion that had to do with things of the spirit, the statement of truth apart from an elaborate dogmatic system, the vision of God, and the faculty divine of stating it in a large way, began fifty years ago a religious revolution which so keen an observer as Theodore Parker recognized at once, and whose broader and later recognition is to be traced wherever the writings of Emerson have been read and studied for their ethical affirmations, whether in the thoughtful leisure of the Orthodox ministry, or in the enforced leisure of those whose doubts have driven them to think and pray their way through them in the light of his strong beliefs in natural truth.

While the position of Emerson in New England thought can be seen to-day in the light of his "Memoir," so that he emerges from the writers and thinkers of his time, as Coleridge emerged and still rises magnificent among the leaders of English thought for the century, it must be qualified by a statement of what he was not. Heretofore his ascendancy has been disputed by a constant affirmation of what he was not; but when God puts a supreme style of man into this world and permits the divine light to shine through him, He does not make him perfect. The solidarity of life is not in one man or in the mass of men, but in the wisdom of the best men reached through the great agreements of character, whether expressed in word or deed. Where Emerson touches life, he touches it in the sense of these great agreements. His eminence is that he expressed to a certain degree, in language entirely free from theological taint, such thoughts as must have come to Abraham on the plains of Chaldea or have affirmed themselves to Job under a Syrian sky, — thoughts

of God and of man, thoughts of the mystery and largeness and nobleness of life, in which there is such detachment from present surroundings and such symmetry of statement that you feel as if the world had been created anew to your spiritual vision. The largeness of Emerson is the largeness of his ethical insights, as they are manifested under the glow of an imagination which has creative moral power. But when you undertake to put the strait-jacket on him and bring his thought within the conventional limits, the individual Emerson is too stubborn a character to submit to your tailoring. He is an egregious misfit everywhere. In this light, which is the light in which many religionists have heretofore regarded him, he is grievously misunderstood. He must be taken as he is; and from the positive position in which he stood and did his work, with all his limitations, he is one of the strongest and most pervading influences which have entered into our religious life. He was a strict successor of the Puritans in his individuality, but there was mingled with his blood the intellectual sunshine which the Puritan had not in his making. Narrow as he seems when you say what he was not, men have found in his thought a breadth and catholicity which reveal one who dwelt in an upper realm where the intellectual disagreements of his time were lost sight of in the central unity of essential truth. Emerson did not follow the theological method, did not apparently know much about theology, did not have the patience to work his way through any system of divinity, had not that sort of mind, refused to carry his thoughts to their logical conclusions, worked, in fact, as the poet works, by the steps of an insight which is as sure as woman's intuitions, but this did not prevent his reaching, in a broader and surer way than was known to the theologians of his day, and on a higher plane, the great truths which involve our human relation to God. When you demand system and consecutive reasoning, Emerson leaves you, as Montaigne does, to affirm for yourself what he has seen or known. When his famous "Divinity School Address" had disturbed the Unitarians, he characterized it as "the storm in our washbowl." It had no effect in leading him from his chosen course, and he would do nothing to put himself right with those who could not understand him. This indifference to an issue was not in the least an indifference to the truth involved in it. Dr. Convers Francis says of an interview which he had with Emerson soon after the delivery of the Address: "He is perfectly quiet amidst the storm. To my objections and remarks

he gave the most candid replies. Such a calm, steady, simple soul, always looking for truth and living in wisdom, I have never met. He is not a philosopher; he is a seer. If you see truth as he does, you will recognize him for a gifted teacher; if not, there is little or nothing to be said. But do not brand him with the names of visionary or fanatic or pretender; he is no such thing; he is a true, godful man, though in his love for the ideal he disregards too much the actual." Emerson himself wrote at this time in his journal: "A believer, a mind whose faith is consciousness, is never disturbed because other persons do not see the fact which he sees." When writing this discourse, he set down in the same journal these words: "We shun to say that which shocks the religious ear of the people, and to take away titles even of false honor from Jesus. But this fear is an impotence to command the moral sentiment. If I can so imbibe that wisdom as to utter it well, instantly love and awe take place. The reverence for Jesus is only reverence for this; and if you can carry this home to any man's heart, instantly he feels that all is made good, and that God sits once more on his throne. When I have as clear a sense as now that I am speaking simple truth, without any bias, any foreign interest in the matter, all railing, all unwillingness to hear, all danger of injury to the conscience, dwindle and disappear. I refer to the discourse, now growing under my eye, to the Divinity School." What has now been said is sufficient to show that Emerson was deeply conscious of the nature of his religious pronouncement to his Unitarian brethren. He wrote not to please them, but to declare truth which he felt that both Calvinists and Unitarians had lost sight of, the truth of "the infinitude of the private man." He wrote in his journal in 1840: "In all my lectures I have taught one doctrine, namely, the infinitude of the private man. This the people accept readily and even with loud commendation as long as I call the doctrine Art, or Politics, or Literature, or the Household; but the moment I call it religion they are shocked, though it be only the application of the same truth, which they receive everywhere else, to a new class of facts."

It is not easy to state in a summary creed what Emerson himself taught, but Mr. Cabot has put his thought in a tangible form in the following statement: "To Emerson the fact that was imaged in the dogma of Christ's divinity is the infinitude of man's nature; the boundless inspiration that opens to him as he opens himself to receive it. The Liberal preachers, he thought, in place of

occupying themselves with the speculative errors of Calvinism, or with any questions of ontology, ought to take their stand upon the ground of universal human experience, and call upon men to behold the presence of God in every gleam of human virtue, however dim and distorted, and not merely in the eminent example of Jesus. They ought to present the idea of salvation, not as a mystic formula, but as a universal truth, realized wherever a man, through death to selfishness, rises to the life of humanity, a life governed by the perception that all private and separate good is a delusion." Here was the positive truth, in part, for which Emerson stood, and which he vindicated in everything that he wrote. Mr. Cabot presents the negative position, against which Emerson's religious manifestations were a protest, in the following terms: "The true ground of the new protest against Protestantism was the feeling that the Incarnation, as it was taught even in Protestant churches, but poorly represents the eternal indwelling of God in man, conditioned by man's obedience, which was manifested in Jesus Christ. His participation of the divine nature, so long as it is conceived as the contradiction of his human nature, leaves his mediatorship and our redemption unexplained and incomprehensible; a brute fact without analogy to anything in our experience. There is no real mediation, no exemplification of the means whereby we may become partakers of the Holy Spirit; but, instead of this, we are bidden to accept the fact that by a divine fiat a certain portion of mankind are to be saved, without becoming more worthy of salvation. So represented, the thoughts of Jesus are not as our thoughts and actions, and can afford us no guidance, no motive in the conduct of our lives. His mission, instead of demonstrating the power of the moral sentiment to raise man above himself, is a miraculous expedient to make up in some measure for the want of any such a power. . . . The part of Liberalism, Emerson thought, was to ask in what shape the religious facts now present themselves; to translate the theological metaphors into the language of real life." His object was "to show the reality and infinite depth of spiritual laws — that all the maxims of Christ are true to the core of the world; that there is not, cannot be, any cheating of nature." He made the distinction between a spiritual and a traditional religion which is made to-day wherever Christianity is presented as "an application of thought to life." He dwelt not so much upon the debasement of man's spirit by the presence of sin in his heart as upon the measures by which the spark of divinity within him may be brought to

fruitfulness in the heart and conscience. This accounts for what broad-minded men have frequently said of his essays, that they delineate the practical operation of the Holy Spirit in human life. They have the aroma, the atmosphere, of what is most helpful to the average man in his struggles with himself, and impart the fervor and tone of spiritual living outside of the traditional ways of expressing it.

This lengthy statement has been necessary in order that Emerson's relation to the religious life of his own time may be generously estimated and our indebtedness to him seen in its proper light. He could not be a Puritan, though he had the Puritan conscience and veracity. He could not be a Unitarian, without renouncing a belief in Jesus as truly man and truly God, which his religious insight compelled him to affirm. He never couched this belief in the language of the Catholic theology, but it is plain from his whole writing that on the side of the moral sentiment, which was his profoundest expression of religious truth, Jesus Christ stood for a divine somewhat, which he hesitated to affirm because he could no more say what he thought it to be than he could adequately affirm the existence and action of God. The reticence of Emerson toward the highest in our Lord, is the reticence of a listening and worshipful soul that will venture not where intellect and imagination teach one to take the very shoes off his feet because he is on holy ground. The following passage from his journal, written in 1833, presents his religious position perhaps better than anything that he subsequently wrote: "I believe that the error of religionists lies in this: that they do not know the extent, or the harmony, or the depth of their moral nature; that they are clinging to little positive verbal, formal versions of the moral law, — and very imperfect versions too, — while the infinite laws, the great circling truths whose only adequate symbol is the material laws, the astronomy, etc., are all unobserved, and sneered at, when spoken of, as frigid and insufficient. I call Calvinism such an imperfect version of the moral law. Unitarianism is another, and every form of Christian and of Pagan faith in the hands of incapable teachers. On the contrary, in the hands of a true teacher, the falsehood, the pitifulnesses, the sectarianisms, of each are dropped, and the sublimity and depth of the original penetrated and exhibited to men. I say also that all that recommends each of these established systems of opinion to men is so much of this moral truth as is in them, and, by the instinctive selection of the preacher, is made to shine forth when the

system is assailed. But the men of Europe will say, 'Expound: let us hear what it is that is to convince the faithful and the philosopher. Let us hear this new thing.' It is very old. It is the old revelation that perfect beauty is perfect goodness; it is the development of the wonderful congruities of the moral law of human nature. A man contains all that is needful to his government within himself. He is made a law unto himself. All real good or evil that can befall him must be from himself. He only can do himself any good or any harm. Nothing can be given to him, or taken from him, but always there's a compensation. There is a correspondence between the human soul and everything that exists in the world; more properly, everything that is known to man. Instead of studying things without, the principles of them all may be penetrated unto within him. Every act puts the agent in a new condition. The purpose of life seems to be to acquaint man with himself. He is not to live to the future as described to him, but to live to the real future by living to the real present. The highest revelation is that God is in every man." This was Emerson's ethical conception of the meaning of life in his thirtieth year, and this is the most complete general statement of his ethical position, in his own words, to be found in his writings.

The position of Emerson in New England thought is, unconsciously to himself, that of a Catholic moralist; he expresses universal truth, and his writings are the medium by which it is brought into personal and practical contact with life. He stands in the discussions of his time upon a vantage ground of unlimited truth which makes him the inclusive appreciator of all parties and the enemy of none. It is easy to say that he is not this and not that, but where will you find so clean, so transparent, so fruitful, so helpful a teacher of the highest moral truth known to man, the teachings of our Lord translated into the vernacular of universal human experience? He does not supersede the teachings of the New Testament, but there is a superb humanness in his application of spiritual laws to life which ranks them the same in kind, if not the same in degree, with its expression of universal truth. The mark of personality slips off from Emerson's thought more easily than from all other modern authors. He ranks with Plato, and Goethe, and Maurice as the teacher who presents his experience in forms of spiritual power. His position for the last half century has been that of an ethical mediator, who has affirmed the larger truth which has mostly escaped adequate expression in our current

religious systems. He has presented truth from a different, if not from a higher, plane, and has helped to cool and clear the atmosphere when it was contaminated with notions, clean and unclean, and mixed in inextricable confusion in the popular mind. He had no system; he was only a voice in the wilderness; but in the darkest hour of our social, political, and religious unrest, his "sweet reasonableness" has prevailed above the storm and pointed out the substantial agreements where all men have standing room in the life with God. He has emphasized a larger social, intellectual, and spiritual life than most men have found, and what has seemed best in our thought to-day has been reached largely by following along the higher and broader lines which he set down in his incomparable "Essays" forty years ago.

It is not difficult to trace his influence historically during the lives of his contemporaries or in the changes wrought by men now in middle life. He was intensely identified with the great reform era of New England, was the confidant of all its leaders, was the one whom they all endeavored to win to their side; but there was that in Emerson which always kept him to his own base. There were two Emersons. One was the individualist who had a hand like Parker in the movements of the day; the other was the serene idealist who lived in the upper realms of spiritual common sense, and was never disturbed by the roar of the tempest or the threats of men. As an individualist, he was the one around whom the Transcendentalists gathered as best expressing the ideal aims which they sought to introduce into New England life; but as an idealist, he saw the scope of the movement without deeming it necessary for him to sacrifice his individuality to it. What he was toward the Transcendentalists, of whom he was chief, he was toward Garrison, toward John Brown, toward the social reformers, toward all who had conceived an individual work that promised something for the moral improvement of humanity. He shared in the truth which carried these movements and men to some degree of success, but had the power to prevent his individuality from being absorbed by them; he was more than they. He was absorbed and kept apart from large intercourse with his fellow-men by the intensity of his moral idealism. In a paragraph of the journal from which a large quotation has already been made, dating in the year 1833, he gives the keynote of his life and explains why righteousness absorbed him like a passion: "Milton describes himself in his letter to Diodati as enamored of moral perfection. He did not love it more than I. That which I cannot yet declare has

been my angel from childhood until now. It has separated me from men. It has watered my pillow. It has driven sleep from my bed. It has tortured me for my guilt. It has inspired me with hope. It cannot be defeated with my defeats. It cannot be questioned, though all martyrs apostatize. It is always the glory that shall be revealed; it is the 'open secret' of the universe. And it is only the feebleness and dust of the observer that makes it future; the whole is now potentially at the bottom of his heart." It is men with convictions like this who move the world. The secret of Emerson's pervasive influence, the invisible attraction of the man and his writings, lies in his moral power. You may not believe what he says, but you cannot discount the man. His weight is such that you come to quote him as the seer, the man of insight, and his thought, like Goethe's, is now scattered in pregnant sentences throughout the world.

It was a great thing to have a single individual in our New-England communities, constantly reaching through the lecture-room the thinking persons who finally rule the religious life of the people. It was the distribution of thought through new channels. The old New England lyceum was the free pulpit of some of our greatest men. Theodore Parker and Ralph Waldo Emerson and Bronson Alcott regarded it as the channel through which they might revolutionize New England life. They accomplished to a degree what they sought to do. The three represent the most powerful detached religious influence exerted through single persons which has been felt among us during the last half century. They were all profoundly religious men, who carried their motive into the broad highway, and wrought in the belief that God was on their side. They worked for the reconstruction of Christian society, though all seemed to be industrious for a time in tearing away the foundations of traditional religion. This was their initial service, but it was not their final contribution to the thought of New England. Emerson alone of these men had religious genius. He could infuse his moral ideals with his imaginative sympathy until the highest moral excellence seemed to be within the province of human effort, but all through life he was too negative in his affirmations of the truth about God, which he shrank from committing to language, to satisfy the New England demand for positive statement. He cast his seed into the field of the world, seemingly careless whether it sprouted or not. He built the houses of faith in which men could live, but lived and died himself without ever making consciously a single disciple; and yet there is no au-

thor on moral questions who is so constantly referred to or whose power is more widely felt. From the fact that from the first he gave supreme attention to the spiritual side of life, he held the office of the teacher of our Christendom without a rival, and his writing and his example have greatly helped forward the broader and more concrete expression of religious truth which is conquering acceptance throughout the community. It is not fair to say that Emerson has done everything; it is only to be affirmed that he was the first detached Christian in our modern household of faith, and that he has been able, by virtue of this detachment, to rise above the controversies of the hour and see things in the open which others have seen as through a glass darkly. Others have had insight, but he was able to express his insights in literary forms whose consummate beauty has never been surpassed. This constitutes his excellence; but through men who have, so to speak, grown out of his loins, of whom Mulford and Munger are prominent instances, not of the reproduction of his thought but of working on lines similar in their correlation of truth to experience, his life-work has been extended until it is the working force behind the active, aggressive, and constructive religious thought of our own time. It is perilous to trace too confidently general influences to single persons, but if any single mind has been felt as a pervasive influence for good in the higher thinking throughout New England during the last fifty years, it is the mind of one who found, when addressing the young graduates in divinity at Cambridge, that he was speaking the distinctive word for a new epoch in religion, who bade these "new-born bards of the Holy Ghost" to "cast behind [them] all conformity and acquaint men at first hand with Deity," and whose thought anticipated the larger expression of truth and its vindication and illustration in the actual life of the world, on the ground that "the revelation is in and through this life," which is the ripest statement of a present Christianity. The general religious advance of our own time has no more than caught up with the central positions which he affirmed in that Address. Emerson represents the ethical centre of the entire movement in America for a better correspondence of religion with life.

Julius H. Ward.

Boston.

EDITORIAL.

COMMENT ON CURRENT DISCUSSION.

THE Board is sharing in the benefits of the missionary revival. During the past year sixty-six appointments have been made, — twenty-one men, forty-six women. The theological seminaries of the United States and Canada, Presbyterian and Congregational, supply nine men, including appointees who have another year of study.

A farewell meeting was held September seventh on account of fifty-eight persons, described as "on the way, or soon to leave for their several fields of labor." Twenty-seven are missionaries returning to their work. Of the new appointments we notice that twenty-one are women, ten men. Of the latter, one goes out as a physician, one as a business agent, two as teachers. One, at least, was appointed before graduation this year from college. Of the six ordained missionaries four graduate from theological seminaries the present year, — two from Presbyterian seminaries, two from a Congregational. At the beginning of the year it was open to the Board to receive a strong reinforcement from the Congregational theological seminaries. This has been virtually repelled by the Home Secretary's policy.

The receipts of the Board from donations and legacies have fallen off the past year a little more than \$26,000. In the States of the Interior there is said to have been an advance of \$11,380. This indicates a falling off elsewhere of something more than \$37,000. Comparing the total receipts from donations and legacies the past year with the average of the five years previous, the diminution is more than \$30,000. In this estimate the gifts for the *Morning Star*, amounting to upwards of \$41,756, are not reckoned.

Specially noticeable is the advance in drafts from the Otis and Swett legacies. From the Otis fund there were taken, in 1885, \$43,884; in 1886, \$41,144; in 1887, \$48,808: from the Swett fund, for the same years respectively, \$52,992; \$116,000; \$154,319. The rapid diminution of these funds, accompanied by a decline in gifts from the churches, is a serious fact. Since in a little more than a year, at the present rate, the Swett fund will be exhausted, it is evident that the friends of the Board will need to put forth special effort to keep its work up to the present standard. We suppose that it is the policy of the Board and of the Committee so to expend the Otis and Swett legacies that the enlarged work which these make possible can eventually be carried on through such advance in contributions as experience gives reason to anticipate.

The "*Congregationalist*," in an editorial article upon "The Policy of the Board" (September 15), says: —

"When a candidate declares that he does not accept the theory of future probation, but is content to leave the heathen who never have heard of Christ in the hands of God, that is enough, and we see no reason why he should not be accepted — so far as this subject is concerned."

This is a hopeful announcement. The ground taken by the Home Secretary has been that the dogma of the decisive nature of this life for all men is a vital doctrine of Scripture, ranking with Inspiration and Atonement. The "Congregationalist" now proposes that men be accepted who are not committed to this doctrine.

When it adds that no one should be appointed who does not repudiate the "*fact*" of future probation, "whatever may be true of its possibility," does it not become obscure? What is meant by leaving the heathen in the hands of God? Are they left wholly with Him? If so, may He not vouchsafe to them a knowledge of his atoning love, so that, if they will, they may be saved by it? We have often thought that the formula "leaving the heathen in the hands of God" is used with a reserve that limits his operations. He may do with them what He pleases, only He may not offer to them the atonement revealed to us. This is not, however, the thought of the writer of the editorial before us. He concedes that the possibility of future probation may be held, — it is an acceptance of it as a fact which is fatal to service. But what does this mean? If it may be, it may be as a fact. If it is possible, no Christian can help hoping that it will prove to be a fact. This matter of the eternal state of the heathen who die ignorant of redemption is not a question of abstract theology. It is an affair of humanity, of men and women and children, millions upon millions of them. Must a candidate for appointment by the Board repudiate all hope that, in fact, God will have access to them through the consummate revelation of his righteousness and love? If, however, it be simply intended to affirm that future probation is not revealed as a fact, or so that we are assured that it is a fact, it is, perhaps, enough to say that no one of the rejected candidates has ever so regarded it.

The Rev. Henry Fairbanks, in a communication to the "Congregationalist," says: —

"If a missionary candidate, fully accepting the Word of God, says that he does not find any ground for a theory of future probation, and has no speculation in regard to it, I should think that ought to be sufficient without pressing him to examine further and be prepared to deny its possibility."

We welcome this concession. But what is meant by finding "any ground"? Suppose that a candidate thinks there are some reasons for hoping that the conceded possibility will be realized, does this constitute an offense so great that he must be excluded from service? What is intended by the phrase "has no speculation"? Is thought on this subject to be prohibited to the missionary?

Dr. Fairbanks argues that the missionary must accept only the doctrines, views, or theories held in common by the contributors who sustain him. The objection even of a minority should suffice. Many contributors to the treasury of the Board are conscientiously opposed to the theory of a future probation. Therefore no person who favors this theory should be appointed. Will Dr. Fairbanks apply his rule consistently, and insist that no candidate be appointed whose opinions respecting the salvation or condemnation of the heathen affront the conscience and intelligence of "any considerable body of contributors"?

The line which it is now proposed to draw respecting the hypothesis of continued probation [our opponents seem to endeavor always to use the phrase future probation] would exclude from service men of the type of Mr. Hume. In a letter to the chairman of the Committee which conducted the negotiations with him which resulted in his permission to return to India, Mr. Hume wrote:—

"In reference to phraseology, in the interest of truth and clearness, I must ask permission to continue to use the term 'hypothesis,' as indicating a supposition, a matter not revealed, in distinction from 'doctrine,' as indicating something to be taught positively as a part of the revealed system. . . . As I have from the first said, since the Bible seems to me not explicit as to how Christ influences those who never hear of Him in this world, I have no doctrine on this subject, in the sense explained at first. I simply say, *I do not know*. Still, among the possible modes by which Christ may reach such with his grace, the possibility of a gracious opportunity for them prior to the last judgment seems a hypothesis not forbidden by Scripture, *and in favor of which some reasons may be given.*"

(Italics ours.) This is not the language of one who "does not find any ground," etc.

We commend this extract from the correspondence on the basis of which Mr. Hume was returned, to those who are pressing the following argument. Referring to men who accept the hypothesis of future probation, it is said: "The appointment of one such candidate would commit the Board to the approval of the objectionable hypothesis." Has the action of the Prudential Committee, in returning Mr. Hume, committed it to his position that the hypothesis of the possibility of a future probation for the unevangelized heathen "seems not forbidden by Scripture, and in favor of it [which] some reasons may be given"? If it has, how can the Board, if it sustains the Committee, escape the same committal? And how can it avoid Dr. Fairbanks's censure?

In the "Independent," September 15, a member of the Prudential Committee, the Rev. E. B. Webb, D. D., makes some extraordinary statements. After quoting a newspaper introductory sentence as though it were a part of a note from Mr. Hume, Dr. Webb affirms that the Prudential Committee never saw the memorandum which we printed in the

REVIEW for March, 1887, page 314, until after it had voted its author permission to return to India! This, at least, is the only meaning of Dr. Webb's language, unless we suspect him of a mere verbal subterfuge by substituting "supplement" for "memorandum," a suspicion we cannot entertain for a moment.

If, before hastily attacking our statement, Dr. Webb had looked at this "supplement," which contains the "memorandum," he would have read these words: "In compliance with a request from the rooms of the American Board that I should give the Prudential Committee a brief and general statement of my theological position . . . on February 3 I sent a letter with the desired memorandum." The action of the Committee was taken February 11. If he will also take the pains to read the correspondence which led up to this memorandum he will understand why we referred to it "as the memorandum which defined his position to the Committee, and was the basis of its action permitting his return." He will also discover that his use of the letter of the mission and his general representation of doctrinal pledges on Mr. Hume's part do Mr. Hume great injustice. If such misstatements are to continue we think that this entire correspondence should be given to the public.

In an article in "The Inter-Ocean" (Chicago), August 1, 1887, Dr. Washington Gladden thus exposes the very common, but altogether unwarrantable, use made in theology of the analogy of human government. The article is in reply to a correspondent of the paper who had referred to this analogy as determinative in the decision of questions in theology now under discussion: —

"The assumption of it all is that the divine dealing with men can be explained by analogies drawn from human government. He (my correspondent) says that the teaching 'that there can be no condemnation until there has been an offer of forgiveness, would overturn every court of justice in the land, and its ethics would make government impossible.' It is about time, I should think, that the masters in our Israel began to comprehend the fact that the expediences of human administration are very inadequate to explain God's dealings with men. The object of human government in dealing with offenders is not 'forgiveness' or 'salvation.' Its object is to find out who is guilty; to clear the innocent and to punish the guilty. Forgiveness, reclamation of the erring, is only an incidental and secondary function. Pardon issues only in rare and exceptional cases; it is justified mainly on the score of the fallibility of our administration; there is a question whether the prerogative might not better be withheld altogether. The main object of God's government is the salvation of men. His judgment is never at fault, nor are his laws ever evaded; but the end of all his dealings with men is to save them from sin and ruin. The methods of his government are, therefore, radically different from those of human governments, and the attempt to illustrate his dealings with men by the methods of human government is utterly misleading. It is the attempt to force the great truths of redemption into these forensic formularies that has stricken the old theology with dry rot, and keeps it harping on phrases which have no meaning."

A PROPOSED ISSUE AT SPRINGFIELD.

A SEMI-DENOMINATIONAL paper which sustains the present management of the American Board has recently defined as follows "the real and exact" issue at Springfield: —

"As we said above . . . the real and vital issue before the American Board is just this: Ought the Board to revolutionize its doctrinal basis, and send forth men who hold the belief in the extra-Biblical dogma of Future Probation as taught at Andover?"

There are several important objections to this statement of the issue at Springfield apart from the one to which we desire to call special attention.

It implies that the American Board is to be asked to sit in judgment on the doctrinal teaching of a Congregational theological seminary. The dogma which is to be prescribed is defined as the one "taught at Andover." How is the American Board to determine what this teaching is? If its members depend on representations of it given by the journals which support the present policy at the Rooms they will be seriously misled. Will it undertake an investigation of its own? An elaborate and judicial examination of this teaching has recently been concluded. Of the three Visitors before whom in part it was conducted, President Seelye — as we happen to know beyond question — voted for the acquittal of all the accused professors, including Professor Smyth. By the vote of two other Visitors Professor Smyth was pronounced guilty of holding three opinions which he has distinctly and unwaveringly repudiated. Is the opinion respecting Future Probation which he disclaims holding, to be accepted as the Andover teaching? His opinions were further investigated judicially by twelve other gentlemen, who unanimously reached the same conclusion with President Seelye. Is the opinion which they acquitted him of holding to be now designated "the extra-Biblical dogma of Future Probation as taught at Andover"? Moreover, the only other professors at Andover charged with heterodox teaching have all been formally acquitted by the Visitors as well as by the Trustees. What, we would respectfully inquire, is the Andover teaching which is revolutionary of the doctrinal basis of the Board? And, more especially, what is the method in which the American Board is to determine what this teaching is? Is the Board to sit as an Ecclesiastical Synod or Council? Or is it to proceed by commission, — the Commissioners originally chartered to send the gospel to the heathen now assuming to act by delegation as commissioners on heresy?

The teaching at Andover is conducted by gentlemen of unimpeached standing in the churches which form the constituency of the Board. There has been a question at issue — concluded as we have just stated — as to the conformity of their teaching to a theological creed drawn up in the year 1808. But no question has been raised as to their standing in the ministry of the Congregational denomination. Is the American

Board to be asked to sit in judgment on them? The Home Secretary having failed to secure the insertion of a particular article in the Creed prepared by the Congregational Commission, is the Board to be resolved into a new creed commission? Are some new descriptive words to be added to its already somewhat extended title, so that it shall henceforth be known as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and Domestic Creed Making?

Dr. Hopkins at Des Moines remarked: "I presume to say that I have always felt that the resolution of 1871 was a wise resolution." He added that if the resolution he was about to put were a theological resolution, he "should object to it." The declaration of 1871, to which he referred, reads thus: "Neither this Board nor its Prudential Committee are in any sense a theological court to settle doctrinal points of belief." This has been a settled principle hitherto. Are those who bring the charge of a revolutionary policy against their opponents themselves planning to revolutionize the essential nature and character of the Board and transform it into a "theological court"?

These difficulties which beset action of the Board upon the "real and exact," "the real and vital" issue, as defined by our contemporary, are enhanced by its assertion that the question before the Board is not "whether the Board shall send out men who merely hesitate to affirm any positive belief as to what may be the unrevealed purpose of God to do in the future for those who die without the knowledge of Christ." This elimination from the issue which the Board must meet at Springfield of the question whether candidates shall be required to hold to the decisive nature of this life, indicates progress in some minds since the discussion at Des Moines. Then the "real and exact" issue joined was upon the cases of men who took the agnostic position; now this position is declared not to be matter of contention. Such a concession, it may fairly be pleaded, has been made by the Prudential Committee in returning Mr. Hume and commissioning Miss Judson. We should be glad to learn that it is recognized by the Home Secretary. But it embarrasses the conclusion which by its statement of the issue at Springfield our contemporary desires to promote. It is conceded that men shall no longer be required to hold that the Scriptures reveal the universal exclusion of the heathen from future grace. There may be an unrevealed purpose of God concerning their salvation. But if this hypothesis or hope may be allowed, upon what dogmatic or other grounds is it proposed to condemn as revolutionary of the doctrinal basis of the Board the hope that this unrevealed purpose of God may have the same centre as his revealed, the Son of his love, by whom and for whom all things were created? It would be an interesting, not to say singular, discussion on the platform of the Board in which it should be argued that in order to save its doctrinal basis from being revolutionized a vote should be passed that its missionaries may hope that God will save the heathen who die without the

knowledge of Christ, but may not hope that He will do so by giving them this knowledge. Or will it be said that the aim of the Board must be to exclude men who not only thus hope, but who think that some reasons can be given for this hope, — reasons drawn from the nature of Christianity and intimations of Scripture? We cannot but ask, will it not, indeed, be a great day for the American Board, and for the integrity of its doctrinal basis, and for orthodoxy, when it shall solemnly decide that a missionary in its employ may entertain a hope respecting God's unrevealed purposes, but may not discover and affirm a reason for his hope? We know not what surprises some of our friends who are championing the doctrinal basis of the Board may have in store for us, but we confess that of all the difficulties we have suggested this seems to us to press closest to irrationality, that men should abandon the old tenet of an absolute exclusion, by Biblical authority, of future grace for those who die ignorant of the gospel, and should thus recognize the possibility of such grace; then, that they should proceed to exclude from missionary service those who find reason for supposing this conceded possible grace to be through knowledge of the same Redeemer who in this way saves here; and, finally, that the reason given for condemning this evangelical interpretation of an admitted possibility should be, that otherwise "the historic policy" and "dogmatic basis" of the American Board will be revolutionized.

The simple truth is that public sentiment, as was shown in the Hume case, strongly condemns the position taken by the Home Secretary at Des Moines and in his letters to various candidates of the past two years, and the defenders of the management see the necessity of finding new standing-ground. The indefinite phrases, "the new dogma of Future Probation," "the new doctrine of Future Probation," "the extra-Biblical dogma of Future Probation as taught at Andover," are put forth as rallying cries. They may answer a transitory purpose, or they may not. In no event can they serve to define the real issue, nor help to its permanent settlement. The churches have decided that upon the question of the reality and the method of God's grace in Christ to those who receive no knowledge of a Redeemer in this life there shall be liberty of opinion. When the Board discovers this fact and conforms its action thereto it will solve the problem now before it.¹

The objection, however, which we had chiefly in mind when we began to write has not yet been stated. The definition we have quoted of the "exact issue" assumes that the Andover teaching respecting Future

¹ By characterizing the phrase "the dogma of Future Probation as taught at Andover" as indefinite we do not imply that the hypothesis of future grace, which certain professors at Andover have maintained to be admissible and helpful in the consideration of a problem confessedly dark and painful, cannot be, and has not been, clearly stated. But it is evident that, as often happens in such cases, misunderstandings abound which render this and other phrases which we have quoted unsuitable for use in a statement of an "exact issue."

Probation is revolutionary of the doctrinal basis of the Board. As no explanation is given in the article from which we quote as to what this teaching is believed to be, we meet the assumption first of all with a denial of its truth. There is no teaching at Andover on this subject which is thus revolutionary. Nor have the applicants from Andover, Messrs. Noyes and Torrey, avowed any opinions which can thus be characterized.

What is the doctrinal basis of the Board? Where and how is it defined? The Board has adopted no creed. It has never undertaken to formulate doctrine or expound theology. From the beginning, until some two years since, the unvarying principle has obtained that candidates for appointment shall be judged by the well-known doctrinal confessions of the churches which sustain the Board. The present Home Secretary has the unfortunate distinction of having violated this principle, but neither he nor his apologists have ventured to deny it; rather, so far as we have observed, all pleas in his defense have admitted its validity. Now nothing is more patent than this, that the creeds of the churches sustaining the Board have undergone revision and change since the formation of the Board. We do not dispute, in its appropriate connection we would emphasize rather, the permanent elements in evangelical faith. There is a "continuity of Christian thought." In the history of Christian doctrine there are constant elements. But no less are there variable elements. Even the Apostles' Creed has not only been enlarged, it has been changed, from its earliest form: we no longer confess the resurrection of the flesh, but the resurrection of the body, and this phrase does not mean to us what it has meant to other generations. In the modifications of thought which this century has witnessed, and which the Congregational churches sustaining the Board have participated in, we believe that no evangelical belief has been lost; but unquestionably there is a sharper and somewhat different discrimination now between matters of faith and opinions in theology, between the known and the unknown, between doctrine and dogma, between essentials and non-essentials. Where, as in some of the older churches, the ancient creeds are perpetuated, newer symbols often serve as the confession of faith upon reception to membership. In eschatology the formulas now commonly adopted contain no such article as the Home Secretary has done his utmost to establish, after failing to secure its approval by the Commission appointed to deal with this subject. The theology of the Board, if the phrase may be allowed, is *the theology of the churches sustaining the Board*. It is so by the Board's history, traditions, and usages. The attempt to make it otherwise has produced the present conflict. None know better than those who are bringing the Board into collision with the present faith of the churches that a reference of the cases of Messrs. Noyes and Torrey to the decision of ecclesiastical councils would reverse the decision which has been made. The temper and purpose of the Congregational churches at the present time is strongly in favor of liberty of thought within evangelical limits, of comprehension, catholicity, and

restriction of requirement to the essential truths of the gospel. No ecclesiastical council hesitates to ordain men of the character and faith of Messrs. Noyes and Torrey. No benevolent society, except the Board, declines to send out such men as its agents. The rejected candidates of the Foreign Board are solicited for service by the domestic boards. They are employed gladly by the churches. The statement of the "exact issue" on which we are commenting not only contains a gross assumption, as we have indicated, — it is itself in principle the outcome of a revolutionary policy. In the last analysis it implies that the dogmatic basis of the Board is not the faith of the churches sustaining the Board, but a platform of its own; that it is an independent doctrinal authority and has a dogmatic function to perform. We trust that if any one at Springfield appeals to the "dogmatic basis" of the Board he will carefully explain what he means by this phrase, and what the creed of the Board is. We understand it to be the faith of the churches whose agent the Board should be — the creed of the Congregational churches, so far, at least, as it sends out Congregational clergymen and members of Congregational churches. If Presbyterians contribute to its funds, and Presbyterian students desire that their orthodoxy should be determined by the Westminster standards, we know of no reason why such requests, when made, should not be gratified. But for Congregational candidates it is a sheer usurpation of authority that other standards of judgment should be set up than those accredited by the usage of Congregational churches. What these are is sufficiently attested by the usage of ordaining councils.

We have a further and special objection to the statement which has been cited of the "real and exact issue." The Andover dogma of Future Probation and the Andover Theology in general — meaning by this simply the opinions of certain professors at Andover — is more perfectly in harmony with the fundamental doctrinal postulates of evangelical missionary work than that of at least some of the men who are forcing the present controversy.

Their theory is that multitudes of the heathen will be saved without knowledge of the Person and sacrificial work of the Redeemer. At the last Annual Meeting, a preacher, forced upon the Board by skillful management, and foremost in the work of defending the Home Secretary's policy and assailing Andover, affirmed that the innumerable multitude whom the seer of Patmos beheld worshipping the Lamb in heaven were heathen who had been saved without knowledge of God's revealed word, or of an atoning Saviour. So far as we have observed, the opinion commonly advocated by those who are most vehement in denouncing the Andover dogma is identical in principle though not so rash in exegesis. The Christian thought and feeling of the age have revolted from the belief that after providing an atonement for all men God condemns the vast majority of the race without in some way giving them an opportunity to be saved by it. The hypothesis, accordingly, has found favor that

men are saved by an implicit faith, that on the ground of the atonement mercy is widely extended to all who in the darkness of heathenism do not still the voice of conscience but strive after rectitude. We have objected to this theory that it does not work — at least on any scale sufficient to relieve the difficulty it is designed to meet. There is nothing in the light of nature which can be construed as an equivalent to the light of the cross, and we are unable to discover the universality of Christianity in an uncommunicated offer of pardon. But this is not the question now in hand. We should defend, were there need of it, and could we do so with any good effect, the right of those who hold this theory to work under the Board. Theirs is not the opinion nor the theology of the fathers, the founders of the Board. We question whether, thought out, it does not contain principles subversive, revolutionary, of its real doctrinal basis, whether in fact it is not essentially a rationalistic theory of salvation. But this is matter of scientific discussion, of theology, not of fellowship in Christian labor. Those who hold this theory are evangelical believers. They accept the atonement, though they depreciate its necessity as a motive power. They honor the Person of Christ, though they favor a theory which tends to a denial of his divinity. They believe in Christianity, though they cannot defend it against Strauss's famous objection that a religion communicated to a handful of the race, cannot rightly claim universality. It is enough that they preach Christ and Him crucified. The Board would be false to its catholic traditions were it to raise any question as to their fitness to serve it because of their acceptance of this special and unsatisfactory speculation.¹

What does excite our contentiousness and our amazement is, that some of these brethren should turn round and charge with revolutionizing the theology of the Board men who believe so firmly in human sinfulness and guilt, in the necessity of atonement, in the revelation of God through Christ, in Christianity as the only hope of mankind, as to insist that a communication to men of its saving truths and powers is practically necessary to their salvation. And yet this is the issue which is raised. The greatest effort is made to disguise it, but it cannot be disguised. Our opponents hope that multitudes of heathen will be saved without knowledge of Christ; we hope that many such will be saved by knowledge of Christ. They assume to be defenders of the theology of the Board, and condemn us for endeavoring to revolutionize it.

Let us see how this looks in the light of the history of the Board.

If there is anything in that history which can claim higher authority as a doctrinal declaration than the Instructions from time to time given by the Prudential Committee to missionaries and approved by the Board, we know not what it is. We do not understand, indeed, that these constitute its doctrinal basis, which we have already explained to be something quite distinct. But if the inquiry be, what is the faith which has

¹ Many, probably most, of those who thus speculate have no sympathy with the policy of intolerance which we are opposing.

been expressed in its official declarations? there is no better source of evidence than these formal Instructions.

In the Annual Report for 1829 the Instructions are published which had been given to the first missionary to China, the Rev. Elijah C. Bridgman. The Prudential Committee at that time consisted of Hon. Wm. Reed, Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., Jeremiah Evarts, Esq., Samuel Hubbard, LL. D., Rev. William Fay, D. D. Mr. Evarts was Corresponding Secretary, and Rev. Rufus Anderson and Mr. David Greene were Assistant Secretaries. The Instructions given by such men were formally approved by the Board. We read :—

“Keep clearly before your mind also the actual character and condition of the heathen as subjects of God’s moral government, the prospect before them, and their relation to Christ and his atonement. Think what He has done for them and how *INEFFECTUAL it will be if his followers do not convey to them a KNOWLEDGE of the Gospel.*”

We find nothing inconsistent with this emphatic statement in any other instructions, or declarations of the Board. If any doctrine is historically established as its own by its past declarations, it is the one we have emphasized by italics and capitals.

We have examined as shedding light on this matter the sermons preached before the Board for a score or more of years after its organization. One is wanting on the files of the Board, but only one. The burden of these sermons is the indispensableness to human salvation of a preached gospel, of a special disclosure of the character of God, of that work of the Spirit which rests upon the work of Christ and implies knowledge of Christ. Occasionally, but extremely rarely, there is an apologetic hint that specific knowledge of the Redeemer, or at least knowledge gained in the ordinary way, is not absolutely indispensable. But the concession is defensive, and not of practical significance. Without the knowledge of Christ the heathen were regarded as beyond hope. In the gospel as made known to them is their only means of recovery. A brief review of this early literature will best impress this point.

The first sermon before the Board was preached by President Dwight in 1813. It considers the work to be done, in what manner and by whom. The world apart from the risen Redeemer is pictured as ‘lying in wickedness, as a man slain lies weltering in his blood, as an immense field of death, a place of graves, a catacomb, where souls are buried to wake no more.’ “The gate which in Asia and Africa was once opened wide at the head of the way to eternal life, has long since been barred; the path to Heaven forgotten; and the communication with that happy world finally cut off. Ignorance has benighted, sin bewildered, and misery broken down, their wretched inhabitants. Not an effort are they either disposed or able to make for themselves.” The power that can recover these lost millions to holiness and God works through “the means by which men have become Christians here,” the word of God proclaimed by the living preacher.

The second preacher was the Rev. James Richards. He discoursed upon the principles and motives of missionary work as seen in the example of the great Apostle to the Gentiles. "He considered the gospel as an indispensable mean of eternal life—that they who heard it and believed would be saved; and that they who heard it not, or did not believe, would inevitably perish." The heathen are in 'total darkness, — all, all are without hope and without God, — a vast multitude of souls crowding their way, generation after generation, down to the abodes of despair. The spring of the apostles' and of all missionary zeal is in the knowledge that the gospel is the only appointed means of salvation, and that men will perish who die without its light.'

The third sermon was preached by the Rev. Calvin Chapin, D. D., Recording Secretary of the Board. Dr. Chapin asks, Who are the heathen? and answers: 1. Those who, "though their trials for eternity are allotted them in regions where the Bible is enjoyed, remain, nevertheless, entirely ignorant of the doctrines and salvation which it reveals. . . . With distressing propriety, ergo, may they be denominated heathen." 2. "People not favored with competent means of knowing their master's character, will, and salvation. . . . They are travellers with us to the judgment seat and yet do not enjoy divine revelation, and, *of course*, do not possess the means of eternal life." The words we have italicized are very significant as to the theology of the Board when this sermon was preached. They recur again: "The heathen perceive many important truths. They feel wants which they possess no power to satisfy. They do not find a Saviour and an atonement competent to the pardon of guilt. Their religion must of course be false."

In 1816 the preacher was Henry Davis, D. D., President of Middlebury College. His sermon is a powerful argument to prove the need of a special revelation in order that men may know God and the way of salvation. "Until God, then, in boundless wisdom and compassion should provide a sacrifice for sin, *and make us acquainted with that sacrifice*, in vain would be our most laborious researches."

President Appleton, of Bowdoin College, was the fifth preacher. His proposition "that the true character of God is not known, except by revelation," meaning the revelation contained in sacred Scripture, is sustained by a learned, elaborate, and luminous argument, concluding with these words: "There is no reason to hope that the true character and worship of God will ever be made known among the heathen, but through the medium of divine revelation." And his language in applying his theme is the more noteworthy from his characteristic candor and moderation: "Without agitating the question whether some individuals may not be sanctified by the Spirit, who are precluded from all acquaintance with revealed religion, it must be obvious that the souls of the heathen are in the greatest possible danger. This proposition, *Without holiness no man can see the LORD*, believers in Christianity cannot call in question. On this principle, are the morals and worship of the heathen such as that

good hopes of their salvation can be rationally entertained? Are they among the pure in heart who shall see God?"

The sixth preacher was Samuel Spring, D. D., of Newburyport, Mass. He said, speaking on the necessity of sending out preachers:—

"Thus God operates in a uniform manner; and He is under no obligation as a gracious Sovereign to step aside from his usual, established course of proceeding to save sinners. For instance, if there are any of his elect amid the dark tribes of Ethiopia, He can call them hither in slave-ships to embrace the gospel, though in judgment to slaveholders, who buy and sell the souls of men; but in infinite mercy to the poor, oppressed slaves whom He makes Christ's free men. And with facility, as He is now graciously conducting, He can send missionaries to Africa and convert Ethiopians upon their own native ground." This supposition, that God, if he determined to save a poor African heathen, might bring him to this country in a slave-ship for this purpose, like Dr. Chapin's "of course," is a striking indication of the firmness with which the fathers of the Board held to the necessity to salvation of a knowledge of Christ.

Dr. Lyman's sermon, 1819, was not prepared for the occasion, and President Nott's in 1820 is not accessible, and we pass to the ninth in the series. The preacher was Dr. Jedediah Morse. He discoursed at length, and in a very instructive way, upon the preparation for the introduction of Christianity, and upon the time and means of its universal diffusion. The necessity of the gospel is assumed.

Dr. Proudfit's sermon, 1822, dwelt upon considerations which evince the practical necessity of preaching the gospel. President Day, of Yale College, the following year, touched, as had President Appleton, upon the question of heathen salvation without a knowledge of the gospel. He said: "To what purpose is it to inquire whether there may possibly be here and there a virtuous heathen when the multitude are confessedly sunk in the depths of corruption?" "There is no other name given under heaven whereby they can be saved but by Jesus Christ. It is through his name that missionaries endeavor to recover them from the dominion of the prince of darkness. It is through the power of his grace that regions which have been desolate for ages are to be converted into the garden of God."

The succeeding preacher was Samuel Austin, D. D. He delineated the missionary character of the Apostle Paul. The next year Middlebury College again furnished the preacher, Dr. Joshua Bates. He used this noteworthy language:—

"Let it be simply remembered, that 'without holiness no one can see the Lord,' that 'except a man be born again he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven;' and let it not be forgotten how insufficient to produce this renovation, with the exception of Christianity, is every system of religion which the world has known; let the express testimony of inspiration on this subject be called to mind, that all who are redeemed from iniquity are redeemed by the blood of Christ; that all who are saved are saved

by grace through faith ; that all who are born again are born of the Spirit by the Word of God ; that all who are sanctified unto eternal life are sanctified through the truth applied by the Holy Ghost ; let this recollection be had, and the importance, the momentous, the indispensable importance of Christianity in forming the permanent character and securing the highest happiness of mankind, will be at once perceived and felt."

The fourteenth preacher was Edward Dorr Griffin, D. D., President of Williams College. He argues first for missions on the supposition "that all men will be saved, or even that men are as likely to be saved without the gospel as with it," and then proceeds as follows: "But what believer in revelation, except a Universalist, will say that men are as likely to be saved without the gospel as with it? Be it so that *good* heathen will be saved, but the mass of the heathen are not good." "The only means to reclaim the world is the Gospel of Christ. Talk as you will of the salvation of the pious heathen; let it be admitted, if you please, that now and then a pagan becomes a good man; yet the mass of the heathen are grossly wicked, and will always remain so till reformed by the Gospel of Christ. But I go further. Show me one instance in which God has ever saved or enlightened an adult without his word and ordinances."

We can give extracts from only one other of these early sermons, and we select it because it affords an additional instance of allusion to salvation without a knowledge of the gospel. We quote from Dr. McDowell's sermon in 1837: "I know not but God sometimes may, in some way, communicate to a pagan without the gospel, such a knowledge of the Saviour and of his atonement; and may make such an application of his atonement, and so renew the heart, by the Holy Spirit, that he may be saved. But, if He ever does this, salvation is still through Christ; and such instances, if they ever occur, which is at least very doubtful, are very rare. The Lord gives us no authority from his Word to expect it; neither do the accounts which missionaries give us of the universal destitution of holiness which they find in all pagan lands that they have visited, leave us much ground to hope that in any instance are the heathen saved through Christ without a knowledge of the gospel." "Some may consider it uncharitable thus to represent the condition of the heathen, without the knowledge of Christ; but the Bible, unquestionably, thus represents their condition. And the contrary sentiment, that the heathen may be saved without a knowledge of Christ, and in some other way than through the salvation He purchased, is an infidel sentiment, and it is practically far more uncharitable. For it paralyzes exertion to send the gospel to them." "The truth, 'Neither is there salvation in any other,' is the grand spring of missions to the heathen."

We need not adduce further testimonies. Nothing is better attested than the opposition of the early theology of the Board to the theory entertained by some of those who now profess to be special defenders of its doctrinal basis, and who accuse their brethren, who hold with the fathers to the practical necessity of the motives of the gospel for any

broad and effective work of recovery to holiness, of revolutionary designs. If any attempt is made at Springfield to establish this charge, and if such phrases as the "total historic policy" of the Board be introduced, we trust that those who employ these terms or make this endeavor will explain their own relation to the doctrine of the necessity of a knowledge of the gospel in order to deliverance from sin and guilt. And we would respectfully submit that more is needed, if the dogmatic basis of the Board is to be found elsewhere than in the living faith of the churches which sustain it, and if it is to be defended from revolutionary attempts, than to protect it from those who agree with the fathers in upholding the necessity of the gospel. There is yet severer work required. Judgment must begin at Jerusalem. It will be necessary to request the preacher of the last annual sermon to retract his declaration that "through all ages we think of some of them [the heathen] working righteousness and being accepted of Him," and his interpretation of the vision of the revelator, and that he should apply to every age his declaration that "so far as we know the preaching of the law and gospel of God is the only influence adequate to the conversion of the heathen who now live on the earth with us." The Home Secretary and the Prudential Committee, also, should be asked to define their position on this question. And if they agree with the fathers that the gospel is practically indispensable as a motive power, and also hold that no heathen can receive any knowledge of this gospel save in this earthly life, the question should then be put whether they also agree with the fathers in the inevitable conclusion that the great mass of mankind are doomed to eternal damnation without opportunity of being saved by the Redeemer who died for them. If the Board is to go into the business of defining its "historic" faith, if its doctrinal basis is to be determined in this fashion and men approved in the churches are to be excluded from its service, let us have thorough work. Let there be no equivocation. If entertaining the hope that those who do not hear of a Saviour in this life may come under the influence of his grace in the next is to be condemned as revolutionary, if men who cherish this hope, and think they have reason to do so, are to be excluded from service, let it be made plain what must be held. Does the Board adhere to the dogma of the universal, or substantially universal, damnation of the heathen who die without knowledge of the Redeemer? If not, on what grounds and for what reasons is it changing its historic faith? What position or prominence does it instruct its missionaries to give to knowledge of the true character of God, and of the atonement, in their efforts to recover men from sin? May they hold to an administration of grace, a work of the Spirit of God, outside of the ordinary means of grace, which is practically equivalent to his work through those means? If so, do they abandon the doctrine of the fathers of the Board that the spring of missionary effort is in the power of the gospel, and the Pauline principle that faith cometh by hearing? In a word, how does the present management of the Board propose to ad-

here to the historic theology of the Board and at the same time modify or abandon the tenet that the mass of mankind, who have hitherto lived, are everlastingly damned without opportunity of recovery by the power of the gospel?

There is one, and but one, solution of the multitudinous difficulties suggested by "the exact issue" which has been proposed. Let the Board listen to the voice of the churches and accept their decision NOT TO DIVIDE ON QUESTIONS THAT BELONG TO THE REALM OF OPINION, NOT OF FAITH.

CONCILIATION VERSUS DIVISION.

It is an open secret that the Japan Mission of the American Board has unanimously adopted and sent to the officers and corporate members of this organization a letter expressive of "deep sympathy in this grave crisis," and conveying the assurance of "most earnest and continued prayers . . . that there may be no division among the constituents of the Board, and that God will raise up and inspire some man or men to devise and present a plan of action on which all will unite."

Whatever we can do, which involves no sacrifice of principle, to promote a policy of union, we most heartily desire to accomplish. We can only speak for ourselves, and not for the body of friends of the Board who agree with us in desiring a modification of its present policy; yet possibly a brief explanatory statement of our position, offered and read in a spirit of conciliation, may be of service.

We will first call attention to objects which it is erroneously supposed by some that we are seeking to attain.

1. *We do not desire to secure any indorsement from the Board of what is called "Andover Theology."* We cannot be indifferent to the good opinion of so important a body as the Commissioners. But we do not deem it one of their functions to pass judgment on theologies, and we should violate this principle were we to desire from them any indorsement of our own theological opinions. Nor do we desire to secure indirectly what we might not aim at directly. If, for example, it should be decided to commission men who agree with us substantially in whatever discriminates our beliefs from those of other schools of evangelical thought, we should not claim this action as an indorsement of our opinions. We will recur to this again.

2. *We do not desire that the Board, or the Prudential Committee, or the Secretaries, should discard theological examinations of candidates for appointment.* A man's theology is, or ought to be, a part of his character. The Board in some way — the natural method is through the Secretaries and the Prudential Committee — should obtain full information as to the mental, moral, and spiritual qualifications of the men it commissions. The way in which a man holds his opinions, his ability to defend them, the proportion of his beliefs, his attitude toward opposing theories, his secondary and speculative opinions, even, may all

be helpful in deciding upon the service to which he shall be assigned. The Manual emphasizes rightly, we think, "great frankness" between candidates and the Secretaries.

3. *We do not deem any particular method of adjusting the present difficulties to be of essential importance.* Relief by councils seems to us preferable, because it brings the Board into closest and most advantageous relation to the churches. But if certain principles are duly maintained, we are ready to sustain any other method of settlement which may command general assent. The plan, for instance, of a committee from the corporate members of the Board, chosen on the principle of a mutual council, which the Rev. Mr. Beach has proposed in a letter written in an admirable spirit, offers striking advantages. We are not ready to accept it without further reflection, but it would be a strong recommendation of it to us if it should prove to be a means of union.

Turning now to what is positive, we would present the following suggestions:—

1. Advantage should be taken of the present widespread interest in the question to *secure a thorough consideration of the organic relation of the Board to the churches which sustain it.* A natural method to secure this would be the appointment of a commission to investigate and report to the Board. We will not suggest details here.

2. *The principle of comprehension and catholicity should be carried out in the selection of officers of the Board and members of the Prudential Committee.*

3. *The principle should be maintained that the Board is an administrative, not a legislative, body.*¹ The *fons et origo* of the present difficulty lies, we think, in departure from this principle. Dr. Hopkins put the whole difficulty into a terse statement when he said that the trouble arose from the Executive Committee's having acted as a theological committee, not as a prudential committee. In our judgment the original trouble was in Dr. Alden's confusing his proper function as a member of the Creed Commission with his appointed service as a Secretary of the Board. In the former case it was his duty to aid in framing an expression of what was understood to be the doctrinal beliefs of Congregationalists. In the latter it was his legitimate service to apply what approved itself as their faith. If he doubted whether the Creed which was adopted by the Commission fairly represented the faith of the churches, he was not at liberty to make his own opinion a rule of administration. He should, at least, have waited for further information, instead of asserting his own creed as that of the constituency of the Board. When, everywhere, the churches by councils showed their policy to be that of toleration, he should not have endeavored to resist this policy. We allude to this as affording a clear illustration of a practical principle. The Board, in its present relations, whether as a corporation

¹ We touch upon this topic here, as in the foregoing article, in its practical and concrete, not in its abstract or legal relations.

or by its representatives, is not a synod, or theological court, or creed-making body. Its office is to send out missionaries, otherwise properly qualified, who are acceptable, doctrinally, to the churches which sustain it. It has nothing to do, apart from and independent of these churches, with erecting standards of belief, with determining what doctrinal beliefs are to be accepted and what rejected. We concede the right to examine candidates theologically. We deny the right morally, and in existing conditions, *to create the standard for such examination*. It is because a decision by an ecclesiastical council of a candidate's theological soundness emphasizes this principle of the supremacy of the churches at this point that we prefer such a plan of meeting existing difficulties. But it is the practical principle which is essential, not any particular method of recognizing or applying it.

4. *It is important that provision be made which will exempt the Board, so far as is practicable, from the suspicion of theological partisanship.*

Such a suspicion, if widely entertained, is a serious harm to the Board. If there is no method, in the appointment of candidates, fitted to allay such suspicion, the Board is at a disadvantage. In the present situation this suspicion is extensive. The Prudential Committee and the Home Secretary are believed by many to have acted, if not intentionally, at least effectively, in the interest of a party. Conceding a measure of injustice in this reproach, there would be a great advantage in any scheme which obviously put the machinery of the Board on the side of scrupulous fairness and impartiality. Here was the advantage of the suggestion, accepted by the Board at Des Moines, of a resort to a council in the case of Mr. Hume and others. This is the advantage of Mr. Beach's proposal, and also of Dr. Samuel Harris's. Implicitly or explicitly there is secured, through each of these methods, a right of appeal.

We cannot but think that a great obstacle to union would be removed if all parties would see that the appointment of a candidate is not necessarily a committal of the Board to his opinions. Such action may suggest merely that the Board does not deem his opinions a bar to appointment. It may involve at most a policy of comprehension, or toleration, as respects these opinions. It is a real issue now whether the Board will be catholic, as are the churches, or whether it will insist upon a narrower test than theirs of its own. We may add, one exclusively its own. No other society, sustained by the Congregational churches, attempts such a policy. Mr. Morse, as we suppose, is now in the service of the Home Missionary Society. Has this Society, by accepting his services, committed itself to his opinions? If not, why would his appointment by the Board carry with it such committal?

But our present purpose is not to discuss but to explain and state, that if possible we may help to smoothen the path to union.

The theological questions now in dispute have a practical importance; but they are not of the essentials of our faith. They require for their

solution free Biblical investigation. They belong pre-eminently to that class of themes which is best studied in quiet and prayerful hours, and which is least fitted to the demands and excitements of public and platform debate. It would be a gain to truth, we believe, as well as a happy issue of the present contest, if the Board would leave them to such methods of solution. In an editorial article which claimed to speak with special exactness, the "Congregationalist" stated as follows its conception of the message of the missionary :

"Doctrinally it cannot be denied that from the beginning the Board has expected and demanded of its missionaries that they carry to the heathen the Evangelical as distinguished from the unevangelical form of Christianity. If it be asked what we mean by 'Evangelical,' we are quite willing to refer our questioners to the nine articles which constitute the doctrinal basis of the Evangelical Alliance, viz. :

1. The divine inspiration, authority and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.
2. The right and duty of private judgment in their interpretation.
3. The unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of the persons therein.
4. The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the fall.
5. The incarnation of the Son of God, his work of atonement for the sins of mankind, and his mediatorial intercession and reign.
6. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.
7. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.
8. The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous, and the eternal punishment of the wicked.
9. The divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper."

We agree with the Congregationalist that "the missionaries whom the Board sends out are expected and required to preach essentially these doctrines." We would add — to exclude possible misunderstanding — that we would not be understood thereby to favor the Board's adoption of any particular standard or Creed, not even that of the Congregational Commission. All that we intend is, that what the churches, through councils, require of pastors, what is commonly recognized as the essentials of the gospel, are the indispensable requirements of the missionaries of the Board, and beyond this the responsibility of the Board does not go.

SEMI-DENOMINATIONAL JOURNALISM.

THE leading religious journals of the country may be divided into three classes : the denominational journals, which are such in reality through the control of stock and the election of editors ; the semi-denominational journals, which are the property of individuals or of stock companies, but which often borrow the name of the denomination, and are assumed to represent its polity and faith ; and the undenominational journals, which expressly disclaim any representative character, and rely for their influence and circulation upon the broader treatment of subjects of

Biblical scholarship, or applied ethics, or Christian work. The chief concern of the religious public, in the way of criticism, is with journals of the second class. It must be conceded that the position which the semi-denominational papers occupy is one of singular delicacy. In the absence of any authorized organ in a given denomination, these journals naturally and rightfully assume a degree of authority. By common consent they are allowed to speak for the denomination in matters in which it stands related to other denominations. They are accepted as exponents of the denomination at those points where it is in agreement with itself, where the churches which compose it are in full working unity. It is in times of discussion and divided counsel in a denomination that their relations to the body are in danger of becoming arbitrary, partial, and unrepresentative. One journal by its persistency in some ultra course, to which it may have been committed, may narrow itself to become the organ of a clique or faction; while another journal by its changeable policy may expose to the public the vicissitudes of a stock company.

Still, even under these contingencies, we do not hesitate to express our preference for the semi-denominational journal above the denominational organ. Least of all, as we believe, could an organ be made to represent the vigor and freedom of thought and life under the Congregational polity. It would quickly become in itself a cause of hot contention, or degenerate into a mere exchange of church news. There is less occasion, than many may assume, in their impatience or indignation at the course of some papers within their denomination, for a responsible and authoritative journal. If at any time existing periodicals become identified with a school or a party, it is in order to establish a periodical which shall give a hearing to the unrepresented truth or policy. The undenominational journals are constantly increasing their circulation within the denominations, and thrive upon any narrowness or injustice on the part of their contemporaries. The secular press, in the better papers, is open to the promulgation of any principle or belief of vital interest to society. The religious utterances of the secular press are becoming more and more serious and discriminating, and therefore more influential. And representative men of a denomination can always address the public over their own names. A letter from Dr. Leonard Bacon or Dr. Mark Hopkins carried with it the weight of any journal. So many modifying influences are continually at work that the influence of a religious newspaper *seldom exceeds the real value of its opinion upon any controverted matter*. Its circulation is no criterion of its influence on the matter in controversy. The intelligent readers of a religious as of a secular paper may tolerate its opinion upon a given subject for the sake of its general worth to them. They may be misled for a time by the facts which it presents, but they will not be dominated without reason by its opinions.

There are, however, some principles which, we believe, should characterize the management of those journals which hold a representative

position in a denomination. Something is due from them because of the position which they are allowed to hold, and more is due in the general interest of religious journalism.

A journal which is in any sense representative of a denomination should be careful to recognize the rights of a minority. Whatever has an acknowledged place in the community of churches is entitled to an unquestioned and honorable recognition. It is most unseemly when the unofficial representatives of a body antagonize it in its official action. And yet this is the present attitude of the two leading Congregational newspapers toward the denomination. The denomination has pronounced, through its creed, and through a long and unbroken succession of councils, for toleration. The journals in question still advocate an intolerant policy. We do not affirm that Congregationalism accepts as its faith what is known as the New Theology. We do affirm that Congregationalism has declared, and is constantly declaring, by negative and positive action, that this phase of theological thought has a legitimate place within its limits. Nothing would seem to be more ill-advised than the attempt to decry a minority or to deny its rights. If it is so very small and insignificant, why decry it? The constant and urgent effort at repression is a sign of fear not of contempt. And if a minority has rights, why deny them, when the denial will inevitably raise up friends and convert the majority into the support of its rights if not of its opinions. The position of the Congregational national papers has not been in harmony with that of the denomination on present issues or representative of its spirit. The Congregational body is still a body of tolerationists.

It is to be expected that the semi-denominational journals will show an understanding of controverted questions in their relation to the history of thought in the denomination. Theological controversies are kindled out of the smouldering embers of the past. Every controversy has a history. And whenever one arises in a denomination and takes possession of it, it is safe to say that it must be connected with the intellectual history of that denomination. New England theology, after a long struggle, reached its theoretical conclusion in the doctrine of a universal atonement, but not its practical conclusion. Universal atonement carried with it the thought of a universal providence diffusing the knowledge of it to the ends of the earth. After the doctrine had begun to find practical expression in missions, the question naturally and necessarily arose as to the real extent of the atonement in its available power as a motive to repentance and faith. The discussion which now agitates the Congregational Church was involved from the first in the theology which created and developed modern missions, and in this sense it finds its natural place on the platform of the American Board. And yet, as if in ignorance of the doctrinal history of the denomination, the press at once, upon the appearance of the present controversy, raised the cry of German speculation. A new thought in religious faith may spring from various sources, but, we repeat, that which gives it vitality and growth in

any one part of the church is its natural connection with something which has gone before and made it necessary. It was a singular blunder for an accredited representative of New England theology to attribute the present theological discussion to foreign influences. Events have shown that the New England religious mind is simply thinking along the lines of its historical doctrinal development.

It may also be reasonably demanded of the semi-denominational journals that they shall present to their readers a fair and measurably complete view of the current life of the denomination. As religious *newspapers*, they should be as impartial as the undenominational press. Many of their readers rely upon them for their knowledge of facts pertaining to the thought and work of the church. They are entitled to these facts under such arrangement, in such proportion, and through such a perspective as will leave a reader free to form his own judgment as to their meaning. Facts once fairly given can be used in argument as the proprietors or editors may see fit to use them. The opinions of a journal are its own; its facts are common property, and belong to the public in their integrity. It is always difficult to tell "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," but in no case, as we conceive, is the difficulty so great as in the presentation of facts. Despite the proverb, there is, as every one knows, an evil tendency in figures to lie. There is a like perversity in facts. They lose their place, falling out of their true connection; they magnify themselves, in given cases, unduly; they become clannish, refusing to fellowship with other facts not of their class and complexion. It requires the utmost candor as well as skill to manage the news department of a religious paper — to rightly provide for information and to use it fairly when secured, to present speeches and correspondence bearing upon mooted questions in true proportion, to give satisfactory reports of the doings of councils and conventions, and their results. We do not ask for omniscience in the use of facts. We do not demand infallibility in fact like that to which we are accustomed in opinion. But we do ask that facts be given in their representative character, that all the facts which have to do with any current issue shall be published in their connection and proportion. If a fact is of importance enough, if known, to hurt a faction, it is important enough to be given to the public. In times of controversy, facts must be allowed to strike where they will, and according to their full weight.

There is a habit of some journals of seeking to create a sentiment not justified by facts, to which we call passing attention to expose it. It is the habit of quoting from other journals of like purpose and sympathy to show the unanimity of public thought in a given case. The assumption is that the unanimity of the public corresponds to the unanimity of the journals: an assumption which may be true, or may be false, but which, from the nature of the case, in times of controversy must be false. A controversy must have two sides. And if the attempt is made at great

pains, and with no little temper, to show that there is but one side, the attempt really shows that there is another side, and that the press does not dare to recognize it. In such cases it does not alter the fact, which soon or late makes itself seen and felt: it simply refuses to recognize and represent the fact. It fails, that is, in one of the most conspicuous functions of the press.

After saying this much, we repeat our preference for the semi-denominational journal above the denominational organ. We acknowledge the courtesy which often characterizes their management in the correction of mistakes and in the insertion of correspondence, and we acknowledge the difficulties which beset their conduct in times like the present of heated controversy; but we hold them none the less rigorously, and we believe justly, to the principles which are necessary to good journalism when it assumes to represent the thought and work of a body of religious believers.

BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

A CERTAIN HEBRAISM IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

WHEN we read that Jesus once said, "If any man come to me and hate not his father and mother . . . he cannot be my disciple," or that Paul once wrote, in substance, that God raised up Pharaoh in order to show his own power by hardening the heart of the king, it is difficult to exaggerate the shock to one of tender sensibility or delicate sense of justice. It is only when we have become aware of the Hebrew mode of expression here followed that we find any relief. Then the larger part certainly of the difficulty disappears, even if, especially in the second instance, a portion may still remain.

We will first define this Hebraism, — ought we, perhaps, to use the larger term Semitism? — illustrating it from the Old Testament usage, and then notice some important passages of the New Testament which, we think, it explains.

The idiom may be described as a sort of inverted *litotes* (of the Greek and Latin grammars); and whereas the latter, by the substitution of a negative for a positive formula, resulted in a rhetorical softening of the impression, — as if one should say, *I do not like him*, meaning, *I dislike him*, — the usage in question, by the substitution of a positive for a negative formula, results in a *heightening*, and sometimes, to our Western minds, even a distorting, of the impression intended.

If we turn to the classical passage Gen. xxix. 30 *sq.*, we read that, "The Lord saw that Leah was hated." It is true that, later, Leah's "affliction" is spoken of, and on the birth of her first-born she hopes, "now my husband will love me;" but these expressions are sufficiently explained by the fact that she stood second in Jacob's affections. So in Deut. xxi. 15, we read, "If a man have two wives, one beloved and the other hated," etc. So, possibly (though, from the context, this is more doubtful), the passage Mal. i. 2 *sq.* (from which Paul quotes), "I loved Jacob and I hated Esau." In these passages *to hate* is simply *to love less, give the other the preference*.

Another sort of cases is where a *causative* is put for a mere *permissive*, a causing instead of a not preventing; thus, again, a positive for a negative formula. In the story of the Exodus God is repeatedly said to have hardened Pharaoh's heart, though in the same story Pharaoh is more than once declared to have hardened his own heart, — "he sinned yet more and hardened his heart" (Ex. ix. 34). So, also, we venture to explain 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, where God is represented as moving David to number Israel; and this particular argument for the late date of the Chronicles, where the inciting is ascribed to Satan, would not be a good one, were it not that Satan is known to have been a late importation into the Hebrew system of belief. The fourth commandment does not really contain a positive injunction to week-day labor. Work is (in the commandment) *permitted* then in contrast with, and to emphasize, the absolute *prohibition* on the seventh day.¹ In Prov. viii. 10, "Receive my instruction *and not silver*," there is not an absolute, but only a *relative*, depreciation of silver; "and not" becoming equivalent to *rather than*. (The important bearing of this particular illustration will be seen a little later when we come to certain expressions of Jesus. The clause, though in form negative is impliedly positive, — "refuse, or neglect, silver," and so illustrates the usage in question.) In Isaiah lxiii. 17, "O Lord, why dost thou make us to err from thy ways, and hardenest our hearts from thy fear?" it is easy to see that in the writer's mind the causative is not essentially different from the merely permissive. Here and in the next chapter the divine sovereignty is reverently acknowledged, but not without an accompanying expression of contrition which no clay marred by the potter's hand could ever feel.

In his learned work on the "Genuineness of the Gospels," Prof. Andrews Norton found occasion to argue (v. Note D, Section VI., 2d edit.) the late origin of the Pentateuch — a question on which, although inclined to accept the Dutch view, we express no formed opinion here — from the testimony, not merely negative but apparently positive, of the prophets, and cited such passages as Amos v. 25, Micah vi. 6 *sq.*, Isaiah i. 11 *sqq.*, Jer. vii. 22, and Hos. vi. 6 (cf. Ps. xl. 6), to show that the earlier prophets knew no sacrificial system as we read it in the Pentateuch to-day. But apart from the objection that the very questions and allusions of the prophets seem to imply a fact or a popular belief back of them, and so to make rather *for* the existence of the system in their day, and to compel us to see in their words a questioning not of the fact, but of the significance and relative value, of the institution, their words are explicable through the Hebraism we are discussing; and whereas by question or indignant remonstrance they seem to ignore or even denounce the sacrifices while exalting the practical duties of charity and righteousness, it is quite possible that it is the *relative* urgency of these which subjects the former to seeming obloquy and prompts the seeming denial that they were instituted in the days of the fathers.² It is very possible that the prophets if questioned would have answered in

¹ Cf. Job xxxviii. 11, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed;" where the first clause, though in form positive, is really negative (as hinted, indeed, by the close of it), the sole purport of the utterance being to show, not how far the sea shall, or even may, come, but what limits it *shall not* overpass.

² Ewald's explanation (*die Propheten d. Allen Bundes*, vol. ii. p. 132) of Jeremiah's words, that he is thinking here only of the *free-will offerings* of the Pentateuch, does not seem to meet the case at all.

Jesus' words, after his apparent denunciation of the tithing of mint, anise, and cummin, as compared with the weightier matters of justice, mercy, and faith, — "these ought ye to have done, *and not to leave the other undone.*" And it is quite probable that Dr. Priestley, whose words Norton cites only in apparent surprise that they should be offered in explanation, may have hit upon the true solution of the difficulty when he makes the prophet reply to some inquirer, that he did not mean to say that God had "appointed no religious rites such as sacrifices. For the most particular directions are given concerning them in the books of Moses." He only intended that God had "always laid less stress upon everything of this kind than upon moral virtue."

We add a few other significant passages from the Old Testament, especially illustrative of the word *to hate*: Prov. i. 29, "They hated knowledge, and *did not choose* the fear of the Lord;" and Judges xiv. 16, where Samson's wife reproaches him with "thou dost but hate me, and *lovest me not*" (because he had not told her the riddle!); in both which examples the parallel expressions show the real negative meaning of "hate." Prov. xiii. 24: "He that spareth his rod hateth his son," and xxix. 24, "Whoso is partner with a thief hateth his own soul," call for no remark except to say that while they may be mere hyperboles, such as are common in all languages, and particularly in Oriental speech, as to *loving* and *hating*, as see in the recent N. T. Lexicon of Dr. Thayer, under *μισεω*, we may also assume that the word *hate* had by the usage in question so often been made equivalent to *love less than*, that at length it came to lose, even in absolute expressions, a degree of its original force. Cf. 2 Sam. xix. 6, "Thou lovest them that hate thee, and hatest them that love thee." And we may anticipate here our New Testament discussion, by referring to noticeable passages illustrating the same softening: John xii. 25, "He that hateth his life in this world, shall keep it, etc." Luke xix. 14, "They hated him and sent a message after him, saying, We will not have this man to reign over us;" and Eph. v. 29, "No man ever hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it," — in all of which *hate* means scarcely more than *neglect, be indifferent to*.

The Aryan, or, perhaps, rather Occidental, tendency seems to be in the opposite direction of *litotes*, seen in the Irish expression, "y' had a right to do" so-and-so, meaning, *it was your duty to do it*, and in our Westernism, "I allow" for *I assert*.

In passing, now, to the New Testament, we must recollect that though we are dealing with a nominally Aryan language, it is so colored and shaped — much of it at least — by the modes of thought of the Semitic authors as to require its own lexicon, and especially its own grammar. It should occasion no surprise, therefore, if expressions which in classical Greek would have a very different meaning, or no meaning at all, disclose their proper meaning only through the lens of some Hebrew idiom. In the light, then, of our present discussion, let us examine certain troublesome passages.

When Jesus utters (Luke¹ xiv. 26) the apparently harsh saying about hating father and mother, he means only (as, indeed, he more nearly ex-

¹ The fact that Luke's own Greek was purer than that of the other New Testament writers may be conceded, but he evidently gives these words much as they fell, or were reported to have fallen, from Jesus' lips; and Winer points out that Luke Hebraizes much more in the Gospel, where he largely follows the Evangelical tradition, than in the Acts.

presses it, to our ears, in Matt. x. 37) that all other loves, when they conflict with the divine, must give way to that.¹ When Paul, following the passage in Exodus, represents God as hardening Pharaoh's heart, he *may* have meant — so far as the language is concerned — merely that God *permitted* Pharaoh's heart to be hardened. (Whether Paul really meant this is a question of exceeding interest, theologically, involving as it does the further question whether Paul — who there is some reason to think was a better Grecian than Hebraist — may not possibly have misconceived the genius of the Hebrew language; a misconception carried still further, in its effects on theological opinion, by Augustine's known mistranslation of Paul. But we cannot discuss the question here.) When Jesus, in that curious passage, Luke xvii. 10, bids us, even when we have done our whole duty, pronounce ourselves "unprofitable servants," seeing that we have "done that which it was our duty to do," he means, by a double use of our Hebraism, that we can claim *no special merit or profit* (ἀρπῆς; cf. μὴ ἔχει χάριν etc., just before), since we have done *no more than our duty*. When Jesus teaches to pray, "Lead us not into temptation," — a petition which the present writer has heard pronounced arrant nonsense, since God could not, or would not, lead any one into temptation, — he means simply a prayer that God *should not let us* be led into temptation, which is quite a different thought, and consists with James's "neither tempteth he any man." When Jesus declares (Luke xii. 48) that the servant ignorant of his lord's will will be punished for not doing it, our moral sense receives a wound which is not perceptibly relieved by the lightness of the punishment. Why *any* punishment? To say, with some, that the *ignorance*, as a *willing* ignorance, is the thing then punished does not meet the difficulty, for the context almost certainly suggests a blameless ignorance, while it is difficult to see how such *willing* ignorance would sensibly diminish the guilt of omission. Nor is Meyer's explanation satisfactory, that the guilt lay in the fact that the servant "had in general, as an inner law, the immediate moral consciousness of his relationship to his lord, although he was without the external law of his lord's will as positively made known, for which reason, too, the punishment takes a milder form;" for the inner law, if making him responsible at all, would subject him to the *full* penalty for disobedience, while to punish him even a *little* for breaking an external law he never knew would certainly be unjust. Besides, the plain sense of Jesus' words is that the servant *did not know* his lord's will in *any way that made him responsible*. The perplexity remains. We should certainly have expected in the second clause, "shall not be beaten at all." How, then, explain Jesus' words? By turning the positive formula "*few stripes*" into a negative one, *not many stripes*. It thus becomes more directly the antithesis of the "*many stripes*" in the first clause. Turning, then, to this first clause, we find that the emphasis rests not on the "*many*" (which is seen to belong only to the drapery of the picture), but on the "*beaten*;" not on the *degree*,² but on

¹ It must be acknowledged that writers like Bengel and Meyer interpret this and similar passages in the literal and sterner sense, seeming to find such sense in fullest harmony with their own severe theology; but the more advanced Tholuck (*Bergpredigt*, Matt. vi. 24) and, as he seems to us, the gentler Bleek (*Erklärung der 3 ersten Evang.*), (whom, however, his editor, Nitzsch, in the name as he declares of the "Republic of Critics," does not scruple to call "the trustworthy,") both take the view presented.

² The tendency in thought and speech to introduce the notion of degree

the *fact*, of punishment; since there is no question about the degree, but only about the fact, of the guilty neglect. The second clause, then, is in opposition not to the degree, but the fact, of punishment; and who can doubt that Jesus meant simply that while the servant who neglected known duty should be punished, he who did not know, and so did not perform, his lord's will — notice, by the way, that it is not called the servant's *duty* — should not be punished; a conclusion which agrees perfectly with James's, "to him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin." Similarly we explain (Luke xv. 7) the "joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth *more than over ninety and nine just persons, who need no repentance*," to mean simply, *there is great joy in heaven over the penitent sinner*; an interpretation which is confirmed by the exclamations of the happy finders of the lost sheep, and the stray silver piece, as well as by Jesus' later statement (verse 10) to the simple effect that "there is joy" in heaven. The very parable of the Prodigal Son in the same chapter must be taken in the same way, as the father's very tender and beautiful words to the elder brother show, when in reply to the latter's very natural remonstrance he recognizes his fidelity and assures him of its most blessed reward: only, he would have him share his father's joy over the missing one returned. If there is a sentimental loss in the new interpretation of these passages, there is more than compensation in the relief afforded to our aggrieved sense of justice, and in the removal of the discouragement which seemed to be cast upon fidelity itself. The lips which pronounced the beatitudes never, we may be certain, ignored the claims or the blessedness of the righteous life; rather, it was the joy of seeing a wanderer come back to that life which led Jesus, through the idiom in question, to seem to speak slightly of it.

A few other interesting passages from the words of Jesus are to be interpreted, we believe, by recognizing the idiom discussed in this paper. When Jesus cautions us (Luke xiv. 12) not to invite to our entertainments our "friends," or our "rich neighbors," but rather the poor and the miserable, he seems by the implied positive formula — "call not" really = *see that you do not call* — to countenance the other extreme from neglect of the poor, and to wage war on innocent social usages; whereas his meaning simply is, *do not neglect the wretched ones*. When Jesus counsels, "when thou fastest, anoint thy head and wash thy face that thou appear not unto men to fast," there is at the first blush a suggestion of insincerity, which, to the present writer at least, was once very painful, and not sensibly diminished by the consideration that the dissembling apparently advised was in the interest of humility and avoidance of display. But all this difficulty disappears when we substitute for the positive formula of our Hebraism, "anoint," a

where it is irrelevant is seen in our every-day phrases "much more" and "much less," used when we simply mean *still* more, *still* less, as in the statement, "I shall hardly live to be eighty years old; much less eighty-five;" and more marked illustrations may be recalled or constructed by the reader. Cf. Prov. xi. 31; xvii. 7; and xix. 10; also 2 Cor. iii. 9 and 11; Phil. ii. 12, and frequent instances in Paul. Notice, also, the every-day expressions, "many *long* years," "a few *short* months," "a few *brief* lines," and many others, where the adjectives of measure are purely redundant and introduced by a sort of attraction through the influence of the numerals; while, conversely, we use numerals also where their force is derived solely from the *size* or *quantity* involved, — as, "many geological ages," meaning, perhaps, three or five, though three or five *seconds* are "very few."

negative one, the real meaning being (as the contrasted example of the Pharisees also suggests) simply, *avoid flaunting your self-denials upon the world.* Matt. v. 43 sq. has a special interest. Jesus corrects the old saying, "love your friends, and hate your enemies" into "love your enemies." He was not contented, then, with what the old passage (apparently some lost Scripture, unless it be a popular maxim alluded to in 2 Sam. xix. 6, already mentioned) really meant, *thou shalt love thy neighbor better than thy enemy*, if this was to imply any indifference to the latter's interest. Thus he strikes, by anticipation, a still harder blow at the narrow patriotism which, by false economical arrangements, would profit (if it were possible) at the expense of other and friendly nations. Very perplexing, and the theme of much unjust criticism of the ideas and injunctions of Jesus, are the familiar passages in which he seems to discountenance proper industry and a reasonable prudence as to worldly interests, — "Lay by no treasures here," "Labor not for the meat which perisheth." But Jesus really meant: The things of *the Spirit* are to be labored for *far more earnestly than those of the body and this life*: so he says, *Do not labor at all (!)* for the latter; exactly as the old Hebrew writer had made Wisdom say, in the passage already cited (Prov. viii. 10), "Receive my instruction *and not silver*, and knowledge rather than choice gold."

Analogous to the use of a causative for a permissive verb, as before illustrated, is the use of a causal for a concessive *conjunction*. In John viii. 45, "Because I tell you the truth, ye believe me not," *because* evidently has, in the practical outcome of the passage, the force of *although*, — though Meyer insists upon the strict and customary meaning,¹ and in keeping with his stern theology labors to justify it, and though Winer denies that *ὅτι* ever means *although*. Not that we should actually change the translation, any more than in the passage, "Labor not for the meat, etc." We should simply *read between the lines*, and retain clearly in *thought* the *resultant* (to us Aryans) of the idiom used, not doubting that it was, potentially, in the thought of the speaker also. Matt. xi. 25, though open to more doubt, seems to be an illustration of the same usage: "I thank thee, Father, . . . *ὅτι* thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them unto babes," where *ὅτι* though connected with both the following clauses seems to have not the same force in both. We cannot avoid the feeling that Jesus' *thought* was of rejoicing, that *though* these things had for some inscrutable reason been allowed to be unknown, — observe in passing the Hebraism in "hast hidden" for *left unrevealed*, — they *had* been disclosed to the childlike. As before, however, we do not *translate* by *although*, yet not by *because*, but, recognizing that *ὅτι* simply introduces the *subject-matter* of rejoicing, render it by *that*, and leave the thought to make its own impression upon our minds.

Have *ὅτι* and *ὅπως*, and the corresponding particle in Hebrew (*לְכֵן*) ever the so-called *ecbatic* force, expressing consequence merely, or do they preserve invariably their proper *telic* sense and indicate an intelligent *purpose*? The question has been sharply debated and is an important one from a theological point of view. Did Jesus really mean (Mark iv. 12) that he spake in parables to the multitude *in order that*

¹ His comment is: "A thoroughly tragical 'because' — has its ground in the alien character of the relation between that which Jesus speaks and their devilish nature, to which latter a lie alone corresponds."

they might not perceive nor understand, and so be converted and forgiven? When the evangelist declares that words were uttered, or events occurred, *in order to fulfill some ancient prophecy*, are we to understand him in the strict sense of the words? It is much the same question as that in debate between the older and many recent schools of science: are facts in the organic world (of which themselves there is no dispute) simply *results*, or are they *designed* results? On the philological question the scholars are divided. Meyer on Matt. i. 12 denies (if we rightly recall his words) that *iva* ever has the ecbatic force in the New Testament; Winer, we believe, is less positive, or even admits the occasional ecbatic use; while Robinson, under יִּבְרָח , says, in criticism of Gesenius's position, that the word never has the ecbatic force, "yet the frequent and undeniable ecbatic use of *iva* and $\delta\tau\omega\varsigma$ in the New Testament not improbably arose from their supposed correspondence to the Hebrew יִּבְרָח , etc., for which they are put in the LXX." That *iva* has sometimes what may be called a substantive force in the New Testament, suggesting a transitional stage between the telic and ecbatic uses, seems clear from 1 John v. 3, "This is the love of God, *iva* we keep his commandments," where keeping the commandments is simply the substance or expansion of "this;" and there is also a well recognized tendency in the New Testament to use *iva* and the subjunctive instead of an infinitive. One cannot avoid the feeling that both Meyer and Gesenius are influenced by dogmatic considerations. How else could the latter, at any rate, explain Ps. li. 4, "Against thee only have I sinned, etc.; that thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and clear when thou judgest," by remarking, "that is, to this end [!] have I been left to sin, that thy justice might be made manifest;" instead of seeing that the Psalmist is merely stating the practical *result* (cf. Rom. iii. 19) of his confession? In Jeremiah xlv. 8, Hosea viii. 4, and Micah vi. 16, in all of which sin and its penalty are spoken of, and in which the LXX have *iva* in the first instance and $\delta\tau\omega\varsigma$ in the two others, it seems impossible to doubt that, *whatever conception was in the mind of the writer*, the ecbatic sense is the one which *we* must see. Amos ii. 7 is still more striking, though even here Gesenius does not hesitate to give the Hebrew particle its stricter force.

What, now, is the explanation of the repeated use of telic particles not only in cases where the idea of purpose is possibly, though less clearly, discernible, but in those where that idea can only with great violence be introduced? We reply by referring to the Hebraism discussed in this paper. As the Hebrew was fond of using a causative verb for a permissive or reflexive form, a causal for a concessive conjunction, so a telic for an ecbatic particle came naturally to the lips, as it conformed logically to the conception, of the race. This, of course, was largely due to the thought of divine sovereignty as supreme; for had not Jehovah declared, amid the sorrows of the Captivity (Isa. xlv. 7), "I create evil," and had not a prophet (Amos iii. 6) asked, "Shall evil befall a city, and the Lord hath not done it?" We say, then, first, that this conception would lead a writer to regard as designed what *we* should look at as facts merely; and then, secondly, that habit would lead to the use of the telic particle when not even the writer could have had a serious idea of expressing purpose. To this habit we refer the substantive use of *iva*, already mentioned, and perhaps also that "excessive fondness [of the New Testament writers] for particles of reasoning or inference"

referred to by Professor Jowett ("Interpretation of Scripture"). Excellent is the remark of the editor of the Cambridge (England) Bible (A. Carr) on the formula "that it might be fulfilled," in Matt. i. 22, and elsewhere: "By this formula the evangelist recognized in the event described a fulfillment of a type or prophecy. It matters little whether he regarded 'that,' *iva*, as (1) *final*, 'in order that,' or (2), by a late use, consecutive, 'so that;' in other words, (1) as marking the conscious intention of the prophet, or of God speaking through the prophet; or (2) a reflection of the evangelist viewing the historical fact in connection with the prophecy, and finding in the prophecy an analogy, if not definite prediction. For in regard to divine action the intention and result are identical; that is, we cannot conceive of any result being unintentional with God."

In the light of what has been said let us glance at a number of passages both in the Old Testament and in the New.

Deut. ii. 30: "The Lord thy God hardened his [Sihon's] spirit, and made his heart obstinate, that he might deliver him into thy hand." Josh. xi. 20: "It was of the Lord to harden their hearts, to come against Israel in battle, that he might utterly destroy them." Hosea viii. 4 and Micah vi. 16 have already been cited, to which may be added Isa. xxx. 1, "Woe to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of me . . . that they may add sin to sin;" and xxviii. 13, "Therefore shall the word of the Lord be unto them precept upon precept . . . that they may go and fall backward and be broken, etc." Especially interesting is the passage (Isa. vi. 9 *sq.*) from the fascination it seems to have had for New Testament speakers or writers: "Go and tell this people, Hear ye indeed but understand not, and see ye indeed but perceive not; make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and turn again, and be healed." This passage is cited, or alluded to, not less than six times in the New Testament. Three of these, it is true, are identical in occasion, and so form a part (it would seem) of the "threefold tradition," but this fact itself is significant and points to an interest on the part of the hearers which they did not all feel in all Jesus' words. It was after the parable of the sower had been uttered (Matt. xiii.) and the disciples had asked why he spoke to the multitudes in parables. It was (he said) because it was not given to *them* "to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. . . . Therefore speak I unto them in parables, because seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand. And unto them is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah which saith, etc." [Very noticeable here (though previous parts of the whole New Testament passages are rather difficult) is the word "because," which, if Jesus really used it, presents the whole utterance of the prophet in a new aspect. One is tempted to see in the "because" a key to the whole thought as it lay in Jesus' mind, and for the rest to believe that in part his precise words have not reached us, and in part — so far as the quotation from Isaiah is concerned — that to him, by usage of the language, the words hardly meant more than the expression of a fact. *Because* the people's understanding had become dull, and therefore unequal to profiting by direct words of teaching, *for that reason* he would speak to them in picture-language, which, if not at once intelligible, at least awakened no antagonism, while by its very nature it would fasten itself

in memory (if they would but use their ears to hear!) and work at last its own solution (cf. Luke ix. 44 sq.).] In Mark iv. 11 sq. and Luke viii. 10 it is noticeable that "because" has given place to "that" in more literal accordance with the language of the prophet. The occasion in John xii. 39 sq. is a different one, and the language (it is the writer's and not that of Jesus) has an interest of its own: "For this cause they could not believe, because Isaiah said again, 'He hath blinded their eyes,' etc." Does "for this cause" refer in substance, as it does in form, to "Isaiah said," — as if the prophecy, assumed to refer to the Jews of Jesus' time, compelled in some way its own fulfillment; or does it refer to the subject-matter of the prophecy, and to the conditions there set forth? The former reference would agree with the familiar formula "that it might be fulfilled," to which we shall presently recur. Two other quotations of the passage in Isaiah are found: Acts xxviii. 25 sqq., where Paul dismisses with it the disbelieving Jews at Rome; and Rom. xi. 8, where, in a somewhat milder temper, he sees in it an explanation of the existing alienation of his countrymen; an estrangement, however, which is not always to continue, for at last "all Israel shall be saved."

Notice the following passages in which the telic particle suggests (to us) an ecclastic sense: Matt. xxiii. 35 [after mention of the maltreatment by the Jews of the messengers to be sent to them], "that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed, etc." Luke xiv. 10, "Go and sit down in the lowest place, that when he that hath bidden thee cometh he may say to thee, Friend go up higher." 2 Cor. iv. 7, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, etc." Hebrews xii. 27, "And the expression, 'yet once more,' signifieth a removal of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, so that those things which are not shaken may remain." 1 John i. 9, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just that he may forgive our sins," — where *iva* has almost a substantive force, — *in forgiving*, exemplifying the foregoing adjectives.

Further illustrations of this substantive use of the telic particle are: Matt. xii. 16, "He charged them not to make him known;" Mark v. 43, "He charged them much that no man should know this;" and some other very similar passages. Luke v. 14 and viii. 56 are instructive, as showing the use of the *infinitive* (really a noun) instead of *iva*, to express the subject-matter of the charge.

We recur, in closing, to the familiar formula *iva* (ὅπως) πληρωθῇ not for the purpose of entering upon a theological or philosophical controversy, to the suggestion of which the words so easily lend themselves, but to call attention to some alternative phrases which must make us hesitate to press here the telic force of *iva*. Matt. ii. 7 and xxvii. 9, τότε ἐπληρώθη, xiii. 14, καὶ ἀναπληροῦται, John xii. 14, καθὼς ἐστὶν γεγραμμένον, i. 23, καθὼς εἶπεν . . . ὁ προφήτης, Luke iii. 4, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ, etc., Matt. iii. 3, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ῥηθεὶς διὰ . . . τοῦ προφήτου. Of these formulæ the last is the most difficult; but even this may be explained by giving to the copula the pregnant force whose incipient stage we may, perhaps, recognize in such simple metaphors as, *I am the door, the vine*, etc., and which, in a more highly developed degree, it almost certainly has in such passages as, "to be carnally minded is death, etc.," "this is life eternal, to know thee, etc.," and "this is the love of God, that we keep, etc.," where "is" — though one is slow to acknowledge it, and so

give up a valued homiletic use of these texts — is more than the mere copula, and is pregnant with the meaning, *leads to, secures, is earnest (or evidence) of*, and the like. So in the passage before us, “this is he, etc.,” “is” may fairly be rendered by *brings to mind, answers to*, etc. The other phrases, expressing, as they do, scarcely more than an observed resemblance or correspondence between an event or object and a remembered scripture, strongly suggest that no more is necessarily involved in the *iva πληρωθῇ*.

H. D. Catlin.

EASTPORT, MAINE.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS.

SOUTH AFRICA.

THE “Missionary Herald” for April, 1886, gives a description of the Jubilee of the Zulu Mission, held on the 20th of December, 1885, being fifty years from December 20, 1835, when a vessel carrying Rev. Aldin Grout, Rev. George Champion, and Newton Adams, M. D., constituting what was then called the Maritime Mission to Southern Africa, came to anchor in the “roads of Natal.” At the jubilee exercises, which included the dedication of Jubilee Hall, to be used by the training school, there were present, besides the missionaries and their immediate friends, many Natal colonists, including Sir Charles Mitchell, the English administrator. Sir Charles made an admirable speech, in which he said: “The task in hand at these stations is an heroic one; the shallow criticism that nothing has been done is an entire mistake. When the stupendous difficulties in the way are considered, the results achieved in fifty years must not be looked upon as discouraging. The task is no less than the turning of a savage people to civilization, from nomadic to agricultural and industrial pursuits. If such a radical change is to rest on a solid foundation, it must be by slow and gradual operation, by placing those foundations deep down in the soil. If soundly started, the superstructure will arise, rapidly and complete, as the walls of this building arose after the foundation was laid. . . . True conversion was slow work, and the slower the more durable. He wished, in conclusion, to convey to the missionaries the hearty sympathy of the government of this colony in the work in which they were engaged, and the earnest hope for a happy and successful future within these walls, both for themselves, and above all for the natives, for the government were conscious that in their task of governing the natives of the colony the work of the missionaries was a very material assistance.” The “Natal Mercury” speaks to the same effect: “We wish now to do in the name of the press what Sir Charles Mitchell will do in the name of the colony, and that is to recognize the faithful and persistent efforts of an unselfish and devoted body of men to win over to Christian life and practice the heathen inhabitants of this colony.” “The Jubilee has been eminently successful, and the American missionaries proved that they have kept their true work steadily before them.”

The Rev. Aldin Grout, one of the three original missionaries, furnishes

an interesting description of his first experiences in Natal. It was then a "howling wilderness" in the most literal sense, being overrun by "all the large and small wild beasts and serpents," which the immense increase of population, both white and native, with the introduction of fire-arms, has either exterminated or reduced within manageable proportions. There were then, it was thought, not over three thousand natives. There are now three hundred and thirty thousand, mostly refugees from Zululand, who are governed by their own laws, but are protected by the English. Mr. Grout gives an amusing account of his interview with Dingan, the chief of the Zulus. He asked the missionaries if they had ever seen so large and fine a house as his hut of twenty-five feet square. He made some extemporaneous efforts to learn to write, but finding, contrary to Dogberry's opinion, that it did not come by nature, dismissed it in disgust as a piece of witchcraft of a peculiarly unavailable sort. Neither he, nor Umpande, his successor, nor Cetywayo, Umpande's successor, wanted missionaries; but Udinizulu, Cetywayo's son and successor, has at last sent for them. "It has taken four generations of chiefs to secure the toleration of Christianity in Zululand." Meanwhile the missionaries of the American Board have all been within the Natal Colony. Repeated attempts to settle in Zululand led to the destruction of houses and goods, until, when the missionaries seemed likely to be driven off the continent altogether, Sir Peregrine Maitland, of the Cape Colony, sent back Mr. Grout to Natal as "missionary to her Majesty Queen Victoria," and so saved the mission. — It is stated that a nephew of Cetywayo, after six years of study in Stockholm, has returned and is about to establish a mission among the Zulus.

— The East Central African Mission, which has lately been established, is described by the "Herald" as "at once the foreign missionary enterprise of the Zulu Mission in Natal and an independent movement to reach the tribes in the interior of Africa with the gospel." An interior mission to the Zulus was opened contemporaneously with the Natal mission, but had to be given up by reason of the wars between the Boers and the natives. The Zulu Mission, however, has often cast its eyes towards the regions northeast of the Limpopo River, and Matebeland, in which the Zulu language is either vernacular or widely understood. But fewness of missionaries and a certain indifference of the native churches restrained them until the echoes of Livingstone's and Stanley's discoveries began to ring among them. The plan has now been resumed, and the new mission, which is seated in Umzila's kingdom, and under his encouragement, and which has been very kindly aided by the Portuguese authorities, under certain restrictions more nominal than real, now occupies a region which is thus penetrated for the first time by foreign explorers, and which stretches five hundred miles along the coast from the mouth of the Limpopo River to the Zambezi, being the natural way of approach to a vast inland territory, and which "seems to be thickly peopled by tribes that offer an easy access to missionary labors." The East Central African Mission, therefore, has been fully established, consisting of three families. It really dates back to 1880, when the Zulu Mission sent Rev. Myron W. Pinkerton, a younger member, to explore. Everything was in best train, when he suddenly died. In 1881 the Mission sent Rev. E. H. Richards, who has been joined by Rev. William C. Wilcox, and Rev. Benjamin F. Ousley. The latter gentleman was born a slave in the family of Mr. Joseph Davis, brother of Jefferson Davis. He

was set free by the Proclamation, and, with his wife, was educated at Fisk University. About fifty have renounced heathenism and are persuading others in turn, though it is thought best to be slow in baptizing. The schools are large, and attendance fairly regular. It is hoped from this base to work steadily towards the heart of the continent. And, which is of peculiar significance, as is hoped, for the future, four native helpers from the Zulu churches have been found to strengthen the mission.

— An appeal comes from Rev. H. B. Bridgman, of Umzumbi, in the Zulu Mission. "I hear of a revival of missionary interest in both Hartford and Yale seminaries. Will all 'pass by on the other side' and go to Japan and China? Has the man of Africa, bruised, robbed, sick with ignorance, degradation, and sin, and for whom Christ died, no claims on the strong, healthy, enterprising Christian young men of your theological seminaries? We beg, we implore. It is not only Japan and China that are waking from the sleep of ages: Africa herself is feeling 'the throb and whirl of this nineteenth century.' It is time to thrust in the gospel-sickle as never before. Vast fields in Africa are as healthy as the Mississippi Valley, if not as healthy as the hills of New England. Let them come, a dozen new recruits for Natal; another dozen for Bihé and Umzila's, which as yet we have scarcely reached." — In the Annual Survey of the Missions of the American Board, by Dr. N. G. Clark, found in the November "Herald," the East Central Mission is thus adverted to: "The last three Sundays in March the audiences at public worship averaged over three hundred. The interest is wide-spread. The natives have learned that the missionaries are unlike other white men whom they have known. The native tribes around the stations are eager to learn to read and are easily impressed by the truths of the gospel. Unlike most Africans, these people show an unusual readiness to engage in manual labor and to assist the missionaries in every way. The impression made at this early day, the genuine religious interest developed, and the outlook for the future are without precedent, so far as we know, in the history of African missions. The record reads more like a report from Micronesia. The three brethren are fully occupied with the work now in hand, — teaching, preaching, reducing languages to writing, translating, and laying foundations. They cannot reach a tithe of the people near them who are waiting for Christian teachers. Is it strange that they call for an immediate reinforcement of eight men? Considering the field open to effort and the wonderful success that has attended the missions thus far, it would be difficult to point out a more urgent or a more inviting field of labor."

— In March, 1886, a Zulu chief, Sakayedwa, who in his boyhood had known a little of the missionaries, wrote to Mr. Wilder: "Let the children come and rain in light on my dark eyes so that I may see where my father did not see." Again, in a personal interview: "Dumisa, my father, led me astray by giving me many wives; I do not wish my son to be looked upon by the white people as a fool, as they look upon me. I wish him to take but one wife." At this station of Polela Mr. Wilder had examined twelve candidates for church-membership, and in view of these and of the despairing urgency of the people of the whole region for schools he does not know what to do or to say.

— In the December "Herald" apprehension is expressed as to the working of a treaty which had then just become known, having been made in

1885, between Portugal and Gungunhana, or Umganu, as our missionaries call him, son and successor of Umzila. It reduces Umganu to almost absolute dependence on the Portuguese, and pledges him particularly to favor any missions which they may establish. The "Herald" fears that this will make a great difference in the treatment of Protestant missions. Yet, as the Portuguese have been slack as to their own missions, it is to be hoped that nothing may come of it. Portugal is at least not afraid that American missionaries will hatch any schemes for territorial aggrandizement. The treaty, however, seems to have been no sooner published than violated by a general combination of northern chiefs, who swept down upon the province of Inhambane, routed the Portuguese forces, and caused the flight of the missionary families to the coast. But before long peace is reported as again prevailing, and everything going on about as usual. What Umganu's present relation is to his Portuguese suzerains, whom he proclaimed and then attacked, is left unexplained.

— Mr. Ousley, writing in December, 1886, does not speak very encouragingly of the people around him. He says that they have, indeed, some vague ideas of a future life, but are very skeptical and indifferent as to all that implies a judgment to come. — At Inanda, in the Zulu Mission, January 10, 1887, Mr. Pixley wrote that fifteen had just been baptized and admitted to communion. — Mr. Pixley says also: "On account of the constant turmoil, amounting almost to anarchy, in a portion of that country given to the Zulus after its conquest by the English, we have been hoping that the British government would assume the Protectorate, and thus put an end to tribal difficulties and defend the natives from oppression on the part of violent, Zulu-hating Boers, who have taken possession of a large slice of the territory. . . . The natives living on our stations seem very desirous that their fatherland should come under the protection of England, for they look with irrepressible longing for the time when they or their children shall be able to go and live in that country, which for pastoral, if not for agricultural, purposes is superior to Natal."

— It may be well here to note the nature of the population of Africa. Deducting such tribes as the Berbers, Moors, Copts, Abyssinians, and Arabs, in the North, who are not in any proper sense negroes, and the Hottentots and Bushmen in the extreme South, who are equally distinct from the negro, being more nearly akin to the Malays and Mongols, the great bulk of the African tribes are either Negroes proper, or, in the Central South and the Southeast, that great Negroid race, of which the Zulu-Kaffres are the best-known representatives, and which includes, also, the Bechuanas, and all the other wide-spread families of the Bantu stock, of whose common language the Zulu-Kaffre is stated by the *Encyclopædia Britannica* to be the typical representative, bearing very much the same relation to the other forms as that which the Sanskrit bears within the Indo-Germanic family. Some put this great Bantu or Kaffre race entirely apart from the Negro, but the *Britannica* declares it beyond all doubt to be only a deep differentiation of it. And certainly any one who has lived long among the negroes and reads the accounts given by missionaries and travelers of the Bantus or Kaffres, will find it hard to distinguish the two races essentially. Worldly good sense and reasonableness, sensuality, superstition, and spiritual indifference seem common to the two, though the Negro, perhaps, inclines to an intenser superstition and the Bantu more to indifference. Mentally and physically,

and perhaps morally, the Kaffre is on the whole of a decidedly higher type, although the ideal beauty once ascribed to the Kaffre has been shown to be by no means characteristic of the race, which inclines decidedly, though with advantageous contrast, to the negro type. The Britannica adverts to the remarkably complicated forms of the Zulu-Kaffre language, maintained, however, with the utmost delicacy of distinction. Its verbal resources, especially, are almost inexhaustible, equaling, or exceeding, those of the Finno-Turkish languages. We should judge, however (though perhaps this is a prejudice), that these capacities lie rather in the line of an infinite extensibility of certain mechanically applied categories (so to speak, an endless series of empty drawers) than in anything like the more modest and spiritual flexibility of the Greek. Nevertheless, these latent capacities of expression must make the work of translation a very different thing from what it is in those heathen tongues whose straitened and stubborn unmanageability reduces the missionary translator almost to despair.

— On the western side of South Africa, in Namaqualand, a sad testimony is borne by the missionaries of the Rhenish Society as to the desolation wrought by strong drink. Says one of the missionaries, as reported in the "Chronicle of the London Missionary Society": "There is a future for Namaqualand, but not for the Nama people. Brandy is doing its dreadful work. The land is being bartered away to the Boers for drink, and then come hunger and death." At the same time we notice that at the one station of Beersheba there are 414 communicants. — The "Chronicle," in reviewing the London Society's missions during the present reign, expresses regret that it has now fewer stations in South Africa than it had in 1837. — "The Wesleyan Missionary Notices," the magazine of the English Methodists, that is, of their leading body, has a letter from Rev. George Weavind, describing the satisfaction felt by the Baralong nation of the Bechuana "now that the great Queen has thrown over them the blessing of her protection." Mr. Weavind describes, somewhat effusively but very interestingly, the dedication of a new chapel, a centre of many small surrounding societies. Though it was in the ploughing season, he estimates some 1,500 adults to have been present. The nation, as a whole, is under Wesleyan guidance. The whites are beginning to stream in, a fact, however, which does not, in Africa as in America, imply extinction of the aborigines, nor, where England governs, their subjugation. — The Wesleyans, like other South African missionaries, speak of the chronic obstacle to the spread of the gospel there, namely, polygamy and the sale of wives. Bishop Colenso proposed to promote the spread of Christianity, or of what he was pleased, at least, to denominate Christianity, among the Zulus and their kindred tribes by assuring them, and especially the chiefs, that he had no thought of interfering with their peculiarities of this kind, nor, some say, with their peculiarities of sensuality, savagery, and despotism generally. Missionary communications reported in the "Missionszeitschrift" declare that the Bishop's well-known society for the protection of the natives might better be described as a society for guarding against the inroads of civilization among the natives. As these remonstrants are men whose friendship for the aborigines has been as long and as well proved as Colenso's, and who are as hearty in condemning Boer oppression as he, their statement of the case has a claim to attention. It is possible, indeed, that some additional gifts are required for successful

mission-work in South Africa over and above contempt of God's revelation in Israel and the compilation of a hymn-book out of which (by pure oversight, we are assured) the name of Christ has been omitted.

— A Wesleyan missionary, referring to Mr. Wesley's four rules as to singing, humorously assures us that the natives in the Transvaal have advanced midway in the observance of them. They "sing all," and they "sing lustily," but have not yet risen so far as to "sing in time" and to "sing in tune." Allowing them the same musical instincts as the negroes proper, we may be sure they will only need time to attain the grace of Christian perfection in this regard. — An interview, in the Transvaal, with some newly arrived missionaries and the Boers, seems to give a good notion of that mingled Puritanism and ruffianism — to quote Olmstead with another application — which seem to make up the character of these Gallo-Batavian Calvinists. "During the afternoon five Boers paid us a visit. In the conversation they referred to the political state of Zululand, and propounded this very extraordinary doctrine: 'It is the Lord's will,' said they, 'that all the heathen should be driven out of possession of the land, and that God's own people should go in and possess it.' You know what that means in plain English: that these Boers are the people of God who mean to rob the Zulus of their own country. We made no reply, but turned the conversation to other topics. A Wesleyan minister was a riddle to them, as they had never seen one before, and soon they began to put me through a theological examination. Their chief concern was whether I taught that the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper were changed by me into the *real* body and blood of our Lord. As I am very far from making such sacerdotal pretensions, they appeared quite satisfied. These rude bigoted Boers are Protestant to the backbone." — In the "Notices" for August, 1886, there is a letter from Rev. Owen Watkins, accompanied by a map of Zululand, which lies to the north of Natal, or rather a map of the new Boer republic, which crowds upon the fragments left for the Zulus. Respect for the Boers and their rights is excellent, but such respect as gives the natives over into their hands is more ambiguous. Mr. Watkins gives the following brief history of the Zulu complications. Speaking of Cetywayo — whom he calls Cetchwayo — he says: "It is not within the scope of this report to dwell upon how he proved himself a meet successor of the cruel kings who had preceded him, or how he welded the nation again into an army of warriors, and thus became a menace to the peace of South Africa. Suffice it to say that the result of his reign was the Zulu war. After the expenditure of millions of money, and the loss of thousands of precious lives," brought about by the British coronation of this man, "Cetchwayo's power was broken, and the nation lay prostrate at England's feet, ready to accept her rule and obey her government. But after the spirit of 'meddle' the spirit of 'muddle' took possession of Downing Street. Instead of a wise and Christian government being set up, which would have been the salvation of the nation, the land was divided among thirteen kinglets. Said a young officer to me at the time, 'It is on the principle of the Kilkenny cats, that fought until nothing but their tails were left.' That simile has proved sorrowfully true. Internal wars resulted from the so-called 'settlement,' until Zululand became a scandal and a reproach among the nations. Then Cetchwayo was sent back to be king over a portion of his old dominions. This imperial arrangement satisfied nobody, and was a fruitful source of difficulty; and

Cetchwayo died in the midst of troubled gloom. Claimants to the throne at once appeared, and the land was deluged with blood. One part espoused the cause of Dinizulu, a youth of sixteen, who is the royal son of Cetchwayo, and they asked for and obtained the help of the Boers to set him on the throne. The Boers were victorious. . . . Dinizulu was proclaimed King of Zululand by the Boers, and they received eight hundred farms for their services. . . . If you want to know how little is left, look at the map. . . . Various missionary societies have endeavored to bring some portion of the Zulus under the influence of the Gospel of Christ. Up to the present time, however, comparatively little impression has been made upon the nation. . . . The field is one of the greatest difficulty, demanding rare qualities of mind and heart, as well as abounding grace and wisdom from God. The reaping time is not yet."

Mr. Watkins speaks enthusiastically of the "marvelous grandeur and beauty" of the northern part of Zululand. "Mountains seemed piled on mountains, while between were most lovely and fruitful valleys." Some Zulus came down to their Sabbath camp, and learned for the first time that "the great, great one," of whom they stood in dim and ignorant awe, has come near us in the Son. As was discovered by missionaries after years of residence among the Kaffres, these all believe in God, whose existence is with them no deduction drawn from a generalized worship of ancestors, with which this belief stands in no connection. — Mr. Watkins describes Dinizulu, the son and successor of the fierce Cetywayo, as "a youth of about seventeen years of age. He has nice features, and beautiful eyes, with long lashes. He seems fairly intelligent, and of a mild and gentle disposition, and is hardly likely to be able to rule the fierce Zulus and make them again a great people." Here, again, as so often before, England will probably be forced into dominion against her will, but to the infinite advantage of her new subjects. — Mr. Watkins of course testifies of the insatiable mendicancy of African royalty, which has not the advantage of British royalty, of being able to veil itself behind ancient and reverend forms. The royal ladies were the chief beggars, especially Cetywayo's mother, and a favorite wife who had accompanied him to England, and who was never weary of reiterating "London" and "England," — like Thomas à Becket's Saracen mother in the old story, but only for the sake of showing how deeply learned she was in the imperial tongue. Mr. Watkins describes these dusky princesses, with a less hopeful grief than that of the young ruler, as going away "sorrowful, because we would not give them all that we had." The result of all was, indefinite postponement. — The Rev. Isaac Shimmin remarks: "Centuries of degradation have almost destroyed moral consciousness, and the work of the teacher has to proceed but slowly. The Kafirs, however, are anything but natural simpletons. They are exceedingly clever in argument, and their command of language seems almost inexhaustible. When established firmly in the truth, their sincerity, self-denial, and patient continuance in well-doing are abiding proofs of the real change in heart and life."

— Rev. W. J. Underwood thus describes the preaching of the gospel in a heathen kraal: "On arriving at the kraal we found about fifty persons waiting. The Nimzan and his chief wife seemed very glad to see me. It was a strange temple in which we worshipped, . . . one of the largest of some twenty huts of the beehive shape. We entered one at a

time on our knees, and it was like creeping into a black hole with a very close atmosphere, and the instinct of self-preservation led me to settle down near the door. The only seat that could be found for me was a long, narrow piece of wood such as would make a table-leg. After I entered the Nimzan followed, and about thirty others, and by this time we were uncomfortably full." And under the smoke-blackened "dome of this cathedral," as the missionary humorously calls the spherical hut, — whose elder sister on the Tiber has out of almost equal rudeness been developed, as Mr. Huxley informs us, into the majesty of the Pantheon, — was preached that gospel which shall some day rear noble domes of praise of a noble race, but both pointing back to their barbarous originals. — Mr. Underwood says of Swaziland: "How long these people 'have sat in darkness' there is no reliable information. Their only national history consists in floating traditions which do not go much farther back than a century. There is absolutely no national literature to study, and nothing worth the name of a religion to supersede." Yet, as the Rev. Alfred S. Sharp says, although these people have "no classic mythology, no gorgeous idol, no magnificent temples," "superstition is deep in their nature, and it is hard work to uproot it. It manifests itself in various ways. The two forms which most hinder the work of the gospel in their hearts are the rain-makers and witch-doctors, who are as gods among the people." Their power, however, is slowly waning.

The modest notes of our Moravian brethren afford few salient points. They know their own affairs, and push unostentatiousness before the Church at large almost to the length of a fault. What they do immediately, however, valuable as it is, is small compared with what they are doing through the great denominations of England and America and Germany, which owe to the *Unitas Fratrum* so much of their spiritual life.

WESTERN AFRICA. — The Rev. F. W. Dodd, writing in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for April, 1886, of a "Special Mission," or what we should be more apt to call a "protracted meeting," held at Lagos and Sierra Leone, remarks: "The crying sin here is of course the immorality; but there were many who professed to trust Christ as the Deliverer from this sin. I think most of those who call themselves 'Christian polygamists' came to the services. I received letters from several of them, and one in a long letter attempted to prove his position from Scripture. These men, though rigorously excluded from the Church, still keep up a profession of Christianity: the form of godliness remains without the power." — "Sierra Leone is a Christian colony, but a mere nominal Christianity is all that the majority of the people possess. Though fond of observing the outward ordinances of religion, we found the spiritual life in the churches at a very low ebb, the worst feature being the self-satisfaction which seems to reign nearly everywhere. The sins in the churches brought more openly to light as the work progressed would have been heartrending, had not one remembered that God always brings sin to light in order that it may be put away. Immorality, superstition, drunkenness, quarreling, poisoning, are sins which abound in Freetown. Yet, thank God, there are some few who have not defiled their garments, and who are real Christians. To increase that number, and raise the life of real believers, is what is, of course, needed." "The Freetown Mission was conducted in three churches at the same time. . . . Three or four services per day were held during the ten days at all these

churches, and good numbers came to all. The evening meetings were very crowded. We found the people understood us fairly well, though we could not grasp their meaning so easily. . . . All classes of natives came to the services: the business men, clerks, shopkeepers, traders, down to the poorest. Poor women with babies strapped to their backs, African fashion, sat side by side with those who affect the English dress, and all gave a willing ear to the message; their audible responses to anything that particularly struck them showing how eagerly they were listening. We could not have had a more attentive audience. . . . Altogether there must have been about 3,000 people under the sound of the gospel every evening in these three churches."

The town of Abeokuta, in Upper Guinea, has so long been noted as a seat of negro Christianity, that most of us had rather exaggerated notions as to the measure of its evangelization. The Bishop of Sierra Leone corrects this impression: "I must confess that I had seen the name Abeokuta figuring so long in your periodicals, that I scarcely realized how utterly untouched by Christianity such an immense part of it really is." It seems from Brockhaus that out of 130,000 people about 2,000 are Christians. "As a Christian balogun said to me, the Church there is one lump of sugar in a pool of water! It is obvious that our one care must be the good quality of the said lump of sugar or salt." "During our visit we had ocular demonstration of some of the superstitious customs of the people. A few days after our arrival 'Oro' was proclaimed. You are no doubt familiar with the allusion. When 'Oro' is out every female must be in. If a woman is found outside she is executed, and no influence can save her. It seems that 'Oro' is proclaimed whenever the men want to be rid of the women. . . . This, however, only lasted for one day." "The other custom I will allude to is one connected with the god (?) Shango. We had a thunderstorm, and a house near us was struck, and instantly every avenue was thronged with spoilers hurrying to finish what Shango had begun. In the crowds at intervals we saw the wives of Shango, distinguished by large helmets, made artistically of cowries, on their heads. These were licensed to be the first in the thieving, and thus we saw with our own eyes what heathenism teaches even in Abeokuta on the subject of man's duty towards his neighbor. I am afraid the unfortunate occupiers of the house were stripped of everything they possessed." — Bishop Ingham, whom we have been quoting, gives the number of communicants within his episcopal charge at 6,009, saying frankly, however, that if discipline were fully enforced it would be much smaller. There are supposed to be something over 20,000 adherents.

The "Intelligencer" for last April contains a letter from the venerable Bishop Crowther, the first native African who has reached Episcopal dignity in the Church of England. The Bishop's letter briefly reviews the last thirty years of the Niger Mission. It gives him occasion to express his judgment of Mohammedanism, which he emphatically declares to be, not an intermediate step between heathenism and the gospel, but the conversion of heathenism, in itself crude and incoherent and comparatively accessible, into a compact system of falsehood and evil, peculiarly immitigable in its hatred of Christianity. The Bishop says: "The Word preached finds a more yielding soil in the minds of the heathen than in that of prejudiced Mohammedans. The same reasonable Scriptural exposure of the heathen superstition made use of by the prophet

Elijah, by the Psalmist, and by the prophet Isaiah, sympathetically read to them, applied to the hearts by the Holy Spirit, never failed to have the desired effect. Hence our success among this class of the people, among whom we labor. On the contrary, Mohammedanism arms the hearts of its professors with deadly weapons against Christianity, by denying its fundamental doctrine, the Sonship of Christ, and his divinity as one with God the Father, which is blasphemy according to the teaching of the Koran. Thus their hearts are hardened with prejudices, self-conceit, a self-righteous spirit, and self-confidence in their meritorious religious performances, especially in prayer and fasting, and in works of supererogation, which they believe they can make over for the benefit of others who are deficient. They are freely allowed the indulgence of the sinful lust of the flesh; they do not scruple to commit acts of cruelty and oppression on those who are not professors of their faith; slaveholding and trading is fully sanctioned, to carry out which, slave-wars are waged against the heathen with great cruelty, in order to enslave them with oppression and violence, without remorse. . . . Hence slave-wars have desolated the lands of populous heathen tribes and nations, whose inhabitants were carried away captives and sold into slavery, and those who are reserved in the country are doomed to perpetual servitude, hewers of wood and drawers of water, under a most oppressive tribute. This is a faint description of the soil of the minds of the professors of Islamism, in which the seed of the gospel of Jesus Christ is being attempted to be sown, by preaching repentance of sin and a renewed change of heart through faith in Christ Jesus the Son of God. . . . But for all his earnestness, the preacher is looked upon with horrified contempt as a blasphemer, because God never had a son. . . . What surprises me most is, that Christianity, with its strict restraints of . . . the allurements of the world, the flesh, and the devil, should get so many converts in the face of all the free allowances in the enjoyment of all these by the religion of the false prophet. It proves that Christianity appeals to the heart and conscience of man as a reasonable being, who ought to judge between truth and error."

Archdeacon Hamilton describes a Mohammedan town in the Upper Niger region. "Bida is certainly superior in many ways to Egan. It is situated in a valley with two watercourses running through it; it is entirely surrounded by a mud wall; its population is variously stated at from 30,000 to 60,000; many of the thoroughfares are wide and open, with trees of various kinds growing in them. The houses are for the most part detached; filth abounds everywhere, there being no attempt at sanitary measures. The palaces of the king and princes interested me, as they have about them, in a rude kind of way, what we see in our old feudal castles at home. First you come to an outer keep or gateway, and here you find a number of hangers-on sitting or lying about; then you pass into a courtyard with the king's or princes' wives' private apartments; and then beyond that, if I may judge from those I saw passing to and fro, the apartments for the women. I noticed large herds of cattle grazing in the neighborhood of the town, beyond the walls, one herd containing at least one hundred head of cattle; and we found that fresh beef, fresh butter and milk were to be had every day in the market." — At Lokoja, a town at the junction of the Niger and Benue, Bishop Crowther is putting up a stone building, intended as a preparatory school for lads who promise well for schoolmasters or catechists. The astonishment

with which the edifice, doubtless of sufficiently modest proportions, is regarded by the natives illustrates what we have seen remarked, that no negro tribe, of itself, has ever hewn a stone. "It has been very amusing," says Mr. J. Burness, "to hear the remarks of the natives, and to see the bewilderment and wonder depicted on their faces. When we dug the foundations they wanted to know if we were going to live underground; and now we have finished they are utterly amazed at the height of the building, and cannot understand how the stones hold to each other at such a height. They pass one hand by the other, and exclaim, 'Kai! kai!' and then 'Ah-r,' a kind of a breathed guttural sound, an expression of surprise and wonder. They say, 'White man pass every man; white man be next to God.'"

The "Spirit of Missions," the missionary organ of the Protestant Episcopal Church of this country, in the number for January, 1886, has a letter from the Right Reverend Samuel David Ferguson, the newly consecrated Missionary Bishop of Cape Palmas, Liberia. He says: "I have met a warm reception on all sides. The first voices that greeted my ears were those of the inmates of our Orphan Asylum and Girls' School, who, descending the cape on the summit of which the institution is located, and standing on the rocks below, sang out merrily, 'Welcome Home,' as the surf-boat that was bearing me to the shore passed them, and made me forget for a while that we were entering the bar whose foaming billows were far from being inviting. Nearing the wharf, the *Gloria in Excelsis*, chanted joyfully by scores of men, women, and children, was also heard above the noise of the waters; and, on landing, I found the Sunday-school of St. Mark's assembled there, headed by its superintendent, who made a short address, bidding me welcome. Many of the prominent citizens, including Methodists and Baptists as well as our own Church folk, were also present to receive me. A more formal public reception was given four days afterward, under the direction of the officers and teachers of St. Mark's. Nor were the native Christians behind in manifestations of good will toward me. The Hoffman Institute and High School, with several ladies and gentlemen of Cavalla Station, — twelve miles away, — came up *en masse*; and after some good singing, their pastor made an address of welcome to me. The Hoffman Station folk also came, and in like manner gave me assurances of their good will. According to their custom, they brought large bowls of palm-butter and rice (their principal article of diet), which we partook of together in token of affectionate regards.

"In the midst of all this, reflecting on what the wise king of Israel says, 'Better is the end of a thing than the beginning thereof,' and also on what another said to the king of Syria, 'Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast as he that taketh it off,' I rejoice with trembling." — The Bishop finds occasion to stir up in the minds of the Americo-Liberians a spirit of coöperation with his work, exhorting them to regard it as an enterprise which is peculiarly their own, and not some foreign enterprise of which they are to be merely spectators.

Bishop Ferguson soon after baptized the king and queen of the Cape Palmas Grebo tribe. Having received the message soliciting baptism, the Bishop went to the king's village. He found him an invalid about seventy years old. He had, he said, been long persuaded of the truth of the gospel, and had desired baptism, but had regarded himself as obliged by his office to the practice of certain heathen ceremonies. These, how-

ever, he declared himself now willing to renounce, as well as to give up polygamy, and everything else savoring of heathenism. The bishop was satisfied of his sincerity, and accordingly baptized him. The king's name is Yiba Wa. "Several of the principal men of the tribe," says Dr. Ferguson, "were present to witness the ceremony which made their chief an inheritor of the kingdom of Heaven. They looked on aghast; and one — a very intelligent man who fills the office of prime minister — remarked that but for polygamy he would become a Christian likewise." About ten days later the bishop baptized the queen, and another candidate, a young man. The queen seems about ten years the junior of her husband. The solemn sacrament of initiation into the Church of God was administered to her and to her young companion "in an open space in front of the house of the *bodio* (high-priest)," where were assembled "nearly all the Christians from Hoffman Station, themselves rescued from heathenism. On the one side were the state officials, and on the other eminent heathen personages. A large number of young men and naked children made the circle almost complete, while small groups of women, whom heathenism denies a seat in the assemblies of the opposite sex, stood a few yards off, gazing wistfully upon a scene which they had never witnessed before." The Bishop took advantage of the representative character of the three who had just received or were just about to receive the holy rite to appeal to the various classes present to follow the example. "Indeed, if care had been taken to select the candidates for such an occasion, with a view to making a desirable impression on the heathen, we could not have found more suitable persons. The one full of youthful vigor, kneeling beside the other in the evening of her life, with the recent baptism of the king fresh in memory, made the occasion a most striking one." It was not without warm, and well-warranted hope, that after the baptism, which expressed and constituted the two candidates "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God," the exultant strains of the *Gloria in Excelsis* went up to Him who had here given assurance of his presence and expectation of his working, by planting the little church of two or three at the very centre of the little realm.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

(To be continued.)

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

LES LANGUES PERDUES DE LA PERSE ET DE L'ASSYRIE, par M. JOACHIM MENANT. Assyrie. Pp. 340. Paris : Ernest Leroux. 1886.

THE most important additions to our knowledge of the history of man have come, within the last quarter of a century, from the East. The Mesopotamian Valley, long shrouded in the deep gloom of wild tradition and meagre, one-sided accounts, has of a sudden been opened to us. The archives, reports, and inscriptions of the kings of Assyria and Babylonia have been unsealed, and we now have at hand the same sort of material for writing the history of the Orient as is accessible to a Motley or a Bancroft. The story of the sudden and wonderful growth of this

science, Assyriology, is fraught with unusual interest. It is a record of man's marvelous perseverance, skill, industry, and ingenuity, and, as such, appeals strongly to our human instincts. From this side alone the story is well worth telling, and general scholars will join specialists in thanking M. Menant for the able and impartial manner in which he has handled his difficult theme.

Photius, Eusebius, Moses of Chorene, Berosus, Strabo, Nicholas of Damascus, Polyhistor, and, of course, Herodotus (why not add Ctesias and Diodorus?) have all preserved for us some truth about Assyro-Babylonian history and mythology. But along with it they have handed down so much that is misleading, and so much that is absolutely false, that even a Biblical critic could not restore and adjust with his wonted nicety the *disjecta membra* of the Assyro-Babylonian Empire. Even the very considerable help which the tenth chapter of Genesis and the second Book of Kings afford would be unavailing. The enigma which literary criticism never did and never could have solved was accordingly passed on to Archæology, who chose as her first servants the adventuresome portion of the human race. When Benjamin de Tudela visited the Orient in the twelfth century, he asserted that the ruins of the palace of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon were still visible, but that they could not be approached because of the serpents and scorpions which infested the place. The next visitors to the Mesopotamian Valley were Eldred, an Englishman, in 1583, and Rauwolf, a German botanist, later in the same century. After them came Pietro della Valle, in 1616; and then there was no traveler of any importance until Niebuhr in 1765. Beauchamp, the astronomer, visited a number of Babylonian sites later on, giving an account of his observations in a Memoir to the Academy of Inscriptions. The work of exploration really began, however, with the visit of Rich to Birs-Nimroud in December, 1811, and was followed up by Robert Ker Porter, Botta, Layard, and Loftus. Side by side with the traveling, and long before any systematic exploration was attempted, persistent efforts were made at deciphering the few characters already in the possession of European scholars. As far as is known, the first publication on the subject was a Latin essay on the cuneiform writing of Persepolis by Olav Gerhard Tyschen, printed at Rostock in 1798, Münter and Grotefend following him with their publications in the order named. Then the question seems to have dropped out of sight until the second paper of Grotefend, in 1837, which was followed by the important contributions of Westergaard and Hincks. Meanwhile the discovery of the Behistun inscription by Sir Henry Rawlinson, and his memoir on it, as well as that of Edwin Norris, all combined to place cuneiform study on a sound footing, fitting it for the test which it was put to in 1857, and which it so successfully endured.

Chapters IV. and V. of M. Menant's work are devoted to an account of the exploration of Nineveh and Assyria, and Babylon and Chaldea respectively; and this we can safely pass over, adding to the names already mentioned those of Mohl, Rassam, and Cooper, and stopping to sympathize over the loss in the Schatt el Arab of the splendid collection sent to Paris by M. Botta in 1855, a result due, as was said at the time, to "sheer carelessness and mismanagement."

To Chevalier Isidore Löwenstein belongs the credit of being the first to assert that some of the cuneiform inscriptions were Semitic; from a study of the variants to known texts he was led to a recognition of the

polyphonic character of cuneiform signs, a step absolutely indispensable for the correct understanding of a single line of Assyrian writing. Longpérier followed with the identification of the name of Sargon. Then came the further identification of characters by F. de Sauley. The centre of the work now passed from France into the hands of Rawlinson and Hincks, the latter of whom, there is now good reason to believe, being deserving of much more credit than it has been wont to give him. Assyrian grammar and phonetics are more indebted to Hincks than to any other Assyriologist. In 1851 Dr. Hincks found the Biblical names Hezekiah, Jerusalem, and Sennacherib on the inscriptions. In 1852 he published a list of 252 characters, with a discussion of their values. About this time Mr. H. Fox Talbot was added to the list of workers in England and Jules Oppert in France. And in 1857, in order to settle the claims of Assyriology to consideration as a science, Sir Henry Rawlinson, H. Fox Talbot, Dr. E. Hincks, and M. Jules Oppert presented independent translations of the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. to the Royal Asiatic Society. Chapter VII. is devoted to a more detailed account of the development of Assyrian grammar, etc., and Chapter VIII. to the resumption of exploration in 1872, in which George Smith played so great a part. All are familiar with the "Daily Telegraph" expedition, and Mr. Smith's discovery of the creation tablets and the so-called Izdubar legends, including the Chaldean account of the Flood. His successor as agent of the British Museum, Hormuzd Rassam, who was at Mosul with Layard, continued his brilliant discoveries, as the finds at Aboo-Habbah (Sippara) sufficiently attest. Meanwhile the French were not idle, their work having been kept up by M. de Sarzec in lower Chaldea ever since 1877. The name of Dr. W. Hayes Ward, leader of the Wolfe expedition, closes the list.

Our attention is next turned to the development of Assyrian study, which in the beginning as well as now was regarded as a branch of Biblical research. In France, Oppert, Menant, Lenormant, De Chossat, Stanislaus Guyard, Henri Pognon, Halévy, Amiaud, and Ledrain have done great work for its advancement. In England Assyriology was in the hands of Hincks, Rawlinson, Bosanquet, Fox Talbot, Edwin Norris, George Smith, A. H. Sayce, M. Boscawen, J. M. Rodwell, William Houghton, E. A. W. Budge, George Bertin, and Theo. G. Pinches. Although France had many scholars who pursued Assyrian studies, and though England had a still larger number interested, they never devoted themselves in the same way as did the German scholars. It was Schrader who, in 1869, crystallized what had already been done, and in 1872 published the first work which showed the bearing of cuneiform research on Old Testament study. His pupil, Friedrich Delitzsch, commenced to teach Assyrian at Leipzig in 1874, and one need but mention the names of Paul Haupt, Carl Bezold, J. N. Strassmaier, Wilhelm Lotz, Reinhart Hoerning, Fritz Hommel, as well as younger men like Zimmern, Jensen, Latrille, Winckler, and Jeremias, to show how dependent Assyriology has been upon German scholars for advancement. With the mention of Dr. Felice Finzi, an Italian savant, we will leave Europe and come over to the United States, where we may be permitted to linger a while.

Assyriological studies in the United States have never received that hearty support and sympathy from the authorities extended by the governments of France and England, yet American students have, principally through the scientific spirit which imbued some of the Christian mission-

aries in the East, been enabled to keep up, at least, with the great discoveries made in the Orient during the last three decades. It is to some of these gentlemen, and above all to the Rev. William Frederic Williams, that America is indebted for its first, and even to the present writing, its most important accession of Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities. It was in a letter written by Mr. Williams in 1853, and now preserved at New Haven, that Mr. Williams first made that interesting suggestion recently revived in England, about the priority of which Professor Terrien de la Couperie and Mr. George Bertin have been for some time quarreling. Mr. Williams wrote: "Did it ever occur to you that this arrow-headed character and Chinese are identical in origin? I yesterday saw a cylinder in which were two lines of writing that anybody would call Chinese, and Dr. L(obdell) brought a seal in the same case. I wonder that the resemblance has not been remarked on." The antiquities sent over by Mr. Williams were distributed among the various colleges and museums of this country, some, however, falling into the hands of private individuals. Recently the Metropolitan Museum of New York has acquired some seals and cylinders by purchase. The earliest Assyrian scholars in the United States were Mr. Edward C. Salisbury, Rev. William Hayes Ward, and Dr. Selah Merrill. Since the study of Assyrian has been placed upon a scientific basis a number of Americans have been trained abroad; but it was the arrival in this country of Dr. Paul Haupt, of Göttingen, which justified M. Menant in saying that the most serious work was now being done in the United States. The first regular courses in Assyrian were given by Professor Francis Brown at the Union Theological Seminary, New York, in the year 1880. Owing, however, to the stress of work on the theological students, none of them were incited to special study or independent research. Presently other institutions began to feel the importance of Assyriology. Harvard, though not establishing a special chair, elected Dr. D. G. Lyon Hollins Professor of Divinity, and he has arranged regular courses in Assyrian. At the Johns Hopkins University a full Assyriological course was successfully opened upon the arrival of Professor Haupt in 1883. A Shemitic Seminary was formed, in which there are classes in Assyrian, Babylonian, Sumerian, and Akkadian; and in January, 1887, a special course was inaugurated, to be given annually during that month for advanced scholars and professors in other institutions. Instruction is also given in the Protestant Episcopal Seminary at Philadelphia, by Dr. John P. Peters; in the Boston University, by Professor Hinckley G. Mitchell; in the Baptist Theological Seminary at Newton Centre, Mass., by Professor Charles Rufus Brown; in the Summer Schools of Hebrew, by Drs. Craig and R. T. Harper; at the Andover Theological Seminary, by Professor John Phelps Taylor; at the University of Pennsylvania, by Dr. Herman V. Hilprecht; at Yale, by Professor William R. Harper, and the Stone Lectures at Princeton, 1885-86, on Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament, by Dr. J. F. McCurdy.

I have been moved to state rather fully the information which I communicated to M. Menant more than a year ago about Assyrian study in the United States, and to partially bring it up to date, in the hope that, should there be omissions or mistakes, they may be filled out and corrected now, during the lifetime of the pioneer Assyriologists of America.

Cyrus Adler.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

AMERICAN STATESMEN. LIFE OF THOMAS HART BENTON. By THEODORE ROOSEVELT. 16mo, pp. vi, 372. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1887. \$1.25.

A book of broad and strong lines, developed in a sort of dramatic progress, which, however, lies in the life itself, though every one would not have brought it out so distinctly. The first chapter reads almost like one in geology. It traces the way in which the massive, though rather passive, German race, and the strong and fiery Scottish race, of Pennsylvania, made their way down along the mountains till they met the Anglo-Scottish population of the Carolinas (blended with the Huguenots), both then jointly trending West, in a manner which stamps on the mind a permanent image of a great movement of population which may at the same time be fairly called a process of nature. "In a generation or two, all, whether their forefathers were English, Scotch, Irish, or, as was often the case, German or Huguenot, were welded into one people; and in a very short time the stern and hard surroundings of their life had hammered this people into a peculiar and characteristically American type, which to this day remains almost unchanged. In their old haunts we still see the same tall, gaunt men, with strongly marked faces and saturnine, resolute eyes; men who may pass half their days in listless idleness, but who are also able to show on occasion the fiercest intensity of purpose, and the most sustained energy of action." This race is the basis of population in all the Transappalachian and Transmississippian, South and West, rising to the middle line of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and surging up through "the six counties" of Northwestern Missouri into Nebraska. The happy vigor of Ohio has resulted from the more intimate mutual interpenetration of this and the New England element, which in the two states west of her remained rather sulkily apart. And the men of the former race, penetrating to the greater range, "in the saddle instead of afoot, and with rope and revolver instead of axe and rifle, now form the bulk of the reckless horsemen who spend their lives in guarding the wandering cattle herds that graze over the vast, arid plains of the 'Far West.'"

The author shows how this great Western race, mainly composed of non-slaveholders, long took but a faint interest in the divisions of North and South. They were intensely attached to the Union, whose essential solidarity spread itself out before them in the very form of the mighty plain into which they had poured. But the great plantations steadily multiplied towards the Gulf, and the New England race steadily increased near the Lakes, and at last, lingeringly and reluctantly, never fully, indeed, in the great mountain-base of immigration, the West sank under the force of the fatal line. Benton, whose powerful character exhibited in thoroughly representative measure the doggedness and tenacity of the region in which he grew up, never knew himself except, first, as an American, secondly, a Westerner, and a good way behind both a Southerner. And when Missouri, morally, glided from beneath him, carrying with her his political fortunes, this "*ardor civium prava jumentum*" never shook him a hair's-breadth.

Benton was well-born and well-bred, and yet, in accordance with his representative rather than creative character, he entered so thoroughly into the peculiar social feelings of the Southwest, that his tribesmen, as always happens with such a man, viewed these advantages in him as belonging to them, as well as his extraordinary range of knowledge, and as

marking him out for a leader. Very few, if any, men appear ever to have sat in the Senate who knew so thoroughly so many things bearing upon their opportunities and duties. And he sat in the Senate when it was at its height of influence and grand capacity, grouped around the three angles of the representative triangle, Webster, Benton, and Calhoun.

Benton's adherence to his fellow-North-Carolinian and fellow-Tennessean Jackson needs no explanation. The meaning of Jackson's elevation is well interpreted by Mr. Roosevelt. It was the revolt of "unkempt naturalism" against civilization; of "the masses" against "the classes," simply because the former were "the masses" and the latter were "the classes." Such grounds of distrust as are only too forcible in England do not appear to have existed here at all. Mr. Roosevelt remarks that up to Jackson's time the cultivated classes, by the free choice of the people, and simply because they were held most competent, had principally administered the government, and had, without serious pretense to the contrary, administered it patriotically, faithfully, intelligently, and efficiently, in short, had been good stewards of the common charge. Jackson and his hordes changed all this, and out of the infinite debasement into which they have brought the public service, it is only now that a bitterly educated nation is beginning to work itself free. This picture can never be discredited by showing here and there some little finicalness, or unworthiness, overthrown. A few parings of good are nothing against a mountain of evil. Even the one grand thing in Jackson, his readiness to save the Union at any cost, was, Mr. Roosevelt remarks, almost brought to nothing by the compromise which gave South Carolina a sense of victory that encouraged her in due time out of the cockatrice's egg to bring forth a fiery flying viper. But this, he shows, was neither Jackson's fault, nor Webster's, nor Benton's.

Benton, though involved in this movement of lower elements against the higher, was himself a faithful and most watchful and enlightened servant of the public weal, though only too capable, as he showed in his ravings about the Bank, of seeking partisan advantage by demagogical oratory in defense of mischievous tricks which he would never have perpetrated.

It is well to note that, as Mr. Roosevelt (whose name acquits him of hereditary complicity) doubtless feels a little malicious pleasure in reminding us, the Goths whom Jackson led to the sack of Washington had been a good deal exasperated by that disposition to thank God that we are not as other men are, which clings to New England Puritanism as its shadow. We once heard Dr. Henry B. Smith, on some one's remarking that New England virtues were a little too concentrated to be quite agreeable, laughingly retort: "I suppose you think they would do better diluted in a sufficient quantity of other people's vices." There is force in this putting of the thing. And the mutual resolution certainly seems to be advancing pretty rapidly.

Mr. Roosevelt, however, does not charge the Southwestern and Western hosts with having invented the evil system which they applied. It already existed, he shows, and had been developed into peculiar malignancy, in his own State of New York, and in Pennsylvania. Jackson brought to Washington rude ignorance and jealousy (curiously disguised, we have seen it noted, by remarkably fine manners) and an utter incapability of understanding that his party was not his country, and that he was not his

party. New York and Pennsylvania supplied him with prime leaders of base corruption, basely meant.

Our author emphatically denies that slavery, except in the momentary outburst of 1820, formed any very vital element in our politics until after Jackson's time. Even nullification was only commercial, and the action of South Carolina only proves that the Saxon spirit of local independence, deepened by federal distinctness, which twenty years earlier had displayed itself in New England, had now shifted its seat to the South, being confirmed there, doubtless, by a brooding forecast of the coming antagonism. Still it appears to us that Mr. Roosevelt sets a lower estimate on the previous force of this underlying opposition than a man a generation older would be likely to do. Which valuation is the sounder, perhaps 1987 will be able to determine.

Our author as becomes "a reformer within the party," who looks with some disdain on any who go further, is very severe upon the Abolitionists, of every school. He accuses them of dancing to their enemies' piping, by supporting Birney, and so suffering Polk to defeat Clay. They, on the other hand, thought that that vague, boneless incoherency, led by a compromising slaveholder, which was called the Whig party (and whose general good-for-nothingness Mr. Roosevelt seems elsewhere to enjoy describing), was merely making ready to surrender ceremoniously the vital principles which the democracy was eager to surrender without ceremony. He denies that the Liberty party, and, we judge, the Freesoilers, had any genetic connection with the Republican party. We will simply assert, in opposition, that out of the Liberty party grew the Freesoilers, and out of the Freesoilers the Republicans. It is not well for those that have borne the burden and heat of the day to look down on those who have wrought even but one hour; but it is rather provoking also when these last put on such airs as if they had brought in the whole harvest.

Mr. Roosevelt has no great love, anyhow, for philanthropy. But as long as there are Theodore Roosevelts there must be philanthropists. The two sets of people need each other. Practical politicians, even of an elevated cast, do not answer all the requirements of the highest national life. As Goldwin Smith says, unless some men aspired too high, the world in general would sink too low. Still, when Mr. Roosevelt declares that Wendell Phillips did good work once, but was almost invariably and outrageously wrong in every position he took after the war, we cannot say him nay. And when he says that philanthropy has no right to deliver over the Pacific slope to Mongolian invasion, neither can we say him nay in that. By what law of God or man a nation, any more than a family, is bound to throw down all its fences for all the world to swarm over, is something we have not discovered.

Mr. Roosevelt thinks that Benton and the West were wise in wishing to press our territorial claims in the Northwest to the uttermost. The war would soon have been over, and we should not now be skirted by a British state from sea to sea. He comments somewhat bitterly on "the decline of the militant spirit" in the Northeast. It has not been absorbed into any loftier militancy, but has been degraded by that fretting evil of mercantilism of which Dr. Andrew D. White has warned us. Having made Great Britain free of the whole North, had we not better invite Germany to seize the West Indies, and France or Russia to establish a protectorate in Hawaii? There is nothing like good neighborhood.

Mr. Benton's private character is thus described: "In his private life

Benton's relations were of the pleasantest. He was a religious man, although, like his great political chief, he could, on occasions, swear roundly. He was rigidly moral," and though a hard worker, enjoyed, now and then, a choice entertainment, at which he always shone. He was a man of bitter prejudices, but when he forgave, he forgave like Philip van Artevelde. His capacity of work was infinite, and from his absence of self-seeking he grew, as Mr. Roosevelt points out, to the last, becoming ever a safer and clearer-headed public counselor. And he died a very Abdiel, faithful, in his home, among the faithless. Missouri, when he was dead, was stung with shame, and overwhelmed him with funeral honors.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Praktisch-theologischer Kommentar zu den Pastoralbriefen des Apostels Paulus, von Dr. Karl Knoke, Prof. der Theologie in Göttingen. Erster Teil: *Der zweite Brief an Timotheus*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1887. 8vo, pp. 185. 4 mks. — This excellent work, from the pen of the Göttingen professor of homiletics, is primarily, as its title indicates, a practical theological commentary, but at the same time sufficient attention is paid to critical questions to make it valuable to every student. It is especially interesting as contributing to the defense of the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles which is given up by so great a majority of modern German critics. The author follows in the footsteps of Weiss, the most celebrated German advocate of their authenticity, but goes further than Weiss, who most recently, in his "Einleitung," concludes his discussion with a *non licet*. Our author treats the Second Epistle to Timothy by itself, severed from all relations with the other pastorals, claiming that the discussion of the three together only weakens the defense. — *Die Abfassungszeit der synoptischen Evangelien*. Ein Nachweiss aus Justinus Martyr, von Prof. Dr. Ludwig Paul. Leipzig: Grunow. 1887. Large 8vo, pp. 50. 2 mks. — The author, after a detailed investigation of Justin's genuine works, concludes that he was acquainted with none of our canonical Gospels. He says: "In Betreff der Abfassungszeit unserer kanonischen Evangelien in ihrer letzten Redaction sowie sie uns jetzt vorliegen, wiederhole ich, was ich oben gesagt, sie liegen alle vier nicht weit von einander und sind von 130–150 verfasst." — *System der christlichen Sittlichkeit*, von Dr. Fr. H. R. Frank, Prof. in Erlangen. Zweite Hälfte. Erlangen: Deichert. 1887. 8vo, pp. viii, 495. 8 mks., complete 15 mks. — The first half of this important work appeared in 1884, and is already well known. That volume treated of the *Werden des Menschen Gottes an sich*; the present handles *Das Wesen des Menschen Gottes in seiner Beziehung auf die geistliche Welt*, and *Das Werden des Menschen Gottes in seiner Beziehung auf die natürliche Welt*. The standpoint of the author is positive and orthodox, equally opposed to the new Kantianism of Ritschl and to the Hegelianism of the Tübingen school. The difference between these three leading tendencies is perhaps nowhere more

apparent than in the department of ethics, where the divergence of their metaphysical positions comes out most strongly. Frank is one of the foremost leaders of the orthodox party in Germany, and in many respects their greatest theologian. As such his works deserve careful perusal. — *Geschichte des "Culturkampfes" in Preussen-Deutschland*, von Paul Majunke. Paderborn: Schöningh. 1886. 8vo, pp. x, 572. 10te (Supplement-)Lieferung. 1887. Pp. 573–682. Complete, 7.95 mks. — An interesting study of the relations of the Prussian and German governments to Protestantism and Catholicism, and of the struggle known as the "Culturkampf," which has been waged for years, and which has been, especially of late, one of the most important facts in German politics. The author is a member of the German Reichstag, and has himself taken an active part in the struggle which he describes. He writes from the Roman Catholic standpoint, but apparently in a spirit of fairness and with an effort to do justice to both sides. The work is especially interesting as showing the way in which Catholics view the matter, and offers besides an excellent summary of the whole politico-ecclesiastical course of events in Germany during the last thirty years. The supplementary installment, which has recently appeared, discusses the developments of the last year, which have been especially exciting, and have attracted the most interested attention of the whole civilized world. — *Geschichte des Vatikanischen Konzils*, von J. Friedrich. 3. (Schluss-) Band. Bonn: Neusser. 1887. 8vo, pp. xvi, 1258. 28 mks., complete 68 mks. — This monumental work, at length completed in three large volumes, is the most important contribution to the history of the Vatican Council which has yet appeared, and, with its wealth of materials, will form the groundwork for all future investigation of the subject. — *Der Prophet Jesaja*, erläutert von C. J. Bredenkamp. 3. (Schluss-) Lieferung. Erlangen: Deichert. 8vo, pp. viii, 223–367. 3.50 mks., complete 7 mks. — The first two installments have been noticed in the REVIEW for April and June. — *Die Babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*. Nach den Quellen mit Berücksichtigung der Alt-testamentlichen Parallelen, dargestellt von Dr. Alfred Jeremias. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1887. 8vo, pp. 126. 7 mks. — An interesting study in the eschatology of the Babylonians and Assyrians, a subject which has been somewhat neglected by Assyriologists. The work discusses the most important inscriptions which bear upon this subject, giving the text of the famous "Höllenfahrt der Istar," with a translation and full commentary. The book treats: I. Die Höllenfahrt der Istar. II. Tod und Grabe. III. Unterwelt. IV. Die Gefilde der Seligen. V. Möglichkeit einer Befreiung aus der Unterwelt. Anhang: Ausblick auf die alt-testamentlichen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode. — *Die Fronica*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christusbildes im Mittelalter, von Karl Pearson. Mit neunzehn Tafeln. Strassburg: Trübner. 1887. 8vo, pp. xv, 141. 9 mks. — The work discusses: I. Die Entwicklung der Veronica-Legende. II. Die verschiedenen Bearbeitungen des Veronica-Rufes. III. Das Amt der heiligen Veronica. IV. Der mit dem Veronica-Ruf verbundene Ablass. V. Bericht über das Christus-bild in Gemälde, Miniatur und Stich. VI. Verzeichnisse der mit Veronica verbundenen Christus-bilder in chronologischer Reihenfolge. A most attractive study in Christian archæology, handsomely issued, with nineteen excellent reproductions of the most important of the pictures of Christ which are connected with the Veronica legend.

PERIODICALS.

In connection with the preceding archæological study may be mentioned an important article by Lic. C. Erbes, *Die heilige Cæcilia im Zusammenhang mit der Papst crypta sowie der ältesten Kirche Roms. Historisch-antiquarische Untersuchung.* "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte." Bd. IX. Heft I, pp. 1-66. — The writer rejects most of De Rossi's conclusions in regard to the subject, and concludes that the Acts of St. Cæcilia were composed in the latter part of the fifth century, a date much later than that assigned by De Rossi. The historical worth of the whole legend, even the martyrdom itself (which De Rossi believes to have taken place in the time of Marcus Aurelius or of Commodus), is called into serious question. The article concludes with an excursus upon *Euseb's Papstlisten von Callistus bis zum Jahre 278* (pp. 60-66), in which the conclusion is reached that the second half of Eusebius's papal catalogue, which is so full of errors, is not Eusebius's own invention, but rests upon an earlier source which came down to the year 278, and in which the reign of Callistus was placed five years too early. — *Die Stellung des Clemens Alexandrinus zum antiken Mysterienwesen*, von Lic. Dr. Bratke, Privatdocent der Kirchengeschichte in Breslau. "Theologische Studien und Kritiken." 1887. Heft IV, pp. 647-708. — A very careful study of the attitude of Clement toward the ancient Greek mysteries, which brings to light many new facts and furnishes an excellent view of the great influence which this branch of Greek culture had upon Clement's ecclesiastical and theological positions. The subject has not hitherto been investigated with any great degree of thoroughness, and church historians owe Dr. Bratke thanks for his painstaking work. One thing which deserves mention is the fact that the writer, in agreement with Caspari, holds that in the time of Clement the Alexandrian church possessed a "formuliertes Taufbekenntniss," but he goes beyond Caspari in asserting that the contents of this Confession can be gathered from the works of Clement himself. — *Tertullian in Griechenland*, von Prof. Dr. Ernst Nöldechen. "Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie," 1887. Heft IV, pp. 385-439. — The writer endeavors to prove that Tertullian traveled in Greece about the year 194 A. D., immediately after his long sojourn in Rome. The traces of a personal acquaintance with Corinth, Argos, and Athens, which the writer finds in Tertullian's works, though none of them when taken alone has great weight, form together a mass of evidence which speaks strongly for the correctness of the writer's conclusions. The question is interesting as bearing upon Tertullian's historical significance as a man widely acquainted with the world. — *Ueber eine bisher unbeachtet gebliebene Schrift gegen die Manichäer*, von Dr. Johannes Dräseke. Ibid., pp. 439-462. — The writer finds in the Anti-Manichæan work of Titus of Bostra, published most recently by Lagarde in 1859, a second work against the Manichæans by another hand (as Lagarde himself had pointed out), and attributes this work to Georgius of Laodicea, assigning it to the middle of the fourth century (350-360 A. D.). In distinguishing the work from that of Titus the writer is undoubtedly correct. In attributing it to Georgius he ventures upon an hypothesis which, while perfectly possible, will demand more proof than the present article furnishes before it can be looked upon as established.

Arthur C. McGiffert.

MARBURG, PRUSSIA.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

PAMPHLETS. — *Register Printing and Publishing House, Ann Arbor.* Personified Unthinkables ; an Argument against Physical Causation. By Sarah Stanley Grinké, Ph. B. Pp. 33. 1884. — *R. Meikljohn & Co., Yokohama.* Catalogue of the Meiji Gaku In. Tokyo, April, 1887. Pp. 34. — *Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.* Manual Training in Education. By James Vila Blake. Pp. 83. 25 cents. 1886. — *The "Restitution" Office, Plymouth.* Christ's Kingdom, Where is it ? What is it ? A Discourse delivered in the Baptist Church at Berwick, Pa., July 29, 1879. By Jos. Laciár. Pp. 29. 1879. — *Dakota Huronite Print, Huron, Dak.* An Address delivered by Gen. Hugh J. Campbell at the Decoration of the Graves of the Union Dead, on Memorial Day, at Huron, Dakota, May 30, 1887. Pp. 23. 1887. — *Hanover P. Smith, Boston.* Writings and Genius of the Founder of Christian Science. A Sympathetic and Comparative Review of the system and teachings of Mary B. S. Eddy, as contained in "Science and Health." By a Student. Pp. 52. 25 cents. 1887. — *Arthur Wrie, Utica, N. Y.* The Apocalypse in Evolution and the Book of Daniel in its first Interpretation. The Veiled One. Pp. 72. 50 cents. 1886. — *C. W. Bardeen, Syracuse, N. Y.* Modern Languages in Education. By Geo. F. Comfort, Dean of the College of Fine Arts, and Professor of Modern Languages in Syracuse University. Pp. 40. — *George H. Ellis, Boston.* A Protestant Catholic Church the first Step needful toward Unity in Christendom. A brief Tract for the Times. By J. Rennick. Pp. 16. 1887 ; — Holiness. An Essay by Rev. Increase Sumner Lincoln. Pp. 20. 1885 ; — Eternal Life. An Essay by Rev. Increase Sumner Lincoln. Pp. 15. 1886. — *Parker Pillsbury, Concord, N. H.* The American Churches the Bulwarks of American Slavery. By J. T. Birney. 3d edition. Revised by Author. Pp. 48. 1885 ; — The Brotherhood of Thieves ; or a True Picture of the American Church and Clergy. A Letter to Nathaniel Barney, of Nantucket. By Stephen S. Foster. Pp. 75. 25 cents. 1886. — *Scriptural Publication Society, Yarmouth, Me.* The Gospel of Life in the Syriac New Testament. The Syriac, Peshito, contrasted with the Greek, with respect to the following words, viz.: sôzô, sôtēna, tōtēr. By J. H. Pettingell, A. M. Pp. 57. 15 cents. 1886. — *Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.* The Irish Question. I. History of an Idea. II. Lessons of the Election. By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P. for Midlothian. Pp. 55. 10 cents ; — Catholicity — True and False. A Sermon preached before the National Congregational Council at Chicago, October 13, 1886. By Rev. George P. Fisher, D. D., LL. D., Titus Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. Pp. 29. 25 cents. 1886.

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THE STORY OF THREE PANICS

BY ONE WHO HAS LIVED THEM THROUGH AND DOWN.

FEAR has been defined in one of the Apocryphal Books as a "betrayal of the succours which reason offereth." But fear which is an endemic latent in every human heart sometimes rises into an epidemic. It fastens on numbers, and like Virgil's fame "gathers volume as it grows."

This is the philosophy of panics. Men are gregarious, whether for good or evil, and it must be confessed that to go with the multitude is more common in the case of evil than good. Like a flock of sheep, where the bell-wether leads, there they follow and plunge madly into any pit of destruction, numbers only adding to their confusion.

Such is a panic; it is the sudden terror of multitudes when fear becomes contagious and the idle dream of one becomes a waking reality to many, as in the well-known story of Gideon when the hosts of the Midianites fled at the rebuke of one.

The most common form of panic known in history is when an armed mob miscalled an army loses touch of its commander, and when they cry, as in the story of the Conscript at Waterloo, "*Nous sommes trahis.*" Our own Bull Run was a panic of this kind, and the North soon laid the lesson to heart, and by its frank acceptance of defeat and courageous facing the consequences of its own presumption soon showed the stuff it was made of, and, like Frederick the Great, learned the lesson of success in war through defeat.

It is not every one who can thus profit by mistakes. But the people who can thus turn round on themselves and wring victory in this way out of defeat and glory out of disgrace may be said to have the springs of greatness in them. Such a people cannot go

very far wrong, when they can thus make "stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things."

The first lesson, then, of a panic is not to repeat the mistake and to wait to see whether the danger is as formidable as it seems. In military matters the evil generally cures itself. Drill and discipline, as was seen with our Northern levies after Bull Run, soon bring an army into such a state of confidence in itself and its commander that the last thing which it has to fear is a surprise of this kind. It may be beaten in the open, since a pitched battle is only a great pounding match, as the Duke of Wellington once described it. One of the two opposing hosts must beat a retreat. But a regular army, if compelled to retreat, will do so in good order, and a panic in the disgraceful sense of the term is impossible. But against a panic in civil life, whether arising from some commercial disturbance or from some agitation in the upper air of religious thought, there seems to be no remedy of this kind. On the stock exchange, panics are of such regular recurrence that designing men who want to "bear" this, and "bull" that, reckon on untying the wind-bags of popular credulity as part of their stock in trade. It is little if at all better in the religious world than in the commercial world. Christ's sheep have been described with sad irony as "silly sheep." Some one or other, as they say, is going to take away their faith. Some bold engineer, who in the end is usually hoist with his own petard, has undermined one of the buttresses of their faith. In one age it is Voltaire or the *Cyclopædia* of last century; then it is Strauss or Renan, German "theology," whatever that means, or some new paleozoic proof that genesis and geology are more irremediably opposed than ever.

As to the real cause of alarm we can only say, as the sea-captain to one of his trembling passengers, "Sir, there is fear but no danger." Coleridge was once asked did he believe in ghosts? and his answer was that "he had seen too many." This letting daylight in on night-walking is the only way to deal with panics in the religious world. I have lived through three such panics in English life, and if the experience of the "old folk at home" can be of any use in protecting the rising generation of the new world against the recurrence of such periodical fits of folly, I shall not regret having to recall this experience of one who has had nearly forty years' acquaintance, more or less intimate, with the ways and modes of thought of the so-called religious world.

I was an undergraduate at Cambridge when the first of the three panics which I have to record took place. I remember the

ballad-singers bawling up and down Trumpington Street and under the windows of my college, which looked out on Great St. Mary's, a ditty of which I can only recall one line:—

“The Pope's a'coming! I feel so queer,
All the old women are quaking with fear;
The Pope's a'coming! oh dear, oh dear!”

The wag who wrote this jingle must have had some wit of his own. It was a case of all the old women “a'quaking with fear,” and the strangest part of it was that the old women who quaked, or pretended to do so, were heads of houses, dons, professors, and others of a class far too educated not to see to the bottom of the nonsense of the Papal Aggression cry. By far the most discreditable feature of this appeal to stale prejudice in the cry of “No Popery” was that Lord John Russell, who of all men should have been the last in the world to lend himself to such a movement, put himself at its head in his celebrated Durham letter. Had it been some well-known light of Exeter Hall, as Sir Harry Inglis, or Hugh Macneill, or a Dean Close who came out in this line, men of moderate views would have laughed at their own fears, and felt that they were fleeing when no man was pursuing. They would have seen in this alarm of Papal Aggression only an echo of the old ascendancy temper which opposed the Catholic claims in 1828 on the ground that no Catholic could be a loyal man on account of his divided allegiance. But Lord John Russell, well known as an hereditary Whig and the champion of civil and religious liberty all the world over, was assumed to be a sound Liberal who would never raise a note of alarm needlessly. The most disgraceful panics thus arise when the leaders of opinion, whom the common crowd of men look up to, join, whether from design or cowardice, in the cry of “Stop thief.” Then the stampede becomes general, and the only safe course for a man of sense in such circumstances is to stand aside and let the crowd bawl itself hoarse. It will not be long before, “some crying one thing and some another, and the more part not knowing why they have come together,” it will be possible to call in the town clerk of Ephesus and so to dismiss the assembly with the caution that they do nothing rashly.

This was the case with the Papal Aggression panic of 1850. It subsided almost as rapidly as it sprang up. Pio Nono, after his short exile at Gaeta, had returned to Rome in 1850 under the protection of the French arms. The yellow flag of the temporal power and the French tricolor waved side by side over Rome, and

the Pope, at the instigation of the Jesuits, was prompted to make a bold bid to recover all his old authority temporal and spiritual and to set up a territorial episcopate in England parceling the country out into sees. Even here, the Roman Curia seems to have scrupled to set up a titular Bishop of the Roman obedience side by side with one of the Anglican, so making confusion more confounded. Instead of this, it set up an Archbishop of Westminster, while Nottingham, Liverpool and other towns which were not cathedral cities were selected as the seats of the new sees. Notwithstanding this concession to British prejudice, this act of the Pope was regarded by the dregs of the old Protestant ascendancy party as an act of Papal Aggression.

It was a blow aimed not solely at Protestantism, which generally has been able to take good care of itself: it was an attack on the Royal Supremacy, and here the agitation took shape and the alarm grew into a panic. Left to itself, the religious section of the community would have blown off steam in Exeter Hall,—manifestos with eloquent No Popery speeches from “pulpit drum ecclesiastics” of the Macneill and Cumming order. But when lawyers and politicians who ought to have known better, joined the cry, and when constitutional pedants gravely shook their heads as if the Act of Supremacy of such precious defenders of the faith as the eighth Henry or the second Charles were impugned, we can almost excuse the religious world for taking alarm. The men of light and leading had joined in the cry of “the church in danger,” and this, as all history attests, is one of those cries to which there is no answer in argument. The populace which has been worked up to this state of mind is “an infant crying in the night, an infant crying for the light, and with no language but a cry.”

It is here that men of sense had not long to wait to see the absurdity of this alarm when the panic had abated. The fool is always wise after the event, but there were some who saw from the first the absurdity of the cry and said out what they thought. Archbishop Whately, for instance, ridiculed these No Popery fools much in the vein that Sydney Smith castigated the opponents of the Catholic claims of his day. One of Whately’s illustrations in the “Cautions for the Times,” a series of papers on popular religious errors of the day, was this:—

He asked the bawling protester against the Papal Aggression to suppose the case of a hearse and pair driven up to his door, ordered, of course, by mistake, or on purpose to play on him a

practical joke. After the first surprise was over, would he not send the undertaker and his men, hearse, horses and all, posting home with a reprimand, and never for an instant suppose he was going to die because some one was good enough to order his funeral car? In this way the Archbishop tried to cover with ridicule these foolish people who supposed that Protestantism was *in extremis* because the Pope, and his officials, reasoning from their wishes, decided that it must be so.

Men of sense do not succumb in this way to a practical joke. That must be a sickly type of Protestantism which made the mumblings of Giant Pope at his cavern mouth a serious menace to men of the true Pilgrim spirit. Nor was it so: but there are states of body when fear of dying is of the essence of the disease itself. A leading London physician once remarked that of all the mysterious processes of the mind he thought that fear and faith exerted the greatest influence on the body. Fear pre-disposed to disease, while the simple exercise of faith had been known to produce wonderful and well-authenticated cures and recovery.

A religious panic, then, is a symptom of something unhealthy in the social system. It is a sign that churches lapped in privilege are asleep. They are dying away under state support, which is a pillow but no prop in a real crisis. The danger is that the privileged section of the church soon spreads its idle alarm to the unprivileged, as was seen in 1851. Some dissenters, though not the most intelligent of their class, joined at first with churchmen in an Exeter-Hall No Popery scare, which they were not long in seeing the folly of.

This No Popery panic of 1851 was as short-lived as most panics are. It was soon seen through. Lord John Russell, who was most responsible for it, as the chief panic-monger, when it had served his ends, returned to the principles of civil and religious liberty of which he was only the hereditary champion, and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which had been rushed through Parliament, became a dead letter almost from the time of its being enrolled on the Statute Book. But the second panic we have to speak of as having lived down or lived through, has run a longer time and even still is not yet quite dead. The Ritualist Controversy may be described as the after-wave following on the great tidal wave of the Oxford movement. The story of the Tracts for the Times and the Reaction of 1833 in favor of Anglican Theology of the old Catholic type, is too well known to bear repetition here.

The story has been told by two of the leaders of the movement, Cardinal Newman in his *Apologia*, and Mr. Mozley, his brother-in-law, who after being dissuaded from joining the Church of Rome by Newman, has lived to record his own phases of faith, and in his old days has subsided much in the same way as the hero of "John Inglesant." He has given up that quest of the Holy Grail, a perfect and infallible church on earth.

Ritualism, which we have described as the after-wave of Tractarianism, is at once more popular and also less profound than the Anglican Revival in its earlier stages. It is an appeal to the eye more than to the ear, and we all know the canon, "*Segnius irritant animos.*"

Besides, the men who put themselves at the head of the Ritualistic movement were not like the elder generation, men of high mark at the University. Pusey, Keble, Hurrell-Froude and Newman were all fellows of colleges, and their intellectual horizon, if not bounded by Oxford, certainly did not attempt either to capture the masses by appeals to the ear or to captivate them by still more sensuous appeals to the eye.

Oxford, discarding the black gown for the white in the pulpit, and razeeing down the old three-deckers where preacher, reader and clerk rose Alp upon Alp and looked down on the congregation in our parish churches of the Georgian era, — it cannot be said that the older school of Anglicans made any attempt to teach theology through the eye. But the Ritualists waxed bolder, and in defiance of bishops' frowns and churchwardens' growls they put on "ribbons," as the colored stoles were called. They burned incense, called inthurifers, acolytes, and all the pomp and pageantry of the hierarchy of the middle ages, when it was at its highest. This was laughed at by some as "man millinery," and denounced by others as "pernicious nonsense"; but all the same, it made way in spite of the Bishops, whose grandfatherly warnings against it and denunciations of "lawlessness" were regarded as so many Priam's darts, feeble signs of a senile "No Popery" spirit.

At last, however, the movement began to make way with the classes at least, if not with the masses, and as is always the case, the hangers-on on the skirts of society, milliners' girls, young men from the country whose art-longings had been starved in Puritan homes and with Philistine surroundings, began to see in this Ritualism an escape out of a dreary traditional Protestantism of the doctrinaire type. The most ardent recruits were generally drawn

from this class, so much so that as a rule the leading Ritualists have been generally the runaways from strait-laced Evangelical homes. So many recruits were gained from this class that at last popular Protestantism began to take fire, and to denounce the movement even in the secular press as well as in the two organs of the old Evangelical orthodoxy, the "Rock" and "Record," which had been crying "wolf" so long that men of the world had regarded this bray of Exeter Hall with contempt. But now they took another note. They now told us that this was the result of our connivance with Rome. Catholic emancipation was the first step of our national downfall; the Papal aggression the second; now Ritualism full blown was a proof that it was all over with us and that the invader was in our midst. A Jesuit in disguise was seen in every silly youth who celebrated pontifical mass under the eyes of churchwardens, dumbfounded at the insolence of these boy priests, and so at last, having lived to raise spirits from the vasty deep, spirits came. A panic was upon us, and the panic as in the former case found a politician of the Ahithophel type to champion it. If there was a public man free from theological prejudices of any kind it was the late Lord Beaconsfield, better known as Mr. Disraeli. To do him justice he never indulged in cant, or played with popular prejudices, which he looked at from the serene height of indifference; but the Ritualist panic was an opportunity not to be lost of scoring a point against his old opponent Mr. Gladstone, and so the Public Worship Bill was brought in. It is the latest and probably one of the last attempts to prop up the expiring cause of State regulation of religion.

Byzantinism, as it has been called by Döllinger, has only raised fresh controversies by the means sought to allay them. Church councils sitting with Cæsar for assessor and ultimate judge of appeal are a sorry spectacle; nor does the English type of Byzantinism through debates in Parliament add anything but new elements of discord.

It is needless to say that the Public Worship Bill of 1875 has lain on the statute book almost as much a dead letter as the Papal Aggression Act of 1852. The worst effect of legislation of this kind is that it brings all legislation into contempt, when the Legislature and the Executive are seen to be moving on different lines and out of touch with each other. The one is the head and the other the hand; and when the Executive does not enforce what the Legislature enacts, we have paralysis of the body politic which when partial is anarchy, and when total can only end in death.

The tendency to pass bills of the permissive type is always a sign of compromise. When politicians begin to fumble in this way, they had better give up the game at once. It is a lost cause which is supported by this kind of advocacy, and the old-fashioned Church and State conservatives know in their heart it is so, though they go on repeating musty phrases about the Royal Supremacy and make a great show of sharpening a blunt axe which should long since have been sent to the Tower armory as a weapon of the old Tudor and Stuart days of statescraft.

The true cause of Church panics is not understood until we see that when a church leans on any other supports than her own, and finds them fail under her, then she sinks into a state of mind as unreasoning as that of the carnival revelers overtaken with earthquake on the morning of Ash Wednesday at Nice and other towns of the Riviera. A panic-stricken sermon of this kind was preached some years ago from the University pulpit, at Cambridge, on the text, "For if the foundations be destroyed what shall the righteous do?" The best comment on this kind of pulpiteering under panic is to turn the text right round and read it the other way. If the righteous be destroyed what shall the foundations do? The metaphor of a building is misleading if we suppose that the externals of a church, its endowment, establishment, and so forth, are of the nature of foundations, and that the external cult and social status of its members are the essential part of the edifice of faith, and as such doomed to crumble away when cracks and a settlement are seen in a politico-ecclesiastical church of rubble and concrete not older than Henry or Elizabeth. But enough of these abortive attempts to piece together politics and religion, the kingdom of Cæsar and of Christ. But for the endowments of the Church and its prizes as a profession, its bishoprics, deaneries, and dignities, with canonries major and minor, there is probably not a so-called churchman who would lift a little finger for that archaic anomaly, the Establishment. But if there is a foible of Englishmen it is the affectation for an antiquarian interest in dead and defunct causes out of which the idea is as extinct as the life in a fossil. So it is that they get up Eglinton Tournaments and affect a kind of Wardour Street interest in old oak chests and other musty muniments.

De Tocqueville, as a keen critic of our foibles, has noticed this foible, as in the other extreme: the modern American (till he grows rich and affects the ideas of the "old folk at home") is, if anything, too contemptuous to the past and too fond of novelties.

On the other hand, the modern Englishman of the middle or upper class at least affects a taste for feudalism in civil and a certain tinge of mediævalism in religious life, which he is far from entertaining any serious belief in. The result is that the Ritualists, mistaking all this Brummagem metal of mediævalism for the real article, assumed that there was a reaction when there was none, and so two tides of church opinion came together, with the result that we have seen in a short-lived panic, the second we have here to record as the mushroom growth around the decaying roots of the old church and state policy.

The third of these spasms of fear grew out of a volume of seven essays, thrown together in a haphazard fashion by seven Oxford and Cambridge men of some mark, a quarter of a century ago. Several of these writers are forgotten, some are dead, and one only of the seven, Dr. Temple, still holds his head up before the public in very prominent form. But all who know the present Bishop of London will acquit him of any dangerous tendencies. Tried by the usual tests of orthodoxy, he is as safe and as unimpeachable as was his blameless predecessor, Dr. Jackson. It is a lesson in life to glance back a quarter of a century to the dust raised about this challenge of the "septem contra Christum," as some schoolmaster critic described them, and by endless iteration the phrase got a vogue it was far from deserving. Detailed criticism of a book now out of print more than twenty years ago would be such surplusage that we shall not inflict it on our readers. The Essays and Reviews are the whetstone on which many young and budding critics of that day, not excepting the present writer, sharpened their critical tomahawk. But now, alas! the books of the heretics and of the heresy-hunters slumber peacefully side by side on the upper shelf of the libraries of country clergymen, — peace to their memory; hunter and hunted are now gone to the world where, unlike the Indians whose heaven is a hunting-field, there are no dogs and no deer. Now the Essays and Reviews are dead and buried, we can afford to smile at a panic which, when at its height, made even sensible people ask themselves whether we were approaching another glacial epoch of general unbelief arising from the objections of men of science.

The new criticism, rejected off-hand on the Tertullian plea of prescription, was "neology," as it was vaguely called — new and not true — by those who resented the intrusion of reason in that preserve of theology which the Church has always claimed as her own. The more educated minds who had widened their horizon

saw that criticism, which had worked such havoc with Greek and Roman history, was not to be warned off the Hebrew record merely on the ground that the Book was inspired, or that the Church was its authorized and sole exponent. One school of thought took the one line of defense, and the other the other; but in spite of both, "neology," or the new criticism, took its own course, and, in Dr. Jowett's phrase, handled the Bible as if it were any other book. It was this free handling, rather than any direct results of this negative method, which alarmed the popular mind in England, and sent the religious press into factitious exclamations of horror at such profanity.

The educated minority saw that the results of negative criticism in Germany had been surprisingly small. Strauss, the Corypheus of the movement, long before his death made frank confession of this, and in his last polemic, "The half and the whole," he turned round on his own followers, much in the same way as Wilkes in his day did on the Wilkites, when he had the impudence to say to the king, "Please your Majesty I am not a Wilkite." Strauss, in the same way, had rounded before his death on the Straussites. He had renounced theology, negative as well as positive, and had turned to humanism. The hero of his last biographical sketch, "Ulrich von Hutten," had ended his troublous career in disappointment, and Strauss instinctively felt that he was the Von Hutten of our day, and that the humanism of which he was the chosen chief would die and make no mark, as Hutten died in exile on the shores of the Lake of Zurich.

On these grounds the new criticism should not have been treated as the disturbing force that it was for some time in English theological circles, and by those who were untrained to see that German rationalism was among the little systems "which have their day — they have their day and cease to be."

Looking back on the Essays and Reviews panic of 1862, we can only account for it by the strange and unnatural alliance of Dr. Pusey and his followers, who sought to join hands with the *Record* and its followers in making common cause against a common foe. Men said (with what little reason the sequel soon showed) how serious must be the peril when in presence of a greater foe these Ritualists and Evangelists drop their arms and rally *pro aris et focis* for the Church and the Bible, attacked at once by these Sadducees of modern age who believe in neither. This joining of hands of such opposite extremes led men to conjure up a peril which was great only because it was seen to be so

through the magnifying-glass of their fears. This is exactly the way in which panics propagate themselves. The cake of barley bread tumbling into the camp of the Midianites must be the sword of Gideon, and as men think in their heart so are they. Men are cowards or brave in proportion as they betray the succors which reason offers, or, on the other hand, retain their presence of mind, take time to think, and so see a way of escape springing out of the very temptation.

We cannot pass this subject of panics in theology by without one lesson in conclusion which the churches in America will do well to lay to heart.

There are some chapters of experience in which the Old World can teach the New, as there are certainly several in which the New World has made history for the instruction of the Old. In the long death-agony of domestic slavery, with secession and a civil war, the bloodiest on record, as its twin progeny, the New World has written a chapter in history to which the long annals of the Old World have nothing to compare. What are Persian invasions of Greece, or the three Punic wars in which Rome and Carthage closed in a death-grapple, in comparison with this duel of North and South, when, like the Scandinavian brothers of old Norse tales, they were strapped together till one has gashed the other to death. Neither Europe nor Asia has ever seen a social problem fought out on such a scale, and so fiercely to the bitter end. This is what our American children have to teach us, who are the "old folk at home." On the other hand, the strange interlacing of Church and State in the Old World has brought about a condition of affairs very favorable to panic-mongering. It arises, as we have seen, whenever politicians for their own worldly ends go, as Alexander and his craftsmen did, into the Agora of Ephesus, and, instead of our craft in danger, deliberately raise the cry of "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." The churches of America are, so to speak, an archipelago of independence, and even if there is an earthquake on one of these islets, it is on so small a scale that the area of devastation is bounded on all sides by the sea. It is well for the United States that it is so, since even when a whole denomination is rent with the cries of a particular controversy, as the New England States were when the Old and New Light theology question arose half a century ago, the disturbance is not felt over so vast an area as the Union, which has as many separate churches as it has States, and none of them so predominant as the Establishment is in England, whereat its controversies rise to the height of national quarrels.

The cry of the "Church in danger" is getting antiquated even in England. It could scarcely arise at all in a state of society like that of the New World. This is a great advantage for America, and is one of which we may admire the wisdom which led them early in their history to cut the Gordian knot of State and Church connection. In this sense the lines of Clough's poem are full of meaning:—

"Come back, come back, and wherefore and for what?
To idly finger some old Gordian knot,
Too weak to sever and too frail to cleave,
And idly clinging to some make-believe."

It is these "make-believes" arising out of Church and State connection which are the parent of all or nearly all these panics we have glanced at. In proof of this we may remark that the Free Churches of Great Britain have as a rule been comparatively exempt from these shakings and quakings about nothing at all. The most disgraceful victims of these periodical ague fits have been the orthodox Evangelicals of the old Church and State party. At one time it was the gunpowder treason over again with the Jesuits in disguise and undermining our youth at Oxford; at another time it was the Pope dictating from the Flaminian Gate an epistle for the subjection of England to the Papal See. Then the dream changed, and the nightmare took the form of the hag of unbelief squat at the breast of young Oxford, and whispering some unmeaning formula of the Hegelian Left, that everything is naught and naught is everything. Such are panics; they cannot be reasoned with when they arise, for to reason is to assume a state of mind panic-proof. Still they can be guarded against in the future, but only in one way, — a firm grasp of essentials summed up in the phrase, "the faith once delivered to the saints." This is the best, and indeed the only, safeguard. As long as Christians will hold by all those figments of our traditional theology, such as apostolical succession, verbal inspiration, and, above all, the Augustinian anthropology and eschatology, they will be a prey to panics whenever criticism touches, as it must do on the side of science or history, any of these dogmas. A dogmatic church, then, must be a timorous church, and timorous in proportion to its excess of dogma over the portion of assimilated spiritual truth. Happily, if the past has its warnings, the future has its encouragements. The age of dogmatism is declining and that of simple faith at first hand in a living personal and ever-present Saviour is on the increase. Our activity in foreign missions proves this, for whenever was a Church

Evangelistic but it was able to shake off the venomous beast of unbelief or misbelief and to take no harm from the serpent's fang.

We may hope, then, on the whole, that the age of panics is past and over, or nearly so; and we close this brief record of three which we have lived through with much the same comment as the French Abbé who had lived through the horror of the French Revolution, "*J'ai vécu.*"

CATESHAM VALLEY, ENGLAND.

J. B. Heard.

IDEALISM IN LITERATURE.

"L'Art n'est pas une étude de la vérité positive; c'est une recherche de la vérité idéale." — G. SAND.

THIS is not a disquisition on Hegel. Neither do I meditate an attack on the position of Dr. M'Cosh as established in the "Princeton Review." Philosophy is not my aim. I wish only to examine certain tendencies in literature, which, it seems to me, are capable of generalization in a line not attempted hitherto, at least to my knowledge.

We hear a great deal at present of the realistic school. Created, so to speak, by Balzac and Stendhal, it has grown and developed in the hands of such men as Flaubert and M. Daudet in France, George Eliot in England, Mr. Howells and Mr. James among ourselves. It has drawn to itself so much talent, so much brilliancy, that one is half inclined to surrender at discretion, and let the young genius of the age lead us whither it will. Yet one must not always allow one's self to follow one's inclinations. Perhaps even here it will be worth while to stop and ask ourselves: What is realism? where did it come from? whither is it leading us? At least such an afterthought sometimes possesses me; and it may be that others will follow out the inquiry with me. In order to do this clearly, let us go back for a minute and take a rapid historical survey.

Modern Literature may be said to have begun with the first real influence of Christianity upon life. The result of this influence was twofold. Among the Ancients, literature had included in itself poetry, religion, and philosophy. Their ideal was a union of these three. Hence the deepest and intensest emotion did not scorn to occupy itself with considerations of art. Passion and

thought had not attained their perfection unless they were clothed in the most refined beauty of form. Sophocles was priest as well as poet. Plato the artist holds no less a place than Plato the philosopher.

It may well be doubted whether pure literature was capable of filling all these offices. At any rate with Christianity there came a change. The religious side of human thought cared no longer to vex itself with literary expression. Men whose one desire was to conquer and subdue in themselves the lusts and vanities of the flesh had little time or patience to weigh the nice value of a word or phrase. The careful elegance of the Greek and Roman writers had in it, to them, something childish, something unworthy the seriousness of life. The aspirations, the vague desires, the uncontrollable despairs, which filled their souls, poured themselves out upon the world in a flood of stormy eloquence often of immense power, often, alas! tediously exaggerated, but never studied, balanced, at harmony with itself. From exactly this sort of movement sprang the Gothic in architecture. Men wanted no longer the calm, self-poised elevation of the Greeks, nor the sturdy utility of the Romans. Everything was aspiration; so they aimed high enough, they cared not for breadth nor charm. This tendency, which from its chief manifestation in architecture I shall call Gothic, is to be seen in all the other arts as well. In music it has given us Beethoven; in literature, Dante and Milton. Only one cannot but fear sometimes that in the world of to-day it is dying, if not dead.

This tendency, however, is not the only one, nor even the chief one, in modern literature. I have said that the spirit of Christianity, striving to give itself form, spurned the more self-contained and harmonious tradition of the ancient world. Unfortunately, average human nature proved unable to sustain itself on the level of the Christian ideal. The enthusiast in us dwells, alas! too near the critic, the ascetic becomes too readily the Epicurean. In the first centuries after the destruction of the Western Empire, when modern society was not yet born, Christianity, absorbing in itself the whole kingdom of the spirit, held easy sway over the troubled world. "Religion and war," says Alexander Vinet, "these are the two ideas which sum up the Middle Ages." Men whose life was spent in the carving out of kingdoms had little time for the use of the pen. Asceticism, the Gothic element, alone had the power to make itself heard. But when the world once more awoke from its uneasy dream, when the new birth began, the Renais-

sance, then the Gothic spirit could hold sway no longer. The critical side, the sensual side, began to claim its place, all the more powerfully because of the restraint to which it had been subjected. The romantic element, the other great element in modern literature, was born.

I was reading, the other day, an interesting article on Fletcher by Mr. J. A. Symonds, and one observation in it seems to me very appropriate to the subject we are considering. I have forgotten the exact words, but it was to the effect that Fletcher's great excellence was to have perfected on the stage the art of story-telling. By this Mr. Symonds means that Fletcher's chief object in writing was to arouse and satisfy the curiosity of his audience. He did not seek splendor of poetry, nor brilliancy and play of imagination, nor dignity and nobleness of subject. All these he had in a greater or less degree; but they were all subordinated to the story, that is, to the one object of keeping the spectators interested, in the more limited sense of the word.

Now it seems to me that we have here the key to the whole romantic movement. Its one object was story-telling, amusement. Literature was no longer the embodiment of all that was serious, of all that was divine. It was a relaxation, a pastime, the resource of minds wearied or repelled by the earnestness, alas! too often the narrowness, of the spiritual world.

It would be childish to insist arbitrarily upon this theory, childish to overlook the host of eddies and counter currents by which literature is constantly agitated. I am not leaving out of sight the so-called classical school of France and our own eighteenth century, which, in spite of its real genius, failed by trying to retain the manner of the Ancients when the spirit was gone. Nor do I forget such men as Bossuet, Fénelon, Burke, Barrow, who had the truly classical art of uniting the conflicting elements about them. But these are comparatively side issues. The real current of literature after all flowed in two streams — what I have called the Gothic and the romantic; of which the first, though never extinct, ran in a smaller channel and was neither so brilliant nor so popular as its more showy neighbor. The real essence of modern literature, the literature of the world from the Renaissance to our own century, the literature which produced Boccaccio, Ariosto, Tasso, in Italy, Cervantes and Calderon in Spain, Rabelais in France, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare and his fellow-dramatists in England, — the essence of this literature in all its various modifications was the romantic school. Is it to be wondered at that,

with this tradition behind us, we hesitate a minute before we let realism carry us away?

But, people will say, do you call Shakespeare a mere story-teller? It seems to me that at the bottom that was his inspiration. I do not mean by that any lack of power, any limitation. All the elements of thought and imagination were freely at his command, and he used them, used them so that to us the story sinks into insignificance, and we think only of the art and genius of the poet. But yet, when one thinks of the man as he comes to us on the whole, one feels that he differs from his contemporaries not so much in kind as in degree. Like them he wrote for an Elizabethan audience, who came to him not to celebrate with earnestness and passion a feast of the gods, but to unbend for an instant and be amused. Just such an audience as the romantic school has written for before and since.

Here let me stop for an instant. There is a certain order of critics who are always ready to maintain that the object of art is to amuse. Clearly, on this side I have laid myself open to attack. I shall be charged with having denied their article of faith. And read as they read it, I do deny it. No one can wish less than I to press the didactic element in literature. The vainest, the most empty of all works of art, is that which attempts to sugar-coat instruction with imagination. But, on the other hand, there is no surer means of degrading art than to make it a pastime for an idle hour, a relaxation for minds whose serious thoughts are turned to other things. If beauty and the pursuit of beauty have in them, as I would fain believe, something serious and noble and, in a certain sense, divine, why, in Heaven's name, should we think them only fit to come second to our money and our gossip and our food? Yet if this is not the declared principle of the romantic school to-day, it is the result to which from the very first it has led and must lead.

Look for a minute at the stage. We began with Marlowe and Shakespeare, and who could ask for greater poetry, more splendid imagination, more accurate study of life? But, as Mr. Symonds says, the story-teller is there; and what has it all brought us to? Do our theatres exist by great poetry, by splendid imagination, by accurate study of life? No; but by Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Dion Boucicault.

With poetry and fiction it is the same. We began with Chaucer and Spenser; we passed on through Shakespeare and Fletcher (I cite them here because they belong to poetry as much as to the

stage); perhaps we had better have ended with Wilkie Collins and Charles Reade.

Of the two last great writers of the romantic school in English, Scott and Hawthorne, I must say just one word. Scott is the best possible example of the school. He has all its qualities and all its defects. He has its health, its vitality, its constant sweetness, its indescribable charm. He has also its superficiality, its indifference, its disregard of loose ends, its power of being unfathomably stupid when it will. Scott, of all modern writers, has the most kinship with Shakespeare, and yet who reads Scott except as the occupation of a weary or a careless hour. From a different point of view, Hawthorne, though a man of less genius, is equally interesting. By his nature and sympathies the externality of the romanticists was hateful to him. He had in him the making of something greater. But habit was too strong, and one sees in him side by side a vein of depth and seriousness, and a vein for which sensationalism is not too strong a word. He gives us such sketches as *Hilda* and *Judge Pyncheon* and *Hester Prynne*. He also gives us such childish trivialities as the mysteries of *Donatello* and *Septimius Felton*. To my mind he is by far the greatest literary artist we in America have had. Yet one judges less by what he is than by what he might have been.

But since Scott and Hawthorne trivialities reign. Under Elizabeth people sought amusement, it is true; but their ideas of amusement were not ours. Shakespeare and Spenser were amusing then; we require the "*Duchess*" and "*Ouida*." And can you expect the novel to be other than what it is, when we keep it for a journey or a headache, and think it a sin to read it when we are fit for anything else? As always, the public and the artist react upon each other. Yet, as I said before, if art is anything, is it not a shame to let it be no more than this?

Against this last degradation of the romantic school, realism is a protest. The great realistic writers say to themselves in theory: "Let us have anything serious rather than this sham. Let us paint life just as it is. Let us render nature just as it comes to us, good, bad, and indifferent. The world is tired of heroes and heroines, of dragons and enchanted castles, of rose-colored romances, and tinsel kings. Anything is better than the tawdry inventions, the lamentable trickery, the tedious sentimentality, which passes itself off at present under the name of art." They said this, and it is to their honor that they said it. In their effort to be serious they sometimes became tedious, in their effort to be

true they fell often into over-analysis. Semi-literate women and superficial men laughed at them, sneered at them, slandered them. And yet, to my mind, the ideal of George Eliot and Flaubert and Tourgeneff, when you compare it with the trash which comes to us every day in the name of literature, has in it something noble, I would almost say religious.

And yet, after all, this aim seems to me far from perfect. In the first place no one knows very clearly what realism is. The realist may say that he paints life as it is; but what can that mean but that he paints it as it is to him? And he does not do even that. Say what he will, he must omit, select, combine. He cannot take his impressions as they come. Even the photographer chooses his light and shade, his point of view. The truth in realism is mainly valuable on its negative side. It is a principle of reaction, a protest against a false tendency, an effort to return to what is serious and true. As such it cannot be too highly valued. But considered positively, it is too indefinite. It has not force nor saliency enough, is not enough carried away by a passionate motive. And here the weakness of the school comes.

After so much criticism and fault-finding, shall I be permitted to turn for a minute to the positive side of the question? If the old romanticism has outlived itself, and if the new realism in spite of its youth and strength cannot satisfy us, is there no other hope? I do not know; but I cannot but think there might be another course, if the stream of thought were but turned into it.

Yes, there might be another course. It is the one which I have named in the title of this article, idealism. Could we not restore to literature some of the earnestness and inwardness which was lacking in the spirit of the Renaissance? Could we not mingle together the elements of the romantic and the Gothic? Is it impossible to unite aspiration and passion with grace and harmony and charm? Is it impossible to read into the eternal smile of Shakespeare a richer and diviner inspiration? The realist reproaches his adversary with coining a world out of his own imagination. Life, he says, is richer, wider, deeper than all your dreams. And he is right in saying it. But to avoid this error he goes to the opposite extreme. He wishes to take nothing from his imagination. He will simply paint common life, the world of every day, which any one can see and understand. And he falls into a mistake as bad as the other, if not worse. For the object of the artist is, indeed, to show how rich, how wide, how deep life is. If he merely paints to us our superficial lives of every day as

we ourselves, common mortals, see them, what do we get from him? We might do that as well as he, and leave him quite out of the question. As, indeed, one often hears people say that as we come more to think and analyze, the office of art will disappear. And the office of realism will disappear: the newspapers will take its place. But true art can never disappear. The true artist neither coins an imaginary world out of his own brain, nor does he strive to represent the commonplace of life in a commonplace way. He takes life, indeed, as he sees it; he takes it as we see it; but he shows us infinitely more in life than we could ever see. That which to us seemed shapeless and colorless and tame, in his hands, even while it remains the same, takes on a new color and majesty and grace. That which to us seemed to the last degree, of the earth, earthy, under the touch of genius becomes, in a certain sense, immortal and divine. That is what I mean by idealism: the sweetness, the amenity of romanticism, the earnestness, the truth of realism; but a something of light, of intensity, of aspiration, which is forever lacking in these as we know them now, — in a word, the enthusiasm of the idea.

At the end of the last century, and in the beginning of this, under the influence of the French Revolution and the immense spiritual movement brought about by that, a reaction in literature did, indeed, begin. Goethe in Germany, Byron and Shelley in England, G. Sand and a few others in France, each in their different ways, set themselves to work on the foundation of a new school, — a school which should have for its object, in G. Sand's own words, "To seek the cause and the end of life." But Byron and Shelley died having accomplished nothing. Goethe outlived his youthful illusions. George Sand alone remained true to her ideal; but with her the school is gone as it came.

Yet, until they have taken a lesson from writers like these, I cannot think that the realists will succeed. In art you must look up, not down. You must be a servant, not a master. As Heine, a true idealist, though a somewhat strange one, once wrote: "No, we do not possess ideas, but the idea possesses us, and enslaves us, and scourges us into the arena, that we may fight for it like gladiators, whether we will or no."

And what do we mean by the idea? In truth it would not be easy to say. I have thought long over the matter, and the best answer I have found is this: the Idea is God. And, to tell the truth, I am often half tempted to take it the other way and say that God is the Idea. But whatever definition one adopts, he who

feels the Idea knows it and no one else can. That which ennobles the soul and makes it forget itself, passion and aspiration and faith, and pain also — these are the idea. And I leave it to any of my readers if this is the spirit in which the realist works.

And yet, after all is said, if one would write seriously at the present day, can one be anything but a realist? I have said much evil of them; but when one sees what the world is now, when one hears nothing but dollars and cents and machine politics, when one reads the newspapers and lives under the reign of poor Flaubert's "Bourgeois," can one be anything but a realist? Let him who is without sin among us cast the first stone.

CAMBRIDGE.

Gamaliel Bradford, Jr.

PAUL'S THEOLOGY.

I. JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH.

FOR some years I have been engaged in special studies on the writings of Paul, primarily for the purpose of my own instruction in the principles of life for my general work as editor and teacher, my aim therein being always a simple one, namely, to apply to the problems of modern life — individual and social — the principles inculcated in the New Testament; secondly, with the intention of embodying the results of these studies in one or more volumes in continuation of a Commentary on the New Testament, the preparations for which were commenced some twenty years ago. As a result of these studies I find my understanding of Paul's character and teaching different at some important points from those ordinarily found in the commentaries and theological treatises. In this, and a succeeding article, I propose to give the readers of the "Andover Review," by way of suggestion, and in a condensed form, a part of the results of these studies, referring such as care to pursue the line of thought here indicated further, to the volume on Romans which is now going through the press as fast as my other duties will allow, and which I hope will be issued early in 1888.

Every great teacher is the bearer of one great message to the world; and he rarely bears more than one. If we can understand that one message, we approximately understand him in all his teaching; if we misunderstand that one message, we are in confusion as regards all his teaching. All that he has to say to

the world in detail is either an amplification of that one message, or a preparation for it, or corollaries from it, or applications of it to the various phases of human experience. Thus, the message of Moses was the sovereignty of one spiritual God in opposition to the materialistic polytheism of surrounding nations, and all his teaching must be interpreted by that one regnant idea; the teaching of David, what I may perhaps call the anthropomorphic idea of God, as opposed to the naturalistic idea, that is, the doctrine that God is to be interpreted to us, not by analogy from natural phenomena, but by analogy from the higher types of human experience; the teaching of Luther, the doctrine of justification by faith, as opposed to ceremonialism and ecclesiasticism in all its forms; that of Wesley, the doctrine of liberty, with its corollaries of human responsibility and ethical obligation; that of Henry Ward Beecher, the Fatherhood of God, as opposed to the formerly current conceptions of God as a moral governor of the universe. Now the fundamental teaching of Paul is all embodied in the one declaration, that by the works of the law can no flesh be justified in the sight of God; that the soul can be justified only by faith. What does he mean by this? Specifically, what does he mean by justification? by the works of the law? by faith? My object in this article is to give a suggestive though not a complete answer to these questions. In a second article I shall endeavor to indicate what relation his teaching as here interpreted bears to the sacrifice of Christ. No candid reader will expect in these articles to find a full and satisfactory interpretation of the teaching of the apostle on these subjects. In the first place, he would be unreasonable if he were to expect any one to cover adequately, in two articles of the length here allowed, ground which a library of antecedent discussion has not fully covered; and, in the second place, if he believes, as I certainly do, that the apostle was inspired to be the teacher of all future ages, he will not expect any interpreter to do anything more than give some aid, from the point of view of a single student, to the understanding of certain aspects of his unfathomable teaching.

One other preliminary consideration, one which will enable us to pass by at the outset — though in a full discussion it ought not to be ignored — a great deal that has been written by learned exegetes on this subject. For an understanding of Paul's meaning we are to go, not primarily to the classical Greek, nor even to the Old Testament Scriptures, we are to go to Paul himself. It is always the characteristic of profound writers to use com-

mon words with meanings more profound than common usage has attached to them. It is only thus that such a writer can express his meaning. He must take common words to interpret thoughts that are not common. No man would think of going to the Latin poet's use of the word *deus* to get his understanding of the English conception of deity. The missionaries in China are almost at a stand-still in their translation of the Bible because they cannot find in the Chinese language a word fitting to convey to the Chinese mind a conception of a supreme, spiritual Being. The word God is not in the Chinese language, because the idea God is not in the Chinese mind; and the Christian teacher can only take the word that most nearly approximates that thought, familiar to us but unfamiliar to them, and give to it a new meaning. The old carriage must be used, but it must be made the vehicle of a new idea. The manger is the manger of cattle; but the child that is to be laid in it is the Son of God. It is thus that Paul uses the two words "righteousness" and "faith." Both are words familiar in classic Greek; by universal consent Paul gives them a profounder meaning than they ever bear in pagan writings. Both are familiar words in the Old Testament; I believe that Paul gives to them, especially to the former word, a profounder meaning than it ordinarily bore in the Old Testament. He uses these two words to answer the old, old question, How shall man be righteous before God? He shall be righteous, replies Paul, by receiving through faith the righteousness of God. "By the deeds of the law shall no flesh be righteous in his sight;" that is his negative answer. "For the righteousness of God is through faith of Jesus Christ revealed unto all and conferred upon all them that exercise faith;" that is his affirmative answer. What is his meaning?

It has been hotly discussed between different schools of theologians whether Paul's phrase "righteousness of God" means an attribute which God possesses, or a gift which He bestows; whether God's righteousness means the righteousness which He has, or the righteousness which He imparts. If all that has been written in the discussion of this question were gathered together, it would make a work of some volumes; and if all the sermons which have been preached upon this question were included, it would make a library of very respectable dimensions. The question is one purely about words. It has no real significance. It seems not to have occurred, for the most part, to the disputants in this theological controversy, that God's righteousness may be both his possession

and his gift; that the imagined alternative has no existence; that what He bestows is himself; that He pours his own being into the souls of his willing children; that He is a Sun of righteousness, imparting his own life and warmth to that which without Him would be cold, and dark, and dead. Any system of interpretation which compels us to accept this alternative and to give to Paul's phrase, "God's righteousness," sometimes one meaning and sometimes another, leads into endless confusion of thought.

The same thing may be said respecting much of the discussion concerning the meaning of the word "justification": it has largely been a mere logomachy. Does justification mean to make just or to declare just; is it a term applicable to character or to condition? Paul's doctrine is that God's justice justifies. Does this signify a change in the relations of the soul to God, or a change in the soul's inherent character? Sin works two evils in the human soul: it separates the soul from God; it disorders the soul in itself: it is both an estrangement and a disease. If it did not separate from God it would still bring untold misery upon the individual and upon all connected with him. If it brought no misery upon him or his, it would still be a terrible evil because it separates him from his Father and his God. Both these evils must be done away in any remedy which is offered for sin. The soul must be brought back to God; it must also be restored to itself, to a normal and spiritually healthful state. Now the question which theologians have discussed through centuries of debate is, Which of these two evils does justification by faith remedy? Does it restore the soul to itself, working an inherent change in the character, bringing back health, and banishing disease; or does it restore the soul to God, bringing back the son to his father's house, and leaving for further and future remedies the restoration of the soul to its true nature? Protestant doctrine, dating from the days of Luther, is that justification imports simply the latter change, the pardon of the soul by God, its treatment by Him of his own free grace as though it were righteous. It is declared to be a forensic term equivalent to acquittal, and almost synonymous with vindication. Luther declares that in justification we work nothing, but receive what he calls a "passive righteousness," and this has been the general view of Protestant divines. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, with most Unitarians and some orthodox but liberal thinkers, maintain that justification is not an act of treating as just, but of making just; that it changes not the relations but the character of the soul.

The debate between these two opposing theories, which was fierce in the time of the Reformation and has continued in polemical theology ever since, like the debate respecting God's righteousness, concerns a distinction with no difference. It is true that we may metaphysically distinguish between making right the relation between God and the soul and making right the soul in itself, but the distinction is purely abstract; it has no existence in actual experience. When the prodigal son left his father's house and wandered off into a far country, and associated there with drunkards and harlots, and spent his substance in riotous living, it is clear that he both separated himself from his father and soiled and despoiled his own character. But he did both by *the same act*. If he had remained under his father's roof and possessed the same spirit, he would have been as truly separated from his father as he was when living in a far country. So, when he would repent, it is equally clear that a double duty was laid upon him, that of abandoning the evil habits of his own life, and that of returning to his father and seeking his father's pardon. But these also, though metaphysically separate acts, are in actual experience inseparable. The son could not take the first step toward a real and radical reform so long as he remained estranged and separated from his father; neither could he bridge the chasm which separated him from his father without earnestness of purpose to reform, without ceasing to do evil, and at least beginning to learn to do well. He might have gone back to his father's house impenitent, driven merely by hunger; but in this case the body, not the soul, would have returned to the father, and the estrangement would have remained as great as before. He might have remained in the far country, endeavoring to cast off every evil habit and association, and to come into a spiritual fellowship with his father, to be at one with him in spirit, and it might have been physically impossible to take the journey back to his father's house, but in spirit he would have been restored to his father by the very act of repentance and the aspiration for forgiveness. The restoration to the father would be impossible without repentance, and the repentance would be impossible without restoration to the father. This truth is beautifully expressed in the parable by the declaration that when he came to *himself* he arose and went to his *Father*. Now, the soul that has sinned has both estranged itself from God and impaired and despoiled its own powers. It is impossible to come into right relations towards the Father which is in Heaven without taking

the first steps towards a recuperation of soul, and it is impossible to take the first step toward a recuperation of soul without returning penitently to the Father from whom we have estranged ourselves. Whatever fine-spun distinction may be drawn in the library, in the actualities of human experience the rectification of our relations with God and the first steps in the rectification of our own souls are not merely contemporaneous; they are absolutely the same. When, therefore, Paul speaks of justification or rightening, he means neither a rightening of our soul's *relations* with God — that is, a treating of the soul as though it were just, — nor a rightening of the soul *in its own nature* — that is, making the soul just; he means this one simple, indivisible process: the setting the soul right in its relations with God, because setting it in the way of righteousness within itself, and the setting of the soul in the way of righteousness within itself, because restored to right, that is, filial relations with God.

It must be freely conceded that the Old Testament use of the words just, justify, justification, has not the largeness of meaning which is here imputed to it. In the Old Testament these words are used ordinarily, if not exclusively, in the forensic sense. To justify is not to set right, but only to declare right. "I will not *justify* the wicked;" "They shall *justify* the righteous and condemn the wicked;" "If I *justify* myself my own mouth shall condemn me;" "God forbid that I should *justify* you;" "Speak, for I desire to *justify* thee;" "Which *justify* the wicked for a reward." The only passage in the Old Testament where the word can be thought to have the larger spiritual meaning is Isaiah liii. 11; "By his knowledge shall my righteous servant *justify* many; for he shall bear their iniquities;" and even in this passage the meaning is possibly forensic, that is, my righteous servant shall secure their acquittal by bearing their sins for them. The word occurs but twice in the Gospels, and then with the same significance of acquittal: "He willing to *justify* himself;" "Ye are they which *justify* yourselves before men." To one who regards the Bible as one book, written on one plane, and with one uniform doctrine or thought, as fully developed by Moses as by Paul, in the first century after the Creation as in the first century after the Incarnation, this Old Testament use of the word will be quite conclusive against the view I am here presenting. I do not so read the Bible. It is a book, but a book which grew from the seed to the fruit; its doctrine is a developed doctrine; between the vague promise to Adam, "The seed of the woman shall

bruise the serpent's head," and the prophecy of Paul, "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father . . . Then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all," there is a gap of centuries of spiritual growth. The New Testament is not a repetition of the Old; it is a development out of the Old. The temple is one; but the Old Testament is the foundation, the New Testament is the superstructure. The word which the Old Testament uses in a restricted, narrow, and formal sense, Paul uses with a larger and profounder meaning. How shall I become acquitted before God, is the question of the Old Testament. By having God's nature imparted to you, and receiving him into yourself, replies Paul. There is no escape from God's condemnation except by becoming his freeman, his child, his bride, the temple for his indwelling.

It is the object of Paul's Epistle to the Romans to show how this rightening is to be effected, and what are the joyful results in spiritual experience. And the general conclusion which he formulates in chapter iii. is, that by obedience to law shall no flesh be rightened, but by a life of faith. The Jew knew no other way of securing either rest within himself or peace with God than by obedience to the divine law. This was the burden of the Hebrew prophets. "Cease to do evil; learn to do well."—"What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God?" The preaching of John the Baptist, last of the Hebrew prophets, was to the same effect. "What shall we do then?" said the people. "He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none, and he that hath meat let him do likewise," was the answer. And this was a necessary moral foundation for the spiritual superstructure to be built thereon by Christ and his Apostles. It must be remembered that in pagan religions—and in some forms of pseudo-Christian religions—there is no organic connection between piety and morality, acceptance with God and right doing toward men. The ancient chronicler who wrote of Cardinal Lorraine that "he is far from truthful, naturally deceitful and covetous, but *full of religion*," had no intention of writing a biting sarcasm. Louis XV., who kneeled every night to say his prayers with his mistress at his side, had no conception that his religion was a travesty. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul and strength *and* thy neighbor as thyself, is a marriage rite never performed outside the religion of the Bible. That there can be no pleasing of God by a life evil toward man

was the first lesson to be taught the world, and even the Christian world has not yet fully learned it.

But if the majority of mankind have fondly hoped to find some way of pleasing God without the trouble of right living, the majority of those who have desired to promote right living have imagined that the way to do it is to set up some standard of character and conduct, and then by force of law — within or without, law of statute or law of conscience — compel conformity to it. They expect to reform the character, not by transforming it from within, but by conforming it from without. They expect not that it will grow into right lines, but that it can be cut and carved or beaten and pressed into right lines. They believe in the efficacy of a moral repoussé work. The political reformer expects to set the country right by making a right constitution and enacting under it right laws. The social reformer expects to remedy the injustice and inequality of society by reorganizing the community upon some type modeled after the pattern of the family. The father misreads the Bible promise, and thinks that it assures him, "Govern a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." The individual expects to accept a law over him from some external authority, — human or divine, — or to set up one over himself by the edict of his own conscience, and thus reform his character by compelling himself to conform to the standard thus recognized or established. This was the essential spirit of Pharisaism, which sometimes set up an ethical and even spiritual standard, sometimes a merely ceremonial one, but always a standard to be obeyed, whether it was that of Hillel or of Sham-mai. And this is the essential spirit of Puritanism, which aimed, and still aims, to set right both community and individuals by setting over community and individuals a law of life and conduct, and requiring obedience to it, under penalty of conscience in the individual, of the rod in the family, of fine or stocks or prison in the community. In the first three chapters of Paul's Epistle to the Romans he sets forth this method of reformation, shows how it had been twice tried on a grand scale in human history, and how sublime and sorrowful had been the failure.

Never was an empire so well equipped for trying this method as Rome, mistress of the world, mother of law. Never had any people a stronger conception of the dignity and obligation of law, or an organization better adapted to compel the obedience of the unwilling. She has given law to the world, and with it has furnished models of unswerving, uncorrupted, and incorruptible

administration. Roman justice is to-day a symbol of absolute allegiance to law. Roman justice is the historic type of unswerving impartiality in the execution of law. What is the result of this experiment at making a community pure, and true, and temperate, and good by the force of human law? Paul, in the first chapter of Romans, holds up the mirror before the face of Roman society, and bids it find in its own reflection the answer to this question. Rome had but human law, and human penalty to enforce it. Over against the Jewish people the standard of God's perfect law was set up; behind it thundered and lightened for fifteen centuries his providential judgments. An inspired lawgiver received and promulgated it; prophets were sent to emphasize and to interpret it; the Providence of God followed the nation, punishing disobedience; schools of scribes and rabbis were organized to explain the application of those laws to every conceivable experience of human life, and to invent new statutes where statutes were wanting in the original divinely given collection. The result of this experiment was equally a failure. The mirror held up in the third chapter before the Hebrew society shows no fairer features than the Roman portrait. "What, then, are we better than they? No, in nowise; for we have before proved, both Jew and Gentiles, that they are all under sin: as it is written, There is none righteous, no, not one." The attempt of men to work out reformation either in the community, the family, or the individual, by laws and penalties, will inevitably fail. This is not the divine way of accomplishing the rightening of either society or the human soul. By the deeds of the law shall no flesh be rightened in his sight.¹

To avoid the force of this conclusion, theologians have invented a distinction between the moral and ceremonial law. They have supposed that Christ abolished the ceremonial but retained and reinforced the moral law, and that Paul taught that men could not be justified by obeying the ceremonial regulations without intending to take off from them in the slightest degree the pressure of the obligation of the moral code. In fact, however, no such distinction between the moral and the ceremonial is recognized in the Old Testament or in the New. In the Old Testament the moral and the ceremonial regulations are so woven together that it is impossible to separate them without separating the very warp and woof of the Old Testament books. In the New Testament Christ declares that not one jot nor one tittle — that is, not the smallest

¹ Romans i. 26-32; iii. 9-18. The conclusion from this historic study of the effects of the legal method of reform is stated in chapter iii. 19.

letter nor the smallest accent — of the Hebrew law shall pass away till all be fulfilled. There is, it is true, a real distinction between moral and ceremonial laws; between those which are founded on and derive in a sense their authority from the universal conscience of mankind and those which are prescribed for a temporary purpose in the administration of a special ritual; but it is not true that Paul recognizes any such distinction as this, or allows that the moral law plays any greater part in justification than the ceremonial. He takes the broad ground that men who find themselves estranged from God, and diseased in soul and spirit, are not to attempt to return to God or restore themselves to health by obeying laws, whether human or divine. The process of reformation and restoration is entirely different.

Will it, then, be said that law is of no use? that all law is abolished by the New Testament? that all men are freed from the obligation of law? This has been said, but this is altogether too broad a deduction from Paul's premises. He asserts, not that there is no use for law, but that it is not by obedience to law that man or society is to be reformed. There is a use for law, and in his epistle to Timothy he very clearly states what that use is: "Law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and unruly, for the ungodly and sinners, for the unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for man-slayers, for fornicators, for abusers of themselves with men, for men-stealers, for liars, for perjured persons." Law is useful in restraining evil men and protecting the innocent and law-abiding from their lawlessness. It is necessary that the wicked and disobedient should be made to feel the force of law and should be kept under its necessary and wholesome restraints. It is useful, too, in restraining men from inflicting injury upon themselves, from their own disobedience, and in keeping them under such circumstances as render it possible to bring reformatory influences to bear upon them. It is also a standard of life, and so affords that consciousness of right and wrong without which reformation is impossible. *But law and penalty are not of themselves reformatory.* So far is it from being true that the object of punishment is the reformation of the offender, that, in strictness of speech, it is hardly true that this is even one of the objects of punishment, whether in society by the penitentiary, in the family by the rod, or in the individual by penance. The only or at least the chief reformatory effect of punishment is to compel a pause, and thus render it possible to bring other and higher influences to bear upon the offender.

Paul's declaration, then, "by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight," is not merely as against Pharisaism, obedience to ceremonial law cannot save the soul from sin; nor as against the moralist, obedience to the moral law cannot vindicate the sinner from sins previously committed; it includes both of these principles, but it is a much broader statement than either or both of them combined: it is the enunciation of the broad general principle that reformation of morals and of life, whether in the individual, the household, the government, or society, cannot be brought about by the enactment of laws and an enforced obedience to them through fear of penalty.

God's method for the reformation of character is far different from that on which the world has placed so great and so vain reliance. The divine plan for the improvement of character is by the play of higher natures upon lower natures. It is by personal influence, not by penal enactment. On this plan is the family, the great institution for the building of character, formed. The child is made what he is, not chiefly by the laws imposed upon him by the father, nor even by the deliberate conscious instructions afforded to him, but by the pervasive influence poured out upon him. He drinks in courage or cowardice, kindness or selfishness, vanity or humility, with his mother's milk. When he gets beyond the educative influences of his father's house he is sent to school, that he may receive the personal influences of experienced teachers. In college, his character is moulded by the character of the instructors and the classmates with whom he is in most vital and continuous sympathy; and in all the after-life he is made what he is by the influences that come in upon him from the companionship by which he is surrounded. A man's character is not only *known* by the company he keeps; it is *determined* by the company he keeps.

Now, the source and reservoir from which all upbuilding influences come is God himself. As the mother imparts to her child, as the teacher to his pupil, as the orator to his audience, as the hero to his nation, so throughout the ages God is imparting himself to all who will receive his influence, and He is doing this through the Lord Jesus Christ, the manifestation and disclosure of God upon the earth. To become Christ-like we are not merely to obey Christ's laws; this is not even the first step. We are to enter Christ's household of faith; we are to become pupils in Christ's school; we are to put on Christ as a garment; we are to dwell in Christ as in a house; we are to be grafted on Christ as on a

vine; we are to feed on Christ as on bread and wine; we are to be married to Christ and be moulded by our life with Him. Not by attempting to square our life to any rule and law, even the Ten Commandments or the Sermon on the Mount, but by throwing open our soul to the influence of the Life-giver, we are to be made like Him. The children of God are born, not of blood, deriving their hereditary virtues from their fathers, nor of the flesh, purchasing them by their own resolutions, nor of the will of man, compelled in the way of virtue by the force of others' wills; but of God, receiving his life as the plant receives light from the sun, and giving it forth again as the plant gives that light forth in all its varied colors. By the outpoured influence of God himself upon the human soul, by the outpoured influences of God-inspired agencies — prophets, patriarchs, preachers of righteousness, Biblical and post-Biblical, ordained and unordained — the human soul, and so human families, human society, and human government, is to be cleansed, purified, perfected, in one word rightened in the sight of God. He does not wait until a soul is rightened before He receives it to himself; He does not receive it to himself before it is rightened. But He counts heart-hunger for righteousness; aspiration for achievement; desire for result. "Tis not what man does which exalts him, but what man would do." God sees the harvest when the seed is sown; He recognizes the future saint when the sinner turns to Him for help towards sainthood. To desire God, to seek God, to perceive God, to open the heart to receive God, this is faith. Not to believe something about Him, but to believe *in* Him; not to hold an opinion, but to lay hold of God himself. And the instant the soul, awaking from its long slumber, reaches out its arms in groping after God, God reaches out his arms and draws the soul to himself, and there, as the babe nestles to its mother's side and draws its life from the current of her own life, so the soul that is born of God is drawn to his bosom, and lives by the life which flows from Him.

This is Paul's doctrine of justification by faith. Not that God has a righteousness which prevents his love from working out love's benediction on guilty men, a righteousness which must somehow be overcome by the death of his Son in order that He may righten the unrighteous in spite of his own righteousness; not that if a man believes certain revelations concerning Jesus Christ as the sin-bearer and Saviour of the world, God takes that right opinion for righteousness and acquits the believer of his wrong and counts him righteous; but that God has a righteous-

ness which is forever putting itself forth in divine influences for the rightening of others ; that this divine, forth-putting righteousness of God is seen in the life and character and death of Jesus Christ his Son ; that he who abandons his sins, and opens himself to receive sympathetically this sunshine of divine, redeeming love, is instantly brought under its beatific influence ; the seeds of aspiration are counted for the fruits of holiness ; in the spring of desire the divine, prophetic hope perceives the autumn of ingathering ; and the life for which the soul hungers is bestowed upon it, not as a reward of obedience, but as a free gift of love, given by grace, received by faith, and wrought out to its perfection by the ministrations of the word, the discipline of a divinely ordered life, the fellowship of the saints, and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

Lyman Abbott.

CORNWALL-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK.

THE AMERICAN BOARD:

IS ITS PROPER RELATION TO THE CHURCHES THAT OF DOMINATION OR DEPENDENCE?

II.

FOR twenty years from the beginning of the civil war the American Board prosecuted the work for which it was called into existence, with a vigor and a singleness of purpose which secured for it the unqualified and undivided confidence of the churches. It could not be said that it belonged to any party. It had no policy of its own, apart from the churches. What was centralized and exclusive in its constitution did not obtrude itself ; practical wisdom in administration served to compensate in good degree for defects in organization.

This happy state of things was suddenly, and unexpectedly, and we might almost say ruthlessly, disturbed at the annual meeting held in Portland in 1882, and it was thus disturbed, as we hope to be able to convince our readers, by no adverse influence from without, but by the deliberate act of men in the inner councils of the Board itself. Until then, the Brooklyn meeting, at which in the view of many of its friends the Board conceded too much to the pro-slavery sentiment of the time, was the anniversary of all others in its

history to be recalled with the least general satisfaction. But the action at Brooklyn was the result of a full and free debate, and it represented the opinions of a powerful majority in the churches. Nor was it brought to pass by any unworthy manœuvring and management. Dr. Anderson was undoubtedly a diplomatist. It used to be said of him that he would make an admirable secretary of state at Washington; but his methods were believed to be above reproach. If, however, the Brooklyn meeting may be excused, and perhaps justified, at least as a response to the prevailing sentiment of the time, no such excuse or justification can be offered for the Portland meeting, which, unless we mistake the significance of all the attendant circumstances, was arranged in advance, conducted from opening to adjournment, and subsequently made use of, for the express purpose of creating a public sentiment outside in reference to a disputed theological question. The occasion was seized upon, and all the machinery of the society was put in motion, to give prominence and authority to a certain speculation limiting the opportunity for salvation for all men indiscriminately to the present life, and to denounce and put to silence all who refused, or even hesitated, to give their adhesion to it. There was hardly one in ten, probably, among those who came up to the meeting, to whom the issue, as it was presented, was not a new one; and not one in ten for whom it had any particular interest in the connection in which it was now made prominent.

The Portland anniversary was a missionary meeting in little more than in name. Apart from the few addresses in the main hall by missionaries, and the elevated and inspiring speeches of Dr. Hopkins, the President of the Board, and Dr. Hill, ex-President of Harvard College, there was not much to remind one of the great object for which professedly the assembly had been called together. Louis XIV. remarked, on leaving the chapel of Versailles one Sunday morning, that if the eloquent preacher to whom he had been listening had only spoken of religion, he would have spoken about everything. We had somewhat of the same feeling at Portland, and thought that if certain eloquent speakers there had only said something about missions, they would have told us of everything. But this was not the worst of it. Many of the utterances were harsh, censorious, and bitter. The speakers arraigned Christian brethren, judged them, condemned them, for the most part absent, and altogether unheard. More than this; they grievously and cruelly misrepresented them. They caricatured their opinions; they imputed to them beliefs which

they did not hold; and then they assumed to pass judgment upon them. They denounced materialism and agnosticism, and allowed the audience to suppose that honored Christian pastors and teachers, men of high standing in the Congregational body, and in the Board itself, were materialists and agnostics. An Oberlin reviewer, as we have seen, writing in 1846 of the Brooklyn meeting, complained that the anti-slavery memorialists had been judged and condemned on false issues. This is precisely what was done in the theological addresses made at the Portland meeting. There was little argument in what was said, but there was a superabundance of rhetoric, bewildering and inconsequent, like

“ Rich windows that exclude the light,
And passages that lead to nothing.”

The talk for the most part was *ad captandum*; a certain atmosphere had been produced, and the speeches were skillfully adapted to it; from beginning to end, prejudices were aroused and addressed, and feeling rather than reason was appealed to. Of course, a superficial and temporary impression was the result, and it seemed to the promoters of the meeting that they had achieved a signal success. What the character of this success was, and how great its value, we may learn as we proceed.

The Portland meeting, to describe it in a single word, was a heresy-hunt. We have often thought that a marked resemblance could be traced between one of our modern heresy-hunters and a French *chiffonnier* — but with a difference. The latter patiently looks through a pile of rubbish, and feels that he has been well rewarded for his toil if he find one precious thing. The former hastily tosses over a heap of gems, and is chagrined and disappointed if he fail to discover one scrap of rubbish. For him, the gem without a flaw has no interest; the ripe summer fruit, without “the little pitted speck,” no attractiveness. To the critics and censors of their brethren at the Portland meeting, the faith, and zeal, and liberality of the churches seemed to go for nothing; they thought that they snuffed heresy from afar, and all their senses and all their sympathies were closed against everything else.¹

Waiving for the present the question, — Supposing heresy to have been latent in the churches, what right had the American Board to say or do anything about it? — let us inquire what

¹ Among those who were the most emphatic in their condemnation of the proceedings at Portland, was the Rev. Dr. Todd, of New Haven. If his indignation had been less intense, perhaps it would not so speedily have burnt itself out.

ground there was, or what pretext, for the words of suspicion and distrust spoken five years ago by these self-constituted defenders of the faith, these self-nominated guardians of the churches. We shall be pointed at once to Andover as a sufficient reply. Well, what was there at Andover in 1882 to cause misgivings, or to create alarm? The Board of Trustees, as truly representative a body of men as could be found in the denomination, had not whispered the slightest suggestion of any dangerous tendency in the teachings in the theological seminary under their care. The Board of Visitors, set to keep special watch and ward over the orthodoxy of the institution, had not manifested the faintest sign of anxiety. Had it only mistrusted that something was wrong there, it would, of course, without waiting to be prompted from any quarter, have entered at once upon an investigation, or have asked the attention of the trustees, more immediately responsible for the management of the Seminary, to the state of things suspected or feared.

A Board of Examiners, consisting of pastors of churches, had been present at the anniversaries at Andover three or four months before the Portland meeting, and had made a report which was printed in the papers. Among the members of this Board were the Rev. Dr. Palmer, of Norwich, the Rev. Dr. Flint, of Hinsdale, and the Rev. Mr. Packard, then of Dorchester, who has since been one of the most trusty followers of Dr. Alden. What was the judgment of these examiners upon the state of the Seminary at that time? Of the department which had been under the temporary care of Dr. Fiske and Dr. McKenzie (trustees), and to which Professor Harris was called soon after, they said: "We were pleased with the work in systematic theology." Of Professor Tucker's department they said: "Little or nothing remains to be desired. . . . We are pleased with the extent and variety and the new features of the course of instruction, . . . and are persuaded that from such teachings men will be able to preach Christian truth logically, harmoniously, clearly, and effectively." Of Professor Smyth's department the special examiners said: "We have been interested to observe the increasing importance assigned from year to year, to the history of doctrine and of the living church. . . . The lectures, the study with the professor at his own home, the essays on living themes so carefully and independently prepared, . . . all these leave us room for little more than the warmest commendation." Of the Seminary as a whole, it was said: "Living issues have been discussed, and the cloister life has not been secured at the expense of practical service in the busy and

exacting world. We are sure that our churches, conferences, and other gatherings would welcome the professors when their duties permit them to be absent from home, and thus the Seminary and the churches would be drawn nearer together."

But this was New England sentiment; and we know that, of late, a distrust of New England orthodoxy has been diligently cultivated in some parts of the West. At or near the time of the Portland meeting, was there a thought at the West that anything was wrong in the Congregational churches in New England or elsewhere? Several months later, at the Jubilee celebration at Oberlin, Professor Barbour, of Yale College, made an address in which he spoke, first, of the long period during which Oberlin lay under suspicion as heterodox and heretical; and, then, of the general harmony, fellowship, and mutual confidence which the denomination had come to enjoy. We will quote his words at length, because they will help us to reproduce the condition of things existing in the churches before the divisive influence of the Portland meeting had made itself felt at any considerable distance from the missionary rooms:—

"At one time she [Oberlin] had hardly a name to live among evangelical thinkers; her students were not considered sound enough in the faith to carry the gospel abroad; she had but a partial share of the comity generally shown to other ecclesiastical communities; but in all this difference of opinion, which was but temporary, she has never herself broken, nor has she ever had to complain of any serious violation of the unity of the spirit of Christian love."

"There is a time when all carelessly think alike; then there comes a time of difference; then the issue is a union again on the truth. And that the union is a union in advance, we are here to testify. The missionary societies are here to ordain men for work once refused to them; sundered churches on the dividing issues are one again; Oberlin is honored in all the land, her students welcome in every school; some of her reforms the nation has come up to, on others the general regret is that they are not secured. . . . In New England, Taylor men are in Tyler pulpits, and Tyler men in Taylor pulpits; nearer home, Andover men are in Oberlin pulpits, and Oberlin men in Andover pulpits; and what congregation knows which is which?"¹

¹ On the same occasion, Dr. Strieby, of the American Missionary Association, said: "A double victory has been won—over the Board and over Oberlin; over the Board, because it comes to Oberlin for missionaries; and

We do not believe that there was an expression of dissent on the part of any one of the large assembly of ministers and laymen in whose hearing these words of Christian charity were spoken.¹

Nor was there any occasion for mutual suspicion and distrust. The churches of the denomination were never more loyal and loving in their devotion to their Divine Master, never more earnest and intelligent in their study of Bible truth, never more consecrated in their zeal and comprehensive in their plans for the regeneration of the race. Having come to see that emphasis is laid especially on the word "now" in all the invitations and appeals of the gospel, they were occupying themselves with the pressing and solemn realities of the present time. The doctrine of everlasting punishment, as it was formerly expounded and enforced, having ceased to be a subject of pulpit teaching except in the most indirect way and in the vaguest terms, the churches, not unnaturally, were no longer drawing their chief motives for Christian service and effort from its terrors. On the platform of the American Board, the doom of the unenlightened heathen in the next world was not dwelt upon as it had been a generation before. In the love of God and the love of man sufficient inspiration was found for missionary labors on the broadest scale, abroad no less than at home. In all this, certainly, there was nothing to arouse distrust or to create alarm. That is not to say, however, that there were no alarmists, or timid persons, uncertain about their own times and doubtful of those which were to follow; such persons are to be found in every period, without reference to prevailing conditions and tendencies; a few such there were five years ago, and circumstances arose by which they were brought into unexpected importance.

In the spring of 1882 the Rev. Newman Smyth, D. D., was elected to the Abbot professorship of Christian Theology at Andover, subject to the action of the Board of Visitors. Dr. Smyth

over Oberlin, because, forgetting the past, it sends its students forth under the auspices of the Board." Dr. Strieby spoke of Dr. Bradley, of Siam, who was obliged to sever his connection with the American Board because he had embraced what was called the Oberlin view of sanctification, as an "ecclesiastical martyr."

¹ In the spring of 1884, a year and a half after the Portland meeting, a prominent gentleman from Ohio told us that the brethren at the West were at a loss to understand what all the excitement in Boston was about. We said to him that certain men were aggrieved because they could not have their own way in the denomination, and hence the disturbance.

had had the courage and the prevision, both in the pulpit and in print, to express a hope which many other ministers had been cherishing, but which few had ventured to declare, that there might be an opportunity for salvation, in the state of existence beyond death, for the multitudes and generations in heathendom to whom in this life the offers of the gospel had never in reality been presented. He had spoken suggestively only, and had asserted nothing dogmatically upon this affecting question, which appeals to the profoundest sympathies of every Christian heart, and which must have perplexed almost every thoughtful pastor or missionary at some period in his ministry. The "*Boston Daily Advertiser*," a true exponent of the best thought in all the denominations, in announcing the choice of the Board of Trustees said that it would be "peculiarly gratifying to all who are interested in the progress of theological thought." But there were personal reasons why this election should be defeated by the veto of the Visitors; and a newspaper was found ready to raise the cry of heresy, and to create sufficient alarm in the religious community for the accomplishment of this result. The Visitors refused, however, notwithstanding the public and private pressure brought to bear upon them, to declare that Dr. Smyth's teachings were not sound; they expressed their conviction that his theological views were in general harmony with the views of those who have been identified with the Seminary from the beginning. It is true that the "*Congregationalist*" objected to the professor-elect, because he had expressed himself "with too much vagueness upon the subject of future punishment," — a curious objection to come from that paper, and one which ought to have been withdrawn after the Board, whose authority in theological matters at Andover is recognized by it as paramount, had overruled it. Finally, two of the Visitors, President Seelye and Dr. Eustis, refused to vote for Dr. Smyth, on the ground that he was "a brilliant and eloquent writer, rather than a profound theologian"; while the third, the Hon. Charles Theodore Russell, said: "I cannot but regard the rejection of Dr. Smyth as detrimental to the best interests of the institution, and as a mistake and misfortune." To Dr. Smyth personally, and to the cause of progressive orthodoxy which he represented, his rejection by the votes of two of the three Visitors was of little consequence, as one of the most honored and influential pulpits in New England had been kept for him, pending the decision, and was at once accepted by him. On the other hand, those who, for reasons of their own, had compassed the non-

confirmation of the appointment were entirely satisfied, caring little for the ground upon which the two negative votes had been thrown. They were not only satisfied ; they were encouraged to attempt very much more in the line of agitation and proscription.

But, we shall be asked, and very properly, what has all this to do with the American Board, or with the Portland meeting ? There certainly ought to be no connection between this piece of history and the proceedings of the missionary society of the Congregational churches.¹ The officers and members of this society, as such, have no more to do with filling vacant chairs at Andover, or New Haven, or elsewhere, or the vacant pulpits of any of the churches, than with the erection of spires on the meeting-houses of these churches, or the employment of quartette choirs in their Sunday services. And yet, in absolute violation of all the proprieties, the Portland meeting was turned into a heresy-hunt because Dr. Smyth had been called to an Andover chair, and on the pretext that in his writings some sentences could be found not altogether in agreement with speeches made at missionary meetings twenty, thirty, fifty years before. The Visitors had taken pains to declare that their action in negating his appointment had no theological significance whatever ; and, subsequently, a large and representative council of the churches had cordially welcomed him to the work of the ministry in New England. But this was carefully concealed from view ; and while no very definite statements of fact were offered, or charges made, it was quietly assumed that something was wrong in the times, in the churches, in the ministry, and especially at Andover, and the fears and prejudices of the Portland audiences were so skillfully worked upon, that many, no doubt, went away honestly believing that a great doctrinal defection was in progress, that the enemy was coming in like a flood, and that if the American Board had not raised up a stand-

¹ It seems like trifling with words to argue that the American Board is not a Congregational society. It is not sectarian, but it is denominational. If not, why was it removed from its former rooms to the Congregational House ; and how does it happen that all its officers, without exception, are Congregationalists ? And why do these officers manifest no sense of responsibility for the orthodoxy of some of the other denominations, the Presbyterian Church, for example ? How is it that they have not attempted to regulate the teaching in the Union Theological Seminary in New York ? We almost wish that they would try the experiment of interference there. In this matter of denominationalism, the Board is precisely like the London Missionary Society. There is nothing sectarian in the policy of either : each was sustained by more than one denomination in its earlier years ; each depends upon the Congregational body for its support now.

ard in opposition, the apostasy would have been absolute and overwhelming.

The question of the final destiny of the unenlightened heathen had had only incidental mention in Dr. Smyth's writings, or in the instructions at Andover, and had not yet come up as an issue in the missionary rooms. But at the Portland meeting, the dogma that destiny is irrevocably and everlastingly fixed in this life for all men without exception, was brought forward as though it were the central doctrine in theology, and was adopted, then and there, as the Shibboleth by which henceforth the orthodoxy of every leader in the churches was to be tested. And how was this doctrine sustained and justified? Not by argument, for, as we have said, the audiences on that occasion were compelled to listen to rhetoric, declamation, and misrepresentation, rather than to anything deserving to be called argument; but, by the denunciation of those who were disposed to call it in question. The managers sought, also, to put down opposition to their dogma by a catch-phrase which some one had invented a short time before. To indulge even a qualified hope for the unenlightened heathen "would cut the nerve of missions." We venture to say that a more unworthy reason for the condemnation of a theological suggestion was never brought forward in a religious assembly. The point with some of the officials seemed to us to be, not so much whether the suggestion was, in itself, warranted or permissible, under the teaching of the Word of God, but, what would its influence be on the churches as supporters of the Board; what would its effect be on the treasury of the Board, then, for some reason, greatly in need of money? The test of orthodoxy, according to some of these men, was to be the money test. The motive of terror would draw more money from the listeners at missionary meetings than the motive of love; hell, rather than Calvary, would most satisfactorily arouse their sympathies; therefore, give no quarter to the suggestion that there may be more hope for the countless myriads of heathendom who, in all the ages, have gone down into the darkness of death, than the Christian Church hitherto has dared to entertain. We do not mean to intimate that this significance was consciously in the thought of those who used the phrase, but it certainly left a very unpleasant impression upon many who had to listen to its frequent repetition. That the consideration involved was really one of money rather than of men, is evident from the circumstance that it has taken nearly all of Dr. Alden's time since then to discover how *not* to send out as missionaries various consecrated young

men and women whose hearts have come more or less under the influence of "the larger hope."

But where shall we find a clue that will make plain to us the connection between the Portland heresy-hunt and Andover? As we have said, no general alarm had shown itself in the churches, East or West, in reference to the teachings in the Seminary. The "Congregationalist," indeed, had begun to suspect heresy there. On the other hand, the "Independent," which is now exhibiting, in a somewhat unseemly manner, that exceptional zeal which generally follows a sudden and complete change of front, had not only manifested no anxiety in this regard, but seemed entirely satisfied. The "Advance," in those days, was as liberal as the "Independent"; but the transfer of a large portion of its stock to new proprietors has since carried it over to the other side. The needed explanation, referred to above, is not far to seek. We find it in the now well-known attitude of Professor Park towards the Seminary and some of its Faculty, in his course anterior to the Portland meeting, and in what he said and did on that occasion. If the general impression in the vicinity of Boston is a correct one, he was not well pleased with the appointment of Dr. Smyth to the chair from which he himself had taught for so many years, and he has the credit of having labored assiduously for its rejection. His success in this particular would appear to have encouraged him to further attempts. With certain long-standing personal animosities by which he is said to have been influenced we have nothing now to do, but he had grievances against the Seminary and some of its professors, which he has taken no pains to conceal from the public. Finding that some of the officers of the Board were out of harmony with the progressive tendencies of the times, he had no difficulty in securing their coöperation in the attempted redress of these grievances. Hence his appearance on the scene at Portland.

To most persons, Professor Park's appearance at the Portland meeting was a genuine surprise, and for two reasons: first, that he was there at all, and, secondly, that he was there in the character of heresy-hunter. So far as we know, he had never but once been present at a meeting of the American Board, certainly not since his election as a corporate member in 1863. The exception was the Salem meeting in 1871, but it does not appear from the official report that he took any part in its proceedings. Even when the Board met at Lowell, ten miles from Andover, in 1880, it was found impracticable to secure his attendance. It has often been

asked why it was that, as a theological professor, he manifested so slight an interest in the missionary work. We would suggest with all diffidence, that the reason may be found in the sermon on the light of nature preached at Des Moines last year, by his friend Dr. Withrow, which was supposed to reflect his views. For if the only motive for preaching the gospel to the heathen is that they may be saved from hell, and if they may be saved in innumerable multitudes without the gospel, whence the urgency for immediately sending the gospel to them, at such cost of men and money? Independently, however, of his peculiar opinions about the salvation of the heathen, we can well understand why Professor Park should have absented himself from the anniversaries of the Board in former years. He could not have felt at home among the conservative men who took the prominent parts on those occasions. He knew that they regarded him with suspicion, and his instructions at Andover with alarm. To them he was "the Magnus Apollo of the new latitudinarianism," "the great captain of the subverting army."¹ On the platform upon which a first place was assigned to Dr. Leonard Woods, no second, or third place even, would be reserved for Dr. Park. But after he had so far lived down opposition and suspicion as to become eligible to corporate membership in the Board, it seems strange that in twenty years he should make it convenient only once to be present at its annual deliberations. But the surprise of many at seeing Professor Park on the platform of the American Board was as nothing compared with that which was created by his presence there for the purpose of hunting down heresy. For such a triumph of grace, we dare affirm, the faith of Dr. Leonard Woods, Dr. Parsons Cooke, Dr. Nehemiah Adams, and the other venerable fathers of their day, was not prepared. They regarded him as the head of a semi-Arminian body, whose object was to corrupt the doctrines of the gospel. For the propagation of its opinions, one of them, Dr. Cooke, said: "His industry is unsleeping, and his power in its sphere, and somewhat beyond its sphere, is irresistible. His eye is on every vacant parish, to put his own instruments in the most commanding positions, and exclude those not subscribing to his creed." Professor Park as an alarmist, because of the teaching of so-called heresy at Andover, would have been an edifying spectacle to the last generation. Professor

¹ See Dr. Parsons Cooke's pamphlet addressed to the members of the Congregational Board of Publication in 1861. Extracts from this pamphlet were printed in the *Boston Post*, January 14, 1887.

Park as an alarmist, because of the possible effect of such teaching upon the missionary spirit in the churches, is a most edifying spectacle to the men of to-day.

It is not to the point, however, of Professor Park once denounced as a heretic, and now the denouncer of heretics, that we would particularly speak, nor of his grievances, private or public, so long as these are kept where they belong; but what we would call attention to is, that he has been allowed to bring them into the great missionary organization of the Congregational churches. For this the responsibility must rest upon Dr. Alden, and, sooner or later, we believe that he will be called to answer officially for what took place at the Portland meeting, and for all the distrust, dissension, and division which have grown out of it. For it is pretty well understood in and about Boston that immediately after that meeting it was determined, in secret conclave, to crush out the heresy which it was found convenient to identify with Andover; and a campaign was then entered upon, some of the later events in which have been the proscription of Professor Smyth at Des Moines, the trial before the Board of Visitors last winter, and the "grotesque" verdict, as a New York paper has well called it, by which the same professor, and he alone, was to be removed from his chair in the Seminary. Councils were to be controlled, candidates for ordination were to be browbeaten, ministers were to be watched, the fears of the timid were to be worked upon in the columns of so-called religious newspapers, and correspondence public and private was to scatter broadcast the seeds of suspicion and distrust. Into this movement against the peace and the liberty of the churches Dr. Alden not only entered himself, which would have been bad enough, considering his official position, but he took with him all the machinery of the American Board, so far as he could seize and employ it. He deliberately turned over this organization supported by all the churches of the denomination to the uses of a small faction. Forgetting the grand objects for which it had been created and supported, he "to party gave up what was meant for mankind." Not the least mischievous of the consequences of this action on his part is the injury which the Board itself has suffered in the estimation of many of its oldest and warmest friends and most generous supporters, and in the opinion of the general public.

We shall be reminded, no doubt, that it has been denied in print that the Portland meeting was organized in advance, in opposition to certain alleged heresies. We do not for a moment question the

honesty of those who have made such denial, but their testimony can be received only so far as their knowledge of all the circumstances goes, and no further. Dr. Alden has never made a denial of the charge, under his own hand; and, in view of all the circumstances, we do not see how he can do so. Days before the meeting took place, persons supposed to be in his confidence publicly outlined what was coming. On the journey to Portland the writer of these pages was told by one who had the best opportunities for exact information on the subject that Andover was to be systematically and persistently attacked, and that Professor Park was to be present and was to speak. All effects follow their proper causes; and the Portland meeting was no exception to the law. The uprising against heresy there, we are asked to believe, was spontaneous; but the spontaneousness was much like that of a Dutch flower-garden, or of the labyrinth at Hampton Court—"a mighty maze, but not without a plan." There may have been an appearance of freedom and naturalness on the surface, for *Ars est celare artem*.

Telegraphic and telephonic wires are just beginning to disappear from view in some of our large cities; but the wires manipulated by shrewd managers in politics, whether secular or ecclesiastical, have always been kept out of sight. "Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird."

When it was proposed at the National Council held in Boston in 1865 to build a Congregational House in this city, a committee to whom the subject was referred made a report which closed with the following sentence:—

"With the understanding that the money shall be raised chiefly from persons in New England, and particularly in Massachusetts, who are able to contribute large sums, and that the Congregational House shall not be 'a House of Bishops,' nor the source of a centralized power for the control of Congregational bishops or churches, but a house for all the brethren, to form or renew acquaintance, promote Christian fellowship, and the interests of the great denominational family to which we belong, we commend the American Congregational Association and its enterprises to the confidence and coöperation of our churches."

After the Portland meeting of the Board it looked very much as though the fears which found expression in this report were to be realized in fact. Some of the paid officers of the benevolent societies, who had come under the domination of the anti-Andover party, began to talk loftily and superciliously about what was and

what was not hereafter to be accepted as orthodoxy in the churches, and the influence of the House was felt in various directions in opposition to progressive thought. Not that all who occupied desks in the denominational building then committed themselves to the party of retrogression. The Apostle Paul tells us that there were saints in Cæsar's household. Still, this building has been the centre from which all the perverse and divisive influences of the last few years have gone forth. It should be added, that whatever may have been the disposition of some of the officials at first, they all, with the exception of the representatives of the American Board, were wise enough to withdraw themselves and their societies from the coming complications; but a self-constituted Committee of Safety has since been in almost permanent session, for the protection of the churches against themselves. In the mean time, the churches of New England, for the most part unconscious of impending evil, and thoroughly self-reliant, have gone forward according to their own convictions of truth and duty, and have shown no disposition to take the law from this little bench of bishops, self-designated and self-enthroned, but the date of whose consecration does not appear upon any record that we have seen.

Professor Park clinched his Portland effort with a sermon preached at North Andover, and repeated in Park Street Church, Boston, in which he laid down the basis for the new Congregationalism, and his utterances were echoed by his followers. The appliances to which we have already referred were put in exercise, and every possible endeavor was made to create a denominational panic, but with very limited success. The reactionary party was badly beaten in the councils, and whenever it ventured to appeal to public opinion; and the excitement would soon have died out had not a new element of strife been introduced, the effect of which immediately was to revive and extend it.

In the winter of 1883-84, the Commission which had been charged with the duty of drafting a creed, for such action in reference to it as the churches severally might decide to take, presented its report through the papers. This report had received the adhesion of twenty-two of the twenty-four members of the Commission. One of the two dissentients was Dr. Alden, who had been unable to obtain insertion in the new symbol for an article prepared by him, asserting dogmatically the decisive nature of the probation of this life for all men, without exception. We think we are doing Dr. Alden no injustice when we trace a direct connection between his disappointment as a member of the Creed

Commission and his subsequent course in the American Board. Attaching vast importance to the dogma just referred to, he thought, no doubt, that his official position gave him a providential and exceptional advantage in promulgating it among the churches at large, of which he ought to avail himself. He now had an additional reason for entering with new zeal into the movement against Andover; for if his theory of probation was right, Andover (with almost every influential institution of learning in New England) was decidedly wrong.

Andover Seminary was now to be attacked in good earnest, and the first assault upon it was to be made through its young men. Discredit the theological soundness of the students, and it would be comparatively easy to concentrate public opinion against their teachers, and so to prepare the way for their impeachment. A difficulty, however, presented itself, which would have proved insuperable if the attacking party had not been able to control the action of the Missionary Board. The churches at home, notwithstanding all that had been said and written, were quite ready to call recent Andover graduates to their pastorates, and, in frequent instances, they were settling men who declined to be limited and restricted in their teachings about the future by the dictation of the Committee of Safety in the Congregational House. With candidates for foreign missionary service, the case was very different. They had to pass through Dr. Alden's hands, and before they could reach the Prudential Committee, to say nothing of reaching their desired fields of labor abroad, they had to submit to whatever tests he might choose to apply to them. For them, the supreme test now was to be the dogma which had been voted down almost unanimously in the Creed Commission.

The first person, however, to be refused under this recently repudiated dogma was not a graduate of Andover, and not a theological student, but a young woman just completing her course at Wellesley College, who desired to go to Japan as a Christian teacher. This fact illustrates the reckless character of the misrepresentation, which charges all the aggressiveness upon Andover and Andover teachings, in connection with the present agitation in the American Board. Andover students were still being urged by the secretaries to enter the service of the Board, at the time of the rejection of the Wellesley candidate, and several months passed before a case was made up against any one of their number at the missionary rooms. In the course of his communication with the young lady from Wellesley, Dr. Alden said, in effect, that he felt

as sure that there was no salvation in the next world for the heathen who die without a knowledge of the gospel, as of the existence of God.¹ To the credit of both her head and heart, be it said, the candidate declined to make this monstrous statement her own; whereupon she was, so to speak, politely bowed out of the home secretary's office. But her offer of service was not formally refused for any alleged theological reason. Wellesley was not Andover, and there was no party necessity for making war upon it; so, greatly to the surprise of herself and of those who knew her best, it was suddenly discovered that she was not in sufficiently good health to undertake the work to which she was anxious to give her life, and this ended her candidacy. Has Dr. Alden ever laid before the Prudential Committee a long letter received by him from Wellesley College upon the rejection of this young lady; and, if so, when? Is he willing to lay this letter, in full, before the Christian public?

It was not very long after the adverse action upon the application of the Wellesley student that a council was called for the installation of the Rev. Dr. Griffis as pastor of the Shawmut Church, Boston, in the place of Dr. Webb. The constitution of this council was peculiar in one respect, namely, in the number of its members who were either officially connected with the

¹ After two years, an anonymous apologist in the editorial columns of the "Congregationalist" (July 7, 1887,) says in behalf of Dr. Alden, that he does not remember having made this declaration. In a later number of the same paper there is a more positive denial. Why does not Dr. Alden speak for himself? Why did he not speak at Des Moines, where the declaration was quoted in his presence? Will he deny that he is as certain of the hopelessness of the destiny of the unenlightened heathen as he is of the existence of God? If so, in what respect does he differ from many of the young men and women in whose way to the foreign missionary field he has interposed the stumbling-block of his dogma, and who only say, in reference to this awful mystery, We do not know?

[Soon after an interview with Dr. Alden, the candidate to whom we have referred wrote to a friend: "I have been too long thinking on the views of such men as Dr. McKenzie, Dr. Duryea, and Dr. Abbott, to say with Dr. Alden that I was as sure there would be no probation after death as I was of the existence of God." A friend, noticing the attempts in the "Congregationalist" and elsewhere to cast doubt upon Dr. Alden's having used the expression which this letter seemed to attribute to him, wrote to its author for information. In her reply, which has been seen by us since the foregoing note was in type, she says, under date of Sept. 17 [1887]:

"Dr. Alden used that expression in an informal discussion with me, and may have stated his own belief a little strongly in order to strengthen my wavering faith."]

American Board, or in active sympathy with its present management. It included four or five of the Prudential Committee, the two associate secretaries, the senior editor of the "Congregationalist" (if we remember aright), and the person who was to preach the missionary sermon a year later at Des Moines. Here, we should have said, was a body of men who might be depended upon to take a stand at all hazards against the slightest deviation from what we may call the theology of the Congregational House. Some of them had been protesting long and loudly against "progressive orthodoxy"; now, they had an opportunity to do something worthy of their vocation as valiant defenders of the faith. To those not on the lookout for heresy, the doctrinal statement of the pastor-elect commended itself as thoroughly sound and evangelical; but that it was not in harmony with the standards set up in the missionary rooms may be inferred from the remark made to a friend of ours by a member from those rooms, that if it had been presented to such a council two years earlier, the pastor-elect would have been torn to pieces. The gentleman who made this remark was not, we suppose, to be taken too literally. He probably did not mean the use of such appliances as "Luke's iron crown and Damien's bed of steel"; but only the equivalents for those methods of bodily torture which ecclesiastics are permitted to employ under the legislation of the nineteenth century. He meant, of course, to express privately his absolute dissent, and that of his associates, from some of the views which had been expressed. But did he, or any of them, utter in public one word of displeasure, disapproval, or doubt? Was the pastor-elect subjected to the test of Dr. Alden's favorite dogma? Was the existence of this dogma even hinted at on the occasion? Here was a large and influential council, sitting in the presence of a large congregation, with reporters in attendance, ready to give the widest circulation to whatever might be said. Here were several able representatives, including the new pastor, of progressive thought. What an opportunity for the ultra-conservatives to declare and defend the truth as it had been revealed to them, and to detect and denounce heresy, — an opportunity, however, which they allowed to pass from them altogether unimproved. Not only did they breathe no word of protest; they were careful so to frame the few questions which they asked as to avoid all controverted points. It is true, they had been badly beaten on one or more similar occasions, and had found arguments and numbers too much and too many for them; but to men possessed with the

idea that the future stability of the churches of their order had been committed to their exclusive keeping, discouragement should not have come thus easily. And all this was under the lead of Dr. Alden, as moderator of the council. He had shown no lack of courage in arguing in the missionary rooms with a young girl just out of her teens, on the (to him) undoubted certainties of the invisible world, and he may have been busy at that very time with the distribution of one of his private creeds with the official documents of the Board. Was it not equally desirable to enlighten on the same themes the distinguished doctor of divinity who was about to assume the pastoral care of a large city church, and the intelligent congregation by which he was surrounded? And, failing in this, was it not incumbent upon the Home Secretary as moderator to divest himself of all personal responsibility in the settlement in such an influential position of a minister who did not profess to know everything about the purposes of the Most High for the government of the universe in all the future? He could, at all events, have saved his consistency by prompting one of his friends to make the motion for postponement so often made in the missionary rooms, or by himself suggesting to the committee of the Shawmut Church, that the man of their choice was not, perhaps, in adequately good health, and that it would be well for him to rest for a year. "This," he might have added, in the words of a letter written by him a few months before, will give him "opportunity for quiet review of points which may now seem uncertain to" him, "as to certain Scriptural teachings, so that all will be clarified, and" he "will be able to go on" his "way rejoicing."

In the Report on Councils, submitted to the Manhattan Association last winter, it was said: "Councils are perhaps more cautious in putting men into neighboring pulpits than they might be in sending them to the antipodes." The writer of these words evidently knew nothing about the Shawmut Council; and we are thankful that he did not, for it might have made him still more distrustful of councils in general, not to say of the Congregational polity, than his Report shows him to be. He ought to have been aware, however, that at the Congregational House it had been so arranged that there should be one creed for the home pastor and another for the foreign missionary; one test for a man of established reputation, the choice of an influential city church, and another for young men and women, just leaving college or seminary, with no constituency behind them.

In the autumn of 1885 the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Board was held in Boston. The occasion had been looked forward to with earnest anticipation by most of the friends of the Board as one in which Christian brethren should cordially unite together in a grateful review of the successes of the past, and in a new consecration for the work of the future. It had been the prayer of many a heart that no word might be whispered even which would disturb the harmony of the meeting, or grieve away the blessed Spirit of peace and concord; and there was a tacit understanding on both sides that the controversy which had been going on in papers and periodicals should not be brought into any of the proceedings. Was one discordant word spoken during those interesting days by anybody representing the progressive side in the denomination? We have heard a great deal about the aggressiveness of the Andover professors and their friends. Who among them all took upon himself the responsibility of introducing divisive questions at this time? Not one; and the same would have been true of the conservative side also, had it not been for the Home Secretary. A majority of the Prudential Committee would not allow a doctrinal statement, which he had prepared as a part of one of the reports, to go before the meeting, because they wished to avoid such a discussion as it would have provoked. The preachers of the annual and special sermons would not degrade their performances to a partisan level by any covert or open reference to new theology or old theology. But the Monday Lecturer was brought on to the platform by Dr. Alden and two or three of his friends, to advocate the peculiar views which they hold in common; and a partisan appointment was made for preacher of the annual sermon at Des Moines, which was a surprise to everybody not in Dr. Alden's confidence. What official until then had ever arranged for a nomination for preacher before the Board, on which, as he must have well known, a divided vote would be cast? And yet, the two or three "religious" papers which have taken up Dr. Alden's cause, are evermore dilating upon the aggressiveness of Andover. Up to this time the Andover question, so called, had never come up as an issue in the missionary rooms.

Even if we had the space, it would not be necessary for us to repeat here the painful story of the rejection of the various candidates for missionary service from Andover and New Haven, for it is to be hoped that the corporate members have made themselves thoroughly acquainted with all its details. Nor need we speak of the Des Moines meeting, the occurrences at which are fresh in every

memory, further than to point out that its programme in all its stages was arranged, as we believe that of the Portland meeting had been four years before, in a spirit of antagonism to Andover Seminary, which now was scarcely concealed by those who were under its controlling power. The time was ripe for the long planned-for heresy trial, and the prologue to this trial was spoken at Des Moines. But the question recurs, What has the American Board to do with heresy, latent or patent, in the Congregational churches and seminaries of the United States? To ask the question is to answer it; yet for five years past some of the officials, and a majority of the Prudential Committee, have seemed to be acting on the presumption that the Board has everything to do with it. How the officials in the missionary rooms could have found time to interfere to such an extent as they have done in matters beyond their province, and yet to discharge the duties to which they are especially called, it is difficult for an outsider to see. Be that as it may, is it not time for the churches to ask themselves whether they are willing that a society organized and supported by them for the purpose of carrying forward their foreign missionary work shall supervise all their affairs, dominate them in their religious belief, drive its own perversive creed among them like a wedge, and give all its energies to the detection and denunciation of what it may be pleased from time to time to regard as heresy? Have they for three quarters of a century been unconsciously building up a hierarchy to exercise over them now and in the time to come an undefined and irresponsible power? If they have, the sooner they rouse themselves to the peril of their present situation the less difficult will it be found to escape from it. There is nothing so dangerous to the liberties of the churches as a powerful society, of many years' standing, having large accumulated funds, and with an ambition to make its presence and influence felt throughout the denomination. When such a society is a small and compact corporation, with its administration so intensely centralized that two or three men virtually control all its operations, the danger is greatly increased. At the Des Moines meeting, which threatened the permanent peace and almost the integrity of the Congregational body, only seventy ballots were cast at the election of officers, and of these nearly one fourth must have been cast by the officers themselves and the committee. This was the test vote on the policy of the Home Secretary, and on the proscription of Professor Smyth; and it stood, forty-eight to twenty-two. Seventy votes, in this crisis, to

represent all the Congregational churches in the United States! When such a corporation, so compact, with an administration so centralized, and with its annual meetings completely under the control of its officials, is governed in the interest of a faction the danger to the churches is increased almost immeasurably. This is the danger, in our opinion, which now threatens the denomination, and the pressing question is how it may be averted. The first thing to be done, in which all fair-minded men within and outside the corporate limits of the Board can and should unite, is to eradicate the partisanship now dominant in the executive management of the organization. The next is, to impress upon the officers the absolute necessity of their attending to their own official duties, and of their divesting themselves of the mischievous notion that it devolves upon them in the slightest degree to "run" the denomination. All this accomplished, and we shall have gone far toward the restoration of brotherly love and unity in our churches. A modification of the organic law of the American Board must come later, and come later it will. Dr. Anderson foresaw this; Dr. Treat tried to prepare the way for it; when the mists of partisanship are scattered, and the blue heavens once again arch above our heads, the work will have to be undertaken. To a body of men, chosen and constituted, perhaps, somewhat as the Creed Commission was, but to include laymen as well as clergymen, everything relating to the Board should be referred for consideration and report,—its Constitution and By-laws, the duties and responsibilities of its members, the management of its annual meetings, its general methods at home and abroad, the condition of the schools and seminaries under its charge, and its entire evangelistic policy. As the Board ought to, if it does not belong to the churches, and as its work is that of the churches, and they must be responsible for the manner in which it is done, the commission we propose should consist in part of representative men outside the present corporation. Of, say, twenty-five members, not more than thirteen should be corporate members, and no one of these should be an officer, or member of the Prudential Committee. Something like this the churches may well ask for; and the final reply to their demand will show whether they are the masters of the Board, or whether it is proposing to be their master,—whether this Board of Commissioners is a Board of Agents, in fact as well as in name, or a Board of Principals.

A distrust of the people has been the excuse in every age for the exercise of despotic power, whether in state or church. Apart

from the animosities and jealousies which may have controlled the conduct of a few men, a distrust of the people lies at the foundation of the present reactionary movement in the Congregational body. The churches and their members cannot be trusted to read the Word of God, and to decide for themselves as to its teachings in reference to the future. But with this distrust of the churches, the ultra-conservatives have manifested almost from the first a strange distrust of themselves and of their cause. They have carefully avoided discussion on any platform upon which their opponents could meet them on a full equality. They did not force their issue in the American Home Missionary Society or in the American Missionary Association, voluntary organizations and free from partisan domination; but in the American Board, and in the Prudential Committee of that Board, where they felt that they could have everything their own way. Hence their instinctive shrinking from a resort to councils of churches in particular cases, as proposed in the interest of peace and harmony at Des Moines; their distrust of the churches and their unwillingness to trust the questions in dispute to the consideration of the churches have combined to fix them in opposition to such an expedient. And this spirit of distrust has penetrated within the narrow and exclusive limits of the Board itself. A few months ago, "certain of the" corporate members held a secret meeting. The Christian public does not know by whom it was called, who or how many were present, or what was said and done; but a circular, issued by a committee of three, and addressed to "certain" other corporate members, not to all the membership, happened to reach the light, from which it would seem that this secret meeting was held for the purpose of quietly influencing the action at the Springfield meeting. In the same way, "certain of the alumni" were said to be the real accusers of the Andover professors; but it has never been asserted that a general meeting of the alumni of the Seminary was ever called to consider whether proceedings should be instituted in their behalf. So, too, when these proceedings began, the tribunal chosen for the investigation was not the larger and more representative governing body, but the smaller and exceptional one; not the Board of Trustees, consisting of twelve, but the Board of Visitors, of three. Whether a meeting of "certain of the alumni" has ever been convened, to hear the result of the prosecution professedly carried on in their name, we do not know; but when the two Visitors went to Andover last June, to announce their decision, they lost an admirable opportunity for

coming into direct contact with a large body of the alumni, and for ascertaining their position on the points in controversy, by arriving in town an hour or two after the close of the anniversary exercises.

In all this, and in the general course pursued by the newspaper organs of the reactionary party, we see, as we think, an evident distrust of the churches, and a purpose to keep them in the dark, so far as possible, as to what is going on in the Congregational House for the suppression of free thought and free speech in the seminaries of the denomination, and among the missionaries of the American Board. But all such efforts at concealment are sure to fail in the end, and all endeavors to circumscribe the liberties of the churches must come to naught. Sooner or later, the churches will insist on passing judgment for themselves on every disputed question of polity or of doctrine, at home or abroad, without dictation from any quarter. And least of all will they rest content to be dictated to, or dominated by any of their own agencies organized for benevolent work. The denomination is in no sense dependent upon these agencies for its existence or its prosperity. They were created for certain defined purposes, and they are valuable only so far and so long as they fulfill those purposes. "A breath may make them, as a breath has made." The Portland meeting of 1882, with all its mischievous results, will prove to have been not altogether an unmixed evil, if from the controversies and dissensions which it engendered there shall come the restoration of the American Board to its original position of subordination and dependence, and a willingness, on the part of its officials, once again to receive instructions as well as money from their principals, the churches.¹

Hamilton Andrews Hill.

BOSTON, MASS.

¹ Since this second article was written and, for the most part, put in type, the American Board has met at Springfield, and its proceedings there have passed into history. The time has not yet come to write at length about this meeting, but one or two remarks may be made upon it, in connection with what we have said above. The Board has devoted three meetings — Portland, Des Moines, and Springfield — to theological discussion. This is to be deplored, but the reactionary conservatives have not yet spent as much of the time of the society in trying to stay the progress of the theological inquiry as their predecessors, a generation ago, wasted in their endeavors to resist the agitation against slavery and the slave-trade.

Comparing what took place at Springfield with the proceedings in Portland five years since, we observe a decided improvement in the character and tone of the discussions. At Springfield, the conservatives, we believe, did not once intimate that their opponents were agnostics or materialists; it is true, they charged them with having given up the Bible and the Christian Sabbath, but

even Professor Boardman, if we understood him, would go so far as to give recognition to the professors at Andover and New Haven as theists. This indicates a marked advance toward Christian courtesy. Again, at Portland the discussion was all on one side. The progressive men who were there exhibited a marvelous power of self-restraint. They either thought that the personal resentments which inspired the meeting would soon spend themselves, and that the infatuation which these resentments awakened in the minds of many was temporary, or they felt such a confidence in their position as enabled them quietly to abide their time. Dr. Hopkins indeed, in his memorable address, rebuked in temperate and dignified but telling sentences those who had used the meeting as an occasion for theological strife, although, strange to say, they did not then see the bearing of his remarks.

At Springfield there was no doubt on the part of the progressive men as to its being the opportune time to speak, and they spoke freely, and with the utmost plainness. They did more than this: they voted. One third of the corporate members present protested by hand-vote and by ballot against the spirit of faction and intolerance which has become regnant in the Board; and what was represented by this vote, — of strength and standing, in the churches, the colleges, and the seminaries, no one knows better than the secretary against whose official acts this positive and emphatic protest was made.

We heard nothing at Springfield about the opposition to the present policy of the Board, as being that of "a decreasing minority," or as a "local" trouble. Earnest and eloquent speakers from all parts of the country made it impossible to continue that kind of argument, and these speakers gave no uncertain sound. For two days the Home Secretary and his followers in the Prudential Committee had to sit and listen to severe and searching criticism from some of the foremost men in the denomination. On the other hand, it seemed to us that Dr. Alden did not receive very vigorous or hearty support from his friends. They may have thought that it was unnecessary to argue very strongly on their side of the question, seeing that they held undoubted possession of the Board and all its machinery, and were sure of votes enough and more than enough to perpetuate their power. The opinion of the *New York Times* — an unprejudiced observer — is as follows: "So far as discussion is concerned, the progressive party had the field; there was nothing said by the conservatives that counted for weight in the discussion. They had the votes, and the other side had the intelligence and brains." However this may have been, most of the conservative speakers appeared to be more intent on making explanations in their own behalf than in defending their chief. Professor Boardman, for example, was busy with a defense of himself and the churches against certain phantoms which flitted before his excited imagination. Dr. Goodwin felt called upon to defend millenarianism and the sermon preached by him at Portland, which fitly introduced the proceedings there. Dr. Taylor was defending himself against Dr. Parker, and Dr. Quint was insisting on his right and on that of his brethren, each to hold a pet heresy of his own. Dr. Plumb, confessedly, in speaking for the secretary, spoke quite as much in behalf of himself and his associates on the Prudential Committee. In recalling the debate, we think special mention should be made, and, on the part of the conservatives, grateful mention should be made of the zealous championship of the Rev. Mr. Pentecost, the Rev. Dr. Todd, and Mr. Joseph Cook. Two of these gentlemen spoke twice, and the third would have spoken a second time had he been permitted to do so.

As to the methods employed by the majority at Springfield, what shall we say? Had it been suggested to Dr. Alden and his friends at Portland in 1882 that five years later an annual meeting of the Board would be carried on upon a programme prescribed for it by a private and partisan caucus, — “conference,” we believe, its promoters wish us to call it, — and that the officers would owe their election to a party ticket made up by the same caucus or “conference,” they would have scouted the supposition as almost insulting; but precisely this came to pass. Of course, the result was a party triumph. One of the conservative speakers from the West had the frankness to say that he had come to the meeting *to vote*. Had Dr. Walker, in his magnificent speech, been pleading for the suffrages of the intelligent audience before him, instead of those of a compact body of men voting under caucus or “conference” dictation, behind him, the immediate result of his appeal would have been very different from what it was. To quote from the *Providence Journal*: “There was an iron relentlessness in the movement of the machinery, and it ground out the vindication of Secretary Alden, without in the least being moved by the appeals and arguments on the other side.”

We well remember many of the discussions in the religious societies during the anti-slavery struggle, and our judgment, in a word, upon the extraordinary methods by which the action at Springfield was controlled is, that they have no parallel in the history of the Board, and that they were worthy of the worst days of the American Tract Society just before the War of the Rebellion. For the record of what the secretaries of that society then attempted, and of what they succeeded in doing, we refer our readers to the files of the *Independent*, — the “Independent” of Beecher, Thompson, Cheever, and Storrs. How much reason the secretaries and the partisan members of the Tract Society had for self-gratulation a few years later, when they looked back upon their “victories,” and upon what came from them, the files of the same paper, and of almost every other of the period, will show to those who need the information.

THE OPEN DOOR WHICH NONE CAN SHUT.

A MISSIONARY SERMON TO YOUNG MEN IN THE PRESENT CRISIS.¹

“These things saith He that is holy, He that is true, He that hath the key of David, He that openeth and none shall shut, and that shutteth and none openeth: I know thy works — behold, I have set before thee a door opened, which none can shut.” — Rev. iii. 7, 8.

THE most serious results which follow extreme action in matters of public concern are quite apt to be incidental to the purpose of the action. They are not in the original intention and plan. They are unforeseen, or if foreseen are underestimated. The

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fear of consequences, which are indirect and undesigned, is seldom present in sufficient power to restrain men in a predetermined course, or to modify their action.

When the American Board met at Springfield, it was the evident purpose of a majority of the corporation to commit the Board to a definite and unmistakable policy in respect to the question of a Christian probation. The Board came and went, and fulfilled to the letter the will of the majority. Whatever it did, or failed to do, it did not fail to make clear the position of the Board in the present theological controversy. But, in accomplishing this purpose, it reached, as I fear, its most serious and most lasting result in the effect which it produced on the minds of many young men and women who had hoped to devote themselves "to the cause of Christ in heathen lands." The American Board, through its resolutions and votes, aimed at a theological dogma; it hit and wounded to the heart not a few of the most consecrated youths in the colleges and seminaries of New England and of the country.

In saying this, if I supposed that I were speaking simply in behalf of those who are before me, I should be silent. Your sentiments could be assumed. I speak in view of expressions which have come to my personal knowledge, not from you or through you, but from various and, in some cases, remote sources. "We went away from Springfield," said one young man, representing the feelings of those with whom he was in daily contact, "with our hearts burning with indignation. The cause of young men had no hearing at the meeting of the Board." "Of what use," said another young man in official relation to mission work in one of our seminaries, "of what use for us to try any longer to develop the missionary spirit among our men?" "Nothing remains for us," said a young woman in one of our prominent colleges, "but to work for home missions. The foreign field is closed."

Expressions like these have been too frequent during the past days, and are too representative, to allow me to doubt their significance. I am aware of the answer which may be made. It has already been made. "The Board need give itself no trouble in the matter. It will have as many applicants as it can provide for." There may be truth in this answer, whether made in the spirit of indifference toward those who are excluded, or of hopefulness as to the number of those who may be received. But if true, it does not alter the fact before us, or lessen the responsibility for its existence. It still remains true that a grievous hurt has been inflicted upon the consecrated life of very many

within our schools and churches. And the most sacred thing in the keeping of the church for the use of our boards is this spirit of consecration. It is this which creates boards and makes them necessary. It was this which created the American Board. It was the persistent and plaintive cry of young men, "Who will send us?" which suggested the idea of an organization and supported its framers in the furtherance of their purpose. The mistake of the majority at Springfield, through which so many imbued with the missionary spirit were alienated, was due, as it seems to me, to the want of spiritual perspective, or of a true sense of proportion. For a variation in opinion, not in acknowledged doctrine, the zeal of missionary candidates, supported by all qualifications in belief and conduct, was suffered to pass for nothing. In the balance held in the hand of the Board, dogma was weighed against consecration, and consecration went up.

You ask me how this could have been otherwise in consistency with the thought and feeling — the honest thought and feeling — of the majority. I do not propose to reopen the question of the rightfulness or fitness of committing the Board to a theological position on points under discussion in the churches. I put this by. Allowing the right of the majority to take such action, according to the precedent introduced at Des Moines and confirmed at Springfield, I contend that some method should have been devised by the majority by which the Board could have expressed, if necessary, its theological opinions and convictions, and yet have left itself free to judge applicants for service in their individual application and according to their personal fitness in all respects for the work. No one denied to the Board the right of theological examination. The plan of councils, which some advocated, did not deny this right. What was asked was, that there should be a full and fair examination, according to some acknowledged standard of belief, or through some authoritative body, which, in Congregational usage, would be a council. Either alternative would have been satisfactory. The answer which the Board made to this request was the arbitrary commitment of itself to a resolution, which resolution was to be interpreted by action already taken in specific cases, which action was to be continued through the re-election of those who had declared themselves determined "to stand by the record." Between the resolutions of the Board and its agents, young men and women applying for its commission are put between the upper and the nether millstone. I interpret the action taken at Springfield, in its spirit and intention and language,

as establishing the policy of exclusion for all who cannot subscribe to the dogma under which candidates have already been rejected. I dismiss without comment the position of agnosticism as inconsistent and untenable on the part of the Board, even if it were unequivocal on the part of candidates. Among the rejected candidates was one holding in the simplest and most honorable form the agnostic position. And his rejection was enforced in the report of the Home Secretary by the indorsement of the opinion that on the point in question "it will not do for a religious teacher to say, 'I do not know.' He ought to know. Inspired instructors assume that they do know. If any one thing is made clear by the whole drift and structure of revelation it is this, that probation begins and ends with this life."

What is the present duty of young men and women who are intent upon the service of Christ in heathen lands, but who cannot have place under the American Board? I ask this question, not with the assurance of giving a complete and detailed answer, but in the hope of making some suggestions which may contribute toward the integrity and steadiness of your missionary consecration.

My first suggestion to you is, that you reassure yourselves at once in respect to the immediate and supreme authority of Christ in determining the service of his disciples. I have put before you his words. They are words of absolute sovereignty. It is He that has the key of David, that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth, and who, whenever He says to any man, "I have set before thee a door opened, which none can shut," speaks the word which must come to pass. These are not words to be rashly appropriated; they do not belong of necessity to every one who is hindered in his personal plans or vexed in his chosen work. They belong only to those who have the mind and spirit of Christ, who have surrendered themselves to his will, and who await his orders. If, because of these conditions, you may rightfully appropriate them, it will not be the first time that they have been used for the comfort and strength of individual hearts. The doctrine of the sovereignty of Christ has had its practical uses in the internal history of the church quite as often as in its outward conflicts. The appeal has been taken again and again and again from organizations and institutions, yea, from his church itself, to Christ. I cannot delay my thought with illustrations of the answers to these appeals. It is better that I should turn your minds in another direction. There have been times

when the word has come straight from the lips of Christ to the individual, "Behold, I have set before thee a door opened, which none can shut." At such times the word has been a summons to courage, to patience, to fidelity. Not infrequently it has been charged with rebuke or warning lest one should lose sight of his opportunity in his grievance, or lose command of himself in his contentions. But it has always been the word which has brought the individual servant back to his Lord and Master, separated him for the time from all intermediate and secondary authority, and established him in his personal allegiance and loyalty to the sovereign of his soul. Interpret these words of Christ as thus addressed to you. Primarily they are for your obedience and steadfastness and discipline; afterward, if need be, for use in respect to men or institutions. Fulfill them in their first and personal designs, and God will see to it that they are fulfilled in their after uses. Institutions cannot prevail against the personal designs of God in individual men. This is the unvarying lesson of history. All that men have to do is to assure themselves, and to show to the world that they are chosen of God.

My second suggestion is, that you keep your faith in the unity of the work of God through his spirit and by his providence. The danger from a rebuff at the hands of those from whom we might have expected a welcome is that it makes the ways of God seem contradictory. We can but question whether there be a controlling unity of purpose when the inward call, that seemed so real and urgent, is met and turned back by the outward obstruction. And the confusion is greatly increased when, in times like the present, the work of God is so various in its manifestations and in its incentives. I know not toward which end the heart of this generation is more deeply stirred, toward the study of truth or toward the service of men. To many of a former generation it appears strange that there should be any searching after truth at all. The word is continually coming back from them: "Why not use the truth which you have? What other and better gospel do you want than that which you find? Why vex the church with your problems when the call is so urgent for work?" And in their impatience with the new spirit of search and study they set up tests taken from former methods of thought as conditions of present service. The test would be fairer if the call for missionaries were addressed to the corporate membership of the American Board or to their contemporaries. Addressed as it is to young men and women following on a generation after, it finds them

under intellectual incentives and enthusiasms and difficulties which are inseparable from *their* relation to the times. They are born into these intellectual conditions. These quickly become a part of their moral and spiritual life. It is through these that they apprehend and appropriate the truth. And it is in the midst of these conditions and under this intellectual awakening that the call of duty comes to them. The call comes to them from near and from far. It is the call of the city, of the country, and of the world. The man who is to-day in training for the ministry holds his ear to the very heart of humanity. Nothing that concerns man is foreign to him. The whole world is at his door. As he is busy in his study of truth a stranger takes his place at his side. He is of another race and from the other hemisphere. The stranger tells him the story of his people, of their spiritual necessities, of their awakening to a new and larger life, of their openness to Christianity; and as he listens his heart responds in the name of Christ, and he gives his hand in solemn pledge of his purpose in due time to preach Christ in the land of the stranger, now become a friend and a brother. And in the enthusiasm of this purpose he continues in his labors and studies until he is told that it is not of such as he that the gospel is to be preached. What now? Is the young man who gives himself to most serious thought while he holds himself open to the outmost call of duty, a victim of cross purposes? Must a man deny his intellectual birthright in order that he may best serve his Lord? Must one refuse to think about the heathen whom he cannot reach, and repress all hope of the grace of God in their behalf, as the condition of carrying the gospel to those whom he can reach? Is the spirit of God stirring mightily within the heart of a man at variance with the providence of God which summons him to the field? What evidence is there of this variance? What beside the refusal of the American Board to accept the service of young men and women who cannot subscribe to a dogma which prohibits thought and hope concerning the unevangelized world? Is this a sufficient proof? Nay, let us not for this lose faith in the harmony of the spirit of God with his providence. Let us not so think of God as to believe that He requires of us such denials as the price of our loyalty to the cause of his Son.

My third suggestion is, that you take advantage of the present situation to review your motives and opinions so far as they have to do with your missionary consecration. It is the especial advantage of times of criticism and controversy that one may think

more deeply, more seriously, and more personally than at other times. Criticism may turn one toward introspection and searching of heart, and controversy may help one who is not a mere partisan in his search after truth. Avail yourselves of the opportunity, which can hardly come to one except as he is under the suspicion of men, of making sure that your motives are approved of Christ. Ask yourselves again, whence comes your desire to preach the gospel in other lands? Make due account of the motives which influence others to the same end, and see if yours bring you as near to the heart of Christ, and give you as strong and yearning a love for those for whom He died. And as for your opinions, review them as they have passed under attack, weigh the arguments which have been adduced against them, and relate them anew to what is most fundamental and necessary in your Christian faith. Above all things, do not allow yourselves to be known as the disciples of Paul or Apollos or Cephas, when it is permitted you to be the disciples of Christ. He is a false teacher who would win any followers at the expense of his Master. Let no supposed loyalty to men, or to theories, or to a cause, hinder you for a moment from the hearty pursuit and the open acknowledgment of the truth as it is in Christ. And when you have verified or revised your conclusions, then hold them in the simple dignity of your Christian manhood. Do not temporize. Do not prevaricate. Do not magnify or belittle any truth of which you are put in trust. Let no man compel you to say more than you believe; let no man compel you to say less than you believe. Let your yea be yea and your nay, nay; for in times of distrust and excitement and contention, what is more than these cometh of evil.

I urge upon you, as a final suggestion, that you hold yourselves in the spirit of your consecration, awaiting the further, and it may be evident, providences of God.

What change has the action of the American Board taken at Springfield effected in the missionary situation? The bearings of its action upon the theological issue are evident, and the bearings of its action upon the ecclesiastical life of the churches. But what change has it wrought in the general missionary situation? Has it made the argument for missions less imperative or relieved the necessity for them? Is Japan any the less open because of this action, or China any the less needy? Has it brightened the skies of Africa or brought courage and hope into the depleted ranks of missionaries in India? I quote from a letter of a missionary of the Board, who was at Springfield, to a friend in another part of the

State: "Nearly all the active missionaries at Springfield carried heavy hearts home from that meeting, and the decision there reached will be very generally disapproved abroad." What, I repeat, was accomplished at Springfield to relieve the necessity of foreign missions and make the demand less imperative? What difference is there between the world of heathendom as it is to-day and as it was a month ago? What field is less ready or what race less accessible? What door has been shut — by the hand of God?

I grant the perplexities of the hour, perplexities which you have in common with many who love the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and who prize their inherited and accustomed way of service. Your problem is what to do with yourselves in your personal consecration; theirs, what to do with the money in the mites saved for the Lord's treasury, or with fortunes consecrated to his cause. Conscience is not all on one side in this controversy. When one Christian layman says to another, "You have not refused to send out my men; I do refuse to send out yours; therefore let us agree to send out only mine," I submit that the sense of justice is put to its severest test. It is useless to deny the fact that the moral tension under the present strain is severe to the point of danger. But in whatever way the problem before the contributors to missions may be solved, your duty, as it seems to me, is separate and clear. Contributions may be continued under protest, or diverted to other objects, or for the time suspended or held in waiting for the clearer directions of Providence; but the missionary spirit cannot be allowed to suffer loss through a natural decline, or a suspension of its force, or even through a diversion into other channels.

It is of immeasurable importance that the colleges and seminaries of New England, as of the country, be held without exception to the thought of the service of Christ throughout the world; and, in the providence of God, the high privilege, I will not merely say the responsibility, of the endeavor rests upon you and upon such as you. The constant and the sacred factor in the work of missions is the consecration of young men and women. All else is incidental and secondary; and the preservation of this spiritual power lies, in the present emergency, in your keeping. I do not magnify unduly the situation. Far be it from me to seek to oppress you with unnatural solemnities. Least of all would I touch you, and your fellow-workers elsewhere, at the point of pride. These are days in which, if ever, men ought to walk softly before God. I pray in your behalf for humility, as I pray for light; but

I cannot deny that I stand in awe, as in expectation, before the present emergency. I am not content with any protest against the injustice of methods, or with any endeavors after the readjustment of organizations. The problem to my mind is grander, and simple in proportion to its grandeur. It is nothing less, it is nothing more, than the problem which confronted the mind of Mills and his associates, when he proposed to send the gospel to dark and heathen lands, and said, "We could do it if we would." We can always do it if we will. Consecration persisted in can have but one issue. If we are straitened it is in ourselves. We are not straitened for room. The field is the world, and the world still belongs to God. Only obey his spirit and you will not be afraid to trust in his providence. If God is at work within you He is surely at work without. And the inward and the outward work will agree. "He cannot deny himself."

I therefore commend you in your *spirit* to God. "Brethren, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit. Amen."

William Jewett Tucker.

ANDOVER, October 16, 1887.

EDITORIAL.

COMMENT ON CURRENT DISCUSSION.

REV. DR. PENTECOST, the evangelist, argued at Springfield that, unless an opinion or hypothesis is actually incorporated into the creeds as an article of faith, it cannot be held by missionaries of the Board. He said : —

"Now, sir, I submit that it is absolutely impossible to show from any creed, or from any article of faith, or from the announcement of any recognized ecclesiastical council, that this new hypothesis belongs in any way to the faith of the Congregational churches. If this Board is to carry out the will of the churches so far as their expression of faith is concerned, then this Board must limit its examinations to the declaration of the faith of these churches, as expressed in the articles of faith and creed, and not as uttered by seminaries or by advanced theologians."

It is not likely that all those who sustained the action of the Committee agreed to this kind of argument. Would it not be equally pertinent to maintain that nothing should be required of candidates which the churches have not seen fit to put in the creeds? The creeds are silent concerning the fate of those who do not have the gospel. What right, then, has the Board to exclude those who hold this or that opinion on the perplexing subject? The creeds, with very few local exceptions, do not declare the decisive character of the earthly life for all members of the race. What right, then, has the Board to require a belief which the creeds do not require?

The argument proves too much. Under it the speaker himself would fail of appointment. It is well understood that he holds to the premillennial advent of Christ. But, according to his own view, the Board must refuse any man who holds that hypothesis or opinion, no matter how well qualified he may be in all other respects; for it has no place in the creeds of the church, while many creeds affirm that Christ's second coming is only at the day of final judgment. Let him apply his test to premillennialism in his own language : —

"It is safe to say that if you read every article of faith in every Congregational church in all the land, if you examine the minutes of every ecclesiastical association, but limiting yourselves to the churches especially, you will not find one line, or one syllable, or one suggestion, that the churches in this land hold to that as an hypothesis, much less as a doctrine."

And then his own conclusion touching premillennialism would be : —

"But the Board must only give expression to the faith, as the faith has been expressed by the churches. The very moment that they depart from that rule they depart from their authority, and are undertaking to do or to adjudge doctrines and speculations which they are unwarranted in attempting to do."

If he were pleading his own case he would probably argue just as

rejected candidates have argued ; that the creeds do not exclude belief in the premillennial advent of Christ, and that it is a belief or hypothesis concerning which liberty is enjoyed by ministers at home.

Dr. Pentecost said, in the last sentence of his address on Thursday morning : —

“ I think it is fair to say that any one who moves amongst the churches, any one who deals face to face with the unbelievers, any one that meets them in the inquiry room, will admit that this hypothesis, which is not a doctrine, has nevertheless taken hold of the unbelievers in our country, and stands as one of the most difficult barriers that we have to surmount in getting at the average unconverted man in New England.”

We are not disposed to question the fact that some persons who are found in inquiry rooms avail themselves of a misapprehension of this theory as an excuse for delay, although we should wait for the testimony of more than one person before attaching so much importance to it. But every doctrine or opinion which extends the grace of God more widely has been used as an excuse for postponing repentance. This misuse, even of the most characteristic truths of the gospel, had been pointed out by the previous speaker, Rev. Dr. McKenzie.

We are also very positive in the opinion that a wrong impression has been made on some minds by persistent misrepresentation of the hypothesis on the part of those who oppose it. They have almost invariably, and after repeated correction, represented it as the hypothesis of a second rather than a Christian probation. The very best answer to objectors in the inquiry room is a statement of the hypothesis exactly as it is held by those who entertain it. Dr. Pentecost could say that for himself he rejects the hypothesis, and that even those who hold it insist that it enhances the importance of the present life for those who do have the gospel.

Dr. Pentecost made an affirmation which is not in accordance with fact. He said : —

“ Every gentleman that has spoken on this platform favoring the adoption of the amendment . . . has disavowed utterly the fact that he believed in the new hypothesis.”

The only speaker who made such disavowal was Rev. Dr. Walker, who said he did not agree with Dr. Parker in theology upon the point especially before the Board at that time. No other speaker of the minority indicated his own opinion concerning the hypothesis of future probation. This misstatement made more ungracious the subsequent remark in which he charged that those who (as he alleged) say they do not believe the hypothesis really do believe it, since, in his opinion, their eyes and tones belied their language. One who fancies men use language which they do not use is hardly competent to draw theological inferences from their facial expression and vocal inflection.

REV. DR. BOARDMAN, Professor of Systematic Theology in the Chicago Seminary, based his opposition to the appointment of the rejected candidates on tendencies and results of their theology which are unseen by ordinary vision. His exposition of the New Theology had the interest of novelty to its advocates, and we doubt not to its opponents. We therefore mention some of the surprising statements and dark apprehensions of Professor Boardman.

In his summary of the fundamental basis of Christian doctrine, he said :—

“ Now, what is that theory ? Well, sir, I will not attempt to go into the depths of it, but it is a profound thing. Its roots reach a great way back ; they only ask for a Being of love and goodness to make out the whole story. They follow down through the creation of the world, the creation of man, incarnation of Christ, the fall of man, possibly. It is too deep for me.”

This strikes us as, on the whole, a very good statement. A Being of love and goodness is certainly the basis of all doctrine. We had supposed that the creation of the world and the creation of man become intelligible only in the light of God's holy and loving purpose. The incarnation of Christ is so understood. The fall of man is not involved in the Being of God, but it has a place in Christian doctrine only because the God of love provides redemption for man. The professor, perhaps, meant that from the Being of a God of love the New Theology derives, by an *à priori* process, the creation of the world, the creation of man, and the incarnation of Christ. But this is not true. These are great facts, which, when they are recognized, theology, old or new, sees to be in harmony with the character of God and a revelation of his character. It is indeed admitted that these are profound facts, unfathomable in their deepest depths, but they are the facts which Christian theology everywhere recognizes. He said that this theology is not the theology the Board has used. But the alternative is atheism, or materialism, or bare Deism. We have conjectured that the Professor may have meant that the New Theology exalts the Incarnation above the Redemption of Christ, and therefore represents the fall of man as incidental and secondary in the scheme of doctrines. This, again, would not be an altogether correct representation ; but are we to understand that the Board accepts the alternative view, that sin was the cause of God's revelation in Christ, and that the Incarnation was strictly conditioned on the fall of man ? This would be to exalt the work of Christ above his person, and to make sin as essential as the highest revelation of the love of God. Perhaps the professor will explain somewhat more clearly the contrast which at that point in his argument he had in mind.

Another singular statement was that in which the possibility of forgiveness of the unpardonable sin was considered :—

“ You may call it pardon in certain cases, if you choose, but they don't hold that pardon reaches to salvation, the Bible salvation. All men are restrained

from committing the unpardonable sin, from the final rejection of Christ ; and if a man commits that sin there is no salvation for him — even the atonement of Christ cannot reach that sin of man at the last. Christ himself is helpless as a Redeemer ; He is not able to save to the uttermost ; He is not able to reach those who set Him aside. Not only that judicially He sets them aside, but his power is limited, and the atonement does not cover the extent of man's sin. It is the limited atonement I oppose, together with the other."

We do not hesitate to affirm that the Scriptures unmistakably teach that salvation is impossible to those who have finally rejected Christ, or have committed the unpardonable sin. The power of Christ to save is limited by the disposition of men. He is able to save to the uttermost *all those who come unto God by Him*. Because the atonement is not limited in a certain respect, it does not follow that it is limited in no respect whatever. But one who cherishes the large hope that those who finally reject Christ are still in a salvable condition (although it seems a contradiction in terms) should not be severe on another who hopes that God may in another life reveal Christ to those who in this world never had so much as an opportunity either to accept or reject Him.

Another statement was in the form of an inference that according to the New Theology man is not lost until he has become wholly incapable of salvation.

"The ruin of man is through that final sin that no God had expiated, and such a man actually loses himself ; that is, is not susceptible of redemption, and the expiation of Jesus Christ cannot reach sin against himself."

This he declares is a philosophic contradiction, as it brings expiation in only when expiation has become impossible. His inference is absurd and unwarranted. We are inclined to think that the professor meant what was expressed more clearly by others, that if men have a future opportunity of salvation it cannot be true that they are now lost and under condemnation. How can a man be lost if it is possible for him by and by to be saved ? But, on this view, a man who in the course of his earthly life repents and is saved was not lost before he repented. The correct view is, that men, being sinners, are under condemnation, and *if left to themselves* are lost. But they are not *hopelessly* lost, because the gospel of Christ is or may be offered to them. The distinction is to be made between a lost state which is such by reason of sin, and a lost state which is without hope either because the gospel is not known or is finally rejected. Those who have not accepted Christ are lost, although the same persons may subsequently be saved. The returning prodigal *was* lost and *is* found. And if the gospel is brought to some not until after death, they are as truly lost before they know of Christ, as those are who spend a portion of their lives without faith in Christ. We submit that when, in common parlance, men are said to be lost, it is not meant that it is impossible they should some time be saved. It is inconsequential to argue that the supposition of a future opportunity of repentance for those who do not have the gospel now is a denial that they

are sinners and in need of salvation, and we once more repudiate the illogical conclusion and protest against the unfair accusation.

Professor Boardman admits that the New Theology still finds a use for the language of substitution and expiation, but charges that such language is used without right, for it is built on forensic and governmental theology, to which the theory he criticises is opposed. We were startled by the claim that the language employed to designate the sacrificial offering of Christ on behalf of sinners owes its existence to forensic and governmental theology. We had supposed that the original source of such words and phrases is the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and that it was the great fact, spiritually apprehended, rather than a particular philosophy, of atonement which gave to the world such terms as "propitiation," "sacrifice," "ransom," "Christ died for us," "Christ died for our sins," and the like. It must be admitted, however, that the professor had previously said that theology, Christian doctrine, and the gospel mean the same thing. As his theology is the governmental theology, we understand him to mean that the gospel and the governmental theology are identical. For our own part, however, we have for a long time rated the gospel higher than any of the theologies into which men have attempted to reduce it.

The New Theology (we use the phrase only for convenience) is an iceberg of which Professor Boardman is very much afraid. He believes that there is more to it than appears on the surface. He attempted on the platform to measure its depth and area. But we respectfully submit that if his knowledge of what is out of sight is no more accurate than of what is in sight, the information he offers concerning the hidden dangers of the New Theology should not be implicitly depended on.

We should be interested now if Dr. Boardman, who is a professional theologian, would indicate that opinion concerning the fate of the heathen which alone may properly be held, and then show that it is in strict agreement with what he calls the old theology, and that it has no dangerous nor rationalistic tendencies.

REV. DR. TAYLOR, of the Tabernacle Church in New York city, advocated the theory that salvation is possible without knowledge of the gospel. Although he had expressed a strong suspicion of theodicies that are made by mere men, he advanced a theodicy of his own, a moment later, in these words : —

"Light is the measure of responsibility, and wherever there is light from the beginning until now, there is Christ."

This theory was evidently advanced as a complete solution of the problem, and the statement was greeted with applause. More was meant than that the heathen have light enough to condemn them, and are justly exposed to the wrath of God. It was plainly implied that the heathen

have light enough to save them and to bring them into a state of reconciliation with God. And salvation thus obtained is Christian salvation, because "wherever there is light from the beginning until now, there is Christ." It can hardly be doubted that the speaker, and those who applauded his words, had in mind more than a bare possibility of salvation, realized only in a few exceptional cases. No appreciable relief concerning the fate of the masses of heathendom would be gained by the suggestion of a possibility which is seldom brought to accomplishment. It seems to have been meant that considerable numbers of the heathen, amounting to a great multitude, are saved in some way by Christ, yet without knowledge of the gospel. We therefore seriously inquire what position is really taken by Dr. Taylor and those who agree with him. Do they mean that large numbers of the heathen are being saved without knowledge of the gospel? Rev. Dr. Behrends, of Brooklyn, took a very comprehensive view of the numbers reached by the grace of God, and presumably for their salvation. He said:—

"We can hold fast to the decisiveness of the present mortal life without surrendering a conviction that, in ways unknown to us, God, by his grace in Jesus Christ, and by invisible operations of the Holy Ghost, is reaching thousands and millions of men, who in this life never heard the gospel of God's love."

Reaching them how? For their condemnation only, that God may be justified in sentencing them to eternal woe? Most certainly it would seem for their salvation, since grace could not be sufficient for condemnation if it were not possible, through it, to repent and be saved. Merely because, as all agree, whatever knowledge of duty and of God men have is mediated by the Logos, are we to conclude that thousands and millions of men are being reached by the grace of God for their salvation, but without the gospel? And does not such a theory make God's invisible and unknown grace more effective than the gospel, which thus far counts its conquests in numbers more moderate than millions? In a word, are we to understand that the Spirit which, as all agree, is sent to all men, comes to vast numbers of them apart from the gospel for their everlasting salvation? If the theory means less than this, it is worthless as a solution. A bare possibility seldom realized leaves the problem as dark as ever. If the theory means as much as this, it is a fundamental departure from the Calvinism on which the Board professes to stand. This Dr. Behrends frankly admitted:—

"I concur very heartily in what my brother and friend, Dr. Taylor, has said on this platform this morning, that wherever there is light there is Christ; but I beg also to say that that is not Calvinism, neither consistent nor inconsistent. Dr. Boardman has said that crypto-Lutheranism is a heresy. I beg to say that that doctrine is crypto-Lutheranism, and it is not Calvinism."

The theory appears to be, then, that men who have no gospel and no preacher do have Christ in sufficient clearness and power to become reconciled to God and to obtain eternal life. On the other hand, the

"Missionary Herald," in its latest issue, quotes, with emphatic approval, the following passage from the letter of a missionary to theological students : —

"At this point I can answer your question as to what led me to decide to be a missionary. I could almost say bare figures overwhelmed me, and as I read that there were 856,000,000 of heathen, 30,000 a day going to death *without Christ*, I was fairly staggered, and questioned, Do we believe it? Do we really believe it?"

At the missionary rooms it evidently is believed that the heathen are without Christ. It is the ordinary, established mode of evangelical expression to say that the heathen are perishing because they do not have Christ, because the church is not carrying Christ to them. On the platform at Springfield it was proclaimed, by the supporters of the Prudential Committee, that the heathen have Christ, and in a measure sufficient for salvation. Since a given theory is strongly opposed, it is reasonable to ask a clear statement of the opinion which may properly be held concerning the fate of the heathen. This request will be renewed by us, in the hope that some positive opinion will be indicated.

REV. DR. NOBLE's sermon before the Board appears to have made on many minds the impression received by a well-known corporate member, not residing in New England, who writes to an editor of this REVIEW, inquiring whether it would not be well to call attention to the fact,

"That the grand discourse of Dr. Noble, the pronounced anti-Andover divine, contained not a single sentence inconsistent with the Andover hypothesis? He brought forward not a motive other than would have been urged by yourself, had you been the preacher. I watched every sentence with that point in view. It is rather a telling fact."

THE RECORD AT SPRINGFIELD: ACTS AND RESOLUTIONS.

We print here, for future reference and use, the transactions at Springfield which relate to questions now under discussion.

The Committee on Nominations, appointed by the Vice-President of the Board at the opening of the meeting, consisted of Rev. L. H. Cobb, D. D., of New York, Rev. Dr. G. S. F. Savage, of Illinois, and ex-Governor Horace Fairbanks, of Vermont. The Report from the Prudential Committee of the Home Department was read by Secretary Alden, and referred to a Committee of seven members, namely, Prof. George N. Boardman, D. D., of Illinois, Prof. George P. Fisher, D. D., of Connecticut, the Rev. A. B. Robbins, D. D., of Iowa, Pres. M. H. Buckham, D. D., of Vermont, the Rev. George R. Leavitt, D. D., of Ohio, the Hon. Edward S. Jones, of Minnesota, John N. Stickney, Esq., of Connecticut.

The Report of the Prudential Committee on The Expediency of calling Councils in certain Difficult Cases was read by Secretary Smith. Ex-President Porter moved : —

In view of the fact that the subject matter of this Report is similar to that which has already been submitted to the Home Committee, that the Report be placed in the hands of that Committee.

The motion was seconded, and being put by the Chair, was lost by 91 noes to 49 ayes.

It was moved and seconded that the Board adopt the last sentence of the Report, namely, —

“The Prudential Committee deem the measure submitted for their consideration inexpedient.”

Rev. Dr. William E. Merriman moved that the following words be added: —

But this Board does not discredit the results of councils as representing the doctrinal judgments and fellowship of the Congregational churches.

This amendment was rejected. The original motion was then carried by a vote of 110 to 19.

The Committee on the Report of the Home Department offered a majority and a minority report. The former was presented by Professor Boardman, and concluded with recommending the adoption of the following resolutions: —

Resolved, First, That we consider it a reason for profound gratitude to God that so much of enthusiastic devotion to the cause of missions has been awakened among the young men and young women of our land, and that this Board has been so amply sustained in its demand for funds and for laborers.

Second, That the Board adheres to the position, taken at the last annual meeting at Des Moines, concerning the doctrine of future probation, reaffirms its utterances made at that time, and accepts the interpretation of the Prudential Committee as the true interpretation of its action.

Third, That we recommend to the Prudential Committee an unabated carefulness in guarding the Board from any committal to the approval of that doctrine.

This report was signed by George N. Boardman, A. B. Robbins, George R. Leavitt, E. S. Jones, and J. N. Stickney. The minority report was read by Professor Fisher. It recommended the passage of the following resolutions: —

1. The Board reaffirms the position that neither this Board nor the Prudential Committee is in any sense a theological court, to settle doctrinal points of belief.

2. The Board also specially approves and commends the statement of the manual for missionary candidates, that “It is a glorious fact that the points which constitute emphatically the message of missionaries to the heathen are those in which all evangelical bodies mainly agree.” And it would have its missionaries always remember that they are sent to preach and teach these essential truths of Christianity.

3. The missionaries of this Board shall have the same right of private judgment in the interpretation of God's word, and the same freedom of thought and of speech, as are enjoyed by their ministerial brethren in this country. In the exercise of their rights they should have constant and careful regard to

the work of their associates and to the harmony and effectiveness of the missions in which they labor.

4. All persons, otherwise well qualified, are to be regarded as acceptable candidates for missionary appointment, who heartily receive the fundamental truths of the gospel, held in common by the churches sustaining the Board, and ascertained by their actual usages.

The minority report was signed by George P. Fisher and M. H. Buckingham. Mr. J. N. Stickney recorded his assent to the resolutions with which it concluded. It was moved to substitute the resolutions offered by the minority of the Committee for the second and third resolutions submitted by the majority. The debate on this motion was closed at 4 P. M., and the Board proceeded to the election of corporate members and of officers.

The Committee on New Members reported through its chairman, Rev. E. N. Packard, that there were thirteen vacancies in the Corporation, two caused by resignation and eleven by death. The Committee presented a list of names which were immediately distributed on a printed ballot. The names thus proposed were, Rev. Dr. George F. Pentecost, Rev. Thomas B. McLeod, John F. Anderson, Jr., John H. Washburn, Rev. William Edwards Park, from New York; Roland Swift, from Connecticut; Rev. Dr. George B. Leavitt, from Ohio; Rev. Dr. Arthur Little, from Illinois; Elijah Swift, from Wisconsin; Dea. E. A. Studley, Homer Merriam, Rev. George A. Tewksbury, and Moses A. Herrick, from Massachusetts. It was moved from the floor to add the name of Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D. D. This motion was passed. It was further moved to add the name of President Dwight of Yale College, but Dr. Dwight declined to be put in nomination. The members previously proposed were then elected by ballot, and were invited to take their seats with the corporation. The Board then proceeded to the election of officers. It was voted that the number of secretaries be three. The Committee on Officers presented a majority Report, recommending that the Prudential Committee consist of ten members, and the reelection of the old board of officers, substituting the name of Richard S. Storrs, D. D., LL. D., for that of Mark Hopkins, D. D., LL. D., removed by death. The minority report offered by Rev. Dr. Vose concurred with the majority, with the following exceptions: For the Presidency of the Board it nominated President James B. Angell, LL. D., and for Home Secretary Rev. George M. Boynton, D. D.; it also recommended that the number of the Prudential Committee be eleven, and that the name of Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D. D., be added to the list proposed by the majority. The motion to make the Committee eleven (the number approved at Des Moines) was lost by 78 nays to 63 yeas. Tickets were distributed in accordance with the two reports. The result of the ballot was announced as follows:—

Whole number of votes, 167.

President: Richard S. Storrs, D. D., LL. D., 111.

Vice-President: Eliphalet W. Blatchford, 167.

Prudential Committee : Augustus C. Thompson, D. D., 156 ; Ezra A. Farnsworth, 163 ; Joseph S. Ropes, 167 ; Edwin B. Webb, D. D., 124 ; Charles C. Burr, 166 ; Elbridge Torrey, 162 ; Albert H. Plumb, D. D., 161 ; William P. Ellison, 167 ; Edward S. Atwood, D. D., 165 ; Rev. Charles A. Dickinson, 156.

Corresponding Secretaries : Nathaniel G. Clark, D. D., 166 ; Edmund K. Alden, D. D., 120 ; Judson Smith, D. D., 166. [We omit the remainder of the list.]

The vote for President Angell was announced as 56 ; for Dr. Boynton, 55. As the whole number of ballots cast was 167, some mistake was evidently made in stating the ballot for Home Secretary.

These elections having concluded, the vote was immediately taken on the motion to substitute the resolutions presented by Professor Fisher for the second and third of those submitted by Professor Boardman. The motion was lost ; 43 ayes, 95 nays.

President Seelye, of Amherst, then offered the following amendment : —

Resolved, That declining to give specific instructions in respect of doctrinal questions, we hereby express our hope and confidence that the Prudential Committee and officers of this Board will so conduct its affairs as to guard the soundness of faith and efficiency of service of its missionaries, and to keep the unity of the churches whose agents we are.

This amendment was lost ; 51 yeas, 88 nays.

At the closing session of the Board Rev. Dr. Plumb introduced the following Resolution, which was seconded by ex-President Porter : —

Resolved, That agreeably to the well-known desire of the Secretaries and the Prudential Committee, a committee of seven shall be appointed by the President at this meeting to examine into the organization of this Board and to inquire also into the methods of its administration, and to report at the next annual meeting any changes in the organization or administration that they may recommend.

Professor Smyth suggested the insertion of the words “and principles” after the word “methods.” Dr. Plumb accepted the amendment. The resolution failed of adoption.

Some documents which are not a part of the Minutes deserve a place here.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., May 2, 1887.

DEAR SIR, — The next annual meeting of the American Board will be held at Springfield, Mass., commencing on Tuesday, the fourth day of October next. There is good reason to think that at this meeting there will be a vigorous effort made to change the policy of the Board with reference to sending out teachers of other doctrines than those which are commonly held by our churches, or, failing in this, to induce the Board to resign to other bodies the duty of deciding upon the theological qualifications of candidates for its service. It is evident that to do either of these things would be to condemn the present management of the Board, and revolutionize it, to change its constitution, to take away all guaranty of the purity of its religious teaching, to alter its relation to the churches, to subject it to suspicion and distrust, and to seriously injure and perhaps destroy it.

In view of these things, at a conference of certain prominent friends of the present and past constitution and management of the Board, held in New York City, April 14, 1887, the undersigned were appointed a committee to take such measures as may be deemed wise, and especially to secure as full an attendance as possible of the friends of the present management and policy of the Board at the next Annual Meeting.

In the discharge of this duty, and in the belief that you favor the ancient and traditional policy of the Board, we respectfully present for your consideration the importance of your being present at the meeting in Springfield, and of your laying your plans for the summer with that in view. If ever the cause of Christ and evangelical truth needed your help, it needs it now. We hope that nothing will prevent you from being present at that meeting. Will you be so kind as to *inform* us, at your earliest convenience, whether we may confidently rely upon your being present, Providence permitting?

In behalf of many friends of the Board and of evangelical truth, we are,

Very truly yours,

JOHN E. TODD,

Pastor Church of the Redeemer, New Haven, Conn.

BURDETT HART,

Pastor First Congregational Church, New Haven, Conn.

MICHAEL BURNHAM,

Pastor First Congregational Church, Springfield, Mass.

The following letter appeared in the "Springfield Republican" of October 3, 1887. It states that the original is given "with substantial accuracy."

[Private.]

NEW HAVEN, ———, ———.

DEAR SIR: You are invited to attend a private conference of those of the corporate members of the A. B. C. F. M., who are friendly to the present administration and policy, at the chapel of the First Church, at 10 A. M., Tuesday, October 4. Admission only by ticket.

JOHN E. TODD,

[Tickets inclosed.]

Chairman of Committee.

The proposed conference was held at Olivet Church chapel at the hour designated. The Board met in the afternoon of the same day. It is generally understood that the decisions of the "conference" were carried out in the action of the Board as above recorded.

We would now call attention to certain particulars in this record.

1. The Board refused to permit the question of the use of councils to be considered in connection with that of the principles of administration.

A vote was *forced*, at the outset, on the naked question of councils, and this in a merely specific relation, that of difficult cases. There was thus no opportunity given for the discussion either of the larger issues which the question of councils involves, or of their availability as a measure of conciliation and harmony. The result was thus a barren one, and settles nothing.

2. The Board refused to recognize the place which councils have al-

ways had in the Congregational Polity as an agency for determining doctrinal fellowship.

When Dr. Merriman's amendment was rejected we wondered, at first, whether this was not a mere mistake on the part of the leaders of the majority — something unnecessary, but explicable on the score of absorption in the main purpose and indifference to secondary issues. But, on reflection, we accredit these leaders with a full measure of consistency and astuteness. The whole course of the argument, as conducted by their side, was adverse to Congregationalism. They were obliged to discredit councils in order to maintain their own positions as already agreed upon and subsequently defined. Congregationalism is essentially and fundamentally opposed to the action which already had been determined upon, and on the following day was taken, respecting the doctrinal authority of the Board and its agent, the Prudential Committee. The rejection of Dr. Merriman's amendment is thus of special significance. As an eminent pastor has said, "The Board has placed itself squarely across the track of Congregationalism."

3. The Board also refused to reaffirm the position that it is "not a theological court to settle doctrinal points of belief."

It could not consistently do otherwise and carry out the programme. It was bent upon giving a decision in a theological controversy. If it be said that in rejecting Professor Fisher's first resolution it simply intended to set it aside in order to accomplish its main purpose, we reply: its main purpose was wholly antagonistic to that resolution. It could not consistently act as a theological court and vote that it was not one. We give Dr. Todd and the other leaders of the majority the credit also, at this point, of self-consistency.

4. The Board refused to reaffirm its original catholic platform, and emphasize, with the Manual, the fact that the message its missionaries are to proclaim is the truth, "in which all evangelical bodies mainly agree." How could it do this, and in the same breath instruct all its missionaries to preach and teach the special dogma which it was about to adopt, and soon did adopt?

5. The Board refused to concede to its missionaries the same liberty of thought and speech as is enjoyed by their ministerial brethren at home. We have often urged that this is the necessary implication in the policy of the Home Secretary and the Prudential Committee. The rejection of Professor Fisher's third resolution was as good as an avowal that such liberty cannot be permitted. If this resolution had been congruous with Dr. Boardman's resolutions, he and his supporters in the committee would naturally have appropriated it. If so large a body as the majority had not been for the time welded into a compact mass, to be hurled at a particular dogma by skillful hands, some one or more would doubtless have recoiled from the act of voting down in a New England city the proposition that a missionary of the American Board "shall have the same right of private judgment in the interpretation of God's word, and the same

freedom of speech as are enjoyed by their ministerial brethren in this country." But no voice from the majority was raised in protestation. We grant that the rejection of an amendment does not always imply disapproval of its sentiment. But it is equally true, and in this case most pertinent, that men are always quick to discover the bearing of a proposal that crosses their instincts and settled convictions; that a friend of liberty will not be found voting down a proposition in favor of liberty; that an advocate of temperance will not vote down a temperance resolution; that a man who believes that the Board should concede the same rights to their missionaries as do the churches to their pastors will not vote down a resolution affirming this concession. The leaders, at least, knew what they were doing. They do not believe in granting equal liberty; and under the cover of Dr. Boardman's resolutions the Board has said positively what it said at least negatively in rejecting Dr. Fisher's third resolution. What the effect of this will be on missionaries in the field remains to be seen.

6. The Board refused to declare its willingness to appoint candidates who heartily accept the fundamental truths of the gospel as these are attested in the usages of the churches.

The Board having decided that councils should not be employed to determine whether candidates are sound in the faith held by the churches, Professor Fisher's fourth resolution proposed that the Prudential Committee, in judging of such soundness, should be guided by the actual usages of the churches. Even this amount of deference was spurned. Here, again, there was perfect consistency. A majority intent itself on instructing the Committee in sound doctrine could not logically refer the Committee to the churches for instruction.

7. The Board refused to instruct the Committee so to conduct its affairs as to "keep the unity of the churches."

8. The Board declined, after nearly one third of its members had declared in the most emphatic way their disapproval of the policy of the Home Department, to make any investigation into its methods and principles of administration. This simply leaves the charges against the Home Secretary, which have been current, in the field.

9. The Board has instructed the Committee not to appoint any candidate who cannot subscribe to the dogma of the universal decisiveness of this life. It has elevated this dogma to the rank of an essential doctrine of Christianity. Starting a year ago with a cautionary resolution against committing the Board to a doctrine erroneously so designated, it has now committed itself to a dogma which is more and more seen to be untenable.

We are aware that some of our conservative friends are trying to soften the harshness of the action at Springfield by pointing to the case designated as that of "Miss P." Before the report of the Prudential Committee was read by Dr. Alden we hoped that there was some relaxation at this point. But we find that the Committee's vote refers expressly

to the Home Secretary's recommendation, and that this recommendation contains these words: "The Home Secretary recommends the appointment of Miss P. . . . with the understanding that she emphasizes in her thought upon the matter of the decisiveness of character formed during the present life as related to the issues of the final judgment, the words of our Lord as recorded in John v. 29." What the Secretary understands these words to teach there can be no question, however we may disagree with his interpretation. The Committee sends her out *on this recommendation*. We cannot see that Dr. McKenzie stated the position of the Secretary and the Committee any too strongly. And, if this be so, — and other reasons for this conclusion can be given if necessary, — the Board has committed itself unqualifiedly to the full measure of the Home Secretary's creed and policy. It has made that creed a law. Loyalty to the Board, on the part of its missionaries, now means that this particular dogma of the universal decisiveness of this life is an essential part of their message. They cannot be agnostic. They cannot even leave the whole matter to God, in humble and reverent submission. They must preach a positive dogma. As Professor Phelps says, — his words are quoted approvingly in the Report, — "On this point it will not do for a religious teacher to say 'I do not know.' He ought to know." The Home Secretary says — now in the name of the Board — 'he must know — or we will have none of him in our service, though we appreciate highly his ability and his Christian excellence, and are greatly drawn to him.'

Thus, to put down a hypothesis which it is claimed scarcely anybody accepts, and which it was sufficiently evident was most imperfectly understood, the Board has violated the fundamental principles of its own organization, depreciated and antagonized the polity of the churches to which it must look for support, surrendered itself to party leaders whose weapons have been largely those of misrepresentation and alarm yielded to a temporary panic created by religious journals that have made themselves the organs and abettors of this exaggeration, imposed upon its missionaries a yoke which they of all men should not be called upon to bear, and exhibited to the churches which these missionaries have planted the spectacle of an intolerance that can only be fruitful of division and strife wherever it is accepted as an example.

As we sat on the platform of the Board our thoughts went back two centuries and a half to the time when William Pynchon founded the beautiful city which was entertaining so hospitably the immense attendance. He came with few companions, but he won their esteem, and they called their town Springfield in honor of the place of his birth. He thought long and deeply on the mysteries of redemption, and published a book in which he ventured to dispute the reigning dogma that Christ suffered literally the torments of the damned. For this, with other offenses against the accepted theory of man's redemption, his book was burned by the common executioner in the market-place at Boston, and its author was

summoned before the General Court, and subjected to proceedings which seem to have ended only with his withdrawal from the country. The motive to this intolerance was the same which influenced certain men on the platform of the Board. Then it was partly the fear that the orthodoxy of Massachusetts would be doubted in Old England. Now it is partly the fear that Congregationalism will be challenged by the Presbyterianism which it confronts in the West. Then orthodoxy was alarmed because it had not learned to distinguish between doctrine and dogma, essentials and non-essentials. The same mistake was repeated at Springfield. It is encouraging to remember that William Pynchon's contention, at least in the particular we have specified, would have had in its favor the suffrages of all those who in other respects repeated in this year of grace the essential folly of his persecutors. We make no prediction — but it is our inmost conviction that future conservatives, and that at no distant day, will wonder at the acts of the majority at Springfield as this majority now does at the deeds of their predecessors in the case of William Pynchon.¹

THE CASE OF THE MAJORITY.

THE American Board, as represented by the present majority of its corporate members, is now on trial at the bar of public opinion. The case for the defendants is more ably and plausibly stated in a recent editorial in "The Congregationalist" than anywhere else within our knowledge, and we make it therefore the text for a few observations.

The writer concedes that the Board is not a theological court and has no power "to decide any theological question as such." Its work is to select and support missionaries. In appointing men it must ascertain their fitness for service. This implies that in some way their theological qualifications must be ascertained. The writer quietly assumes that this examination must be conducted by the Board. The question is then raised, — the fundamental one, as we have before pointed out, — What is to be the standard of judgment, or, in the "Congregationalist's" language, "What is to govern the Board in deciding as to an applicant's doctrinal fitness?" The answer is given in substantially the words of the Manual, "the doctrines commonly held by the churches sustaining the missions of this Board." Waiving any question as to the best method of securing this judgment, — whether by an examination through officers of the Board, or through the agencies instituted by the churches, — we are happy to agree with the writer thus far: "The Board is not a delegated body, and . . . has no right to decide theological questions. Therefore it

¹ A possibly very important motion made by Dr. Quint was passed without discussion, almost without observation. It reads: —

Resolved, That a committee of seven be appointed to report at the next annual session a rearranged and codified draft of the By-laws and Rules of the Board, reporting also in a separate form *such amendments as may seem desirable to the committee*.

cannot alter the common faith ; but can only adhere to it until the churches shall alter it." This, then, is the writer's plea for the majority. They were bound by the common faith of the churches. They could neither enlarge this faith nor diminish it. The dogma of the decisiveness of the present life for every heathen who dies without knowledge of the gospel is an article of this faith. Therefore the Board had no option. It was shut up to the single duty of affirming that belief in this doctrine is an essential qualification for appointment.

1. Our first criticism upon this argument is that its minor premise is a sheer assumption. We have looked in vain through all the arguments presented by the Home Secretary, the Prudential Committee, and their principal defenders for any evidence to establish the proposition that the Congregational churches of this country hold to any such belief. The only proof we have heard suggested is, that some local creeds contain the doctrine. We have seen two such. One contains Dr. Alden's phraseology which the Creed Commission declined to indorse. The other, as we learned from the pastor, is no longer in force in the admission of members as respects the article in question. There doubtless are others, particularly older creeds, where the phrase "deeds done in the body" is given a universal extension. But rarely, if ever, we believe, was such comprehensiveness of application the result of any careful consideration of the question now in issue, or of any intention to decide it. Our opponents are fond of characterizing the hope that unevangelized heathen may not be eternally damned without opportunity of being influenced by the grace revealed in the Cross of Christ, as a novelty among us. The Home Secretary, at Des Moines, if we remember, emphasized this point. We concede this only under certain limitations, but evidently so far as this is true it is unfair to quote our local creeds as authoritative in the premises. But, apart from all this, the appeal is ineffective. The creeds, so far as we have examined, are evidently written, in the main, without any reference to this issue. Most of them, — we admit that our investigation is incomplete, — the great majority of them, so far as we have looked into them, make no allusion to the question at all. It was not before the minds of the writers, or if it was they chose to say nothing concerning it.

Further, no past creeds are decisive as to the present faith of the churches. It is uncongregational to claim such authority for them. Congregationalism never has consented to be limited by creeds. No council, in ordaining a minister, presents to him a creed for subscription. The *living* church, represented in its councils or associations, or whatever body is intrusted with the duty of examination into the candidate's faith, judges for itself of his doctrinal soundness, subject always to the one and only perfect rule of faith and practice, the Word of God. What this living testimony to the truth is cannot be decided, therefore, by a mere appeal to past creeds. The general action of councils, the existing usage of the churches, in respect to the essentials of Christian belief, is more important than any past creed. If appeal be taken to this source of evi-

dence the facts are strongly adverse to the assumption constantly made by the Home Secretary, the Committee, and their supporters. The men whom the Committee reject, or would reject if before them, the churches ordain. This is done in all parts of the country, by councils large and influential, against which no one raises a suspicion of improper constitution. Some of the most representative and pronounced leaders of the majority have participated in these councils, and voted for the conclusion they have reached. Indeed, it has become common to defend the Committee's rejection of candidates by an argument which concedes the truth of our contention: namely, that a different standard of doctrinal soundness should be applied to foreign missionaries from that applied to home missionaries and pastors. The majority at Springfield voted down a resolution recognizing the equal liberty of the two classes: and also refused to permit an appeal to councils. All this is a concession that the leaders of the majority know perfectly well that the church of to-day does not insist upon the dogma of the universal decisiveness of this life.

Nor can it be successfully claimed that the majority at Springfield was competent, on its own authority, to declare the mind of the churches. Waiving now its lack of commission to perform any such function, it was in no proper sense a representative of the common faith. It was a mere party — large, respectable as any one may care to claim, well organized, but a party still, pure and simple. It is the height of arrogance to claim for it any other character. One third of the corporation — or nearly so — dissented from its *dictum*. Granting that the main ground of dissent was not primarily theological, it is not likely that any portion of the minority would assent to the dogmatic position of the majority, that is, to the affirmation of its dogma as a necessary article of faith. If the corporate members are said to represent the churches, the most that can be claimed is, that the majority represents two thirds of the churches. It follows that the Board has exalted to the rank of an article of the common faith what is held by two thirds of the fellowship which it is thus alleged to represent. But even this is conceding too much. For years the membership of the Board has been largely recruited from the class of men now in the majority. A year ago every one or nearly every one of the new members nominated was a supporter, or might have been presumed to be a supporter, of the Alden policy. Nothing different, except that it was on a larger scale, was the method the present year. The whole basis of representation is also wrong as respects any representative doctrinal character. Illinois has two members for every dollar it contributes to Connecticut's one. If the representation in the Board had been on a uniform basis, whether of contributions or of church-membership, we are confident, from such analysis as we are able to make of the vote, that a very different result would have been reached from that which the majority enacted.

In ascertaining the present faith of the churches the Board has virtu-

ally thrown out as valueless the action of the Commission instituted by the National Council. Two of that Commission, one of these the Home Secretary, pressed in vain the article of faith now adopted by the Board. According to the "Congregationalist's" argument the Board took this action because it had no alternative. That is, the Board was obliged to register as the faith of the churches an article which a recent doctrinal commission of the churches declined to affirm!

2. Our second criticism is more radical. We charge that the Board, in the action it took, violated the principle which the "Congregationalist" agrees with us should be inviolable, namely, that the Board "has no right to decide theological questions." It has undertaken to decide a theological question and has thus revolutionized its past policy. As often happens, when extreme counsels are followed, the so-called conservatives have become the innovators. And a very serious and deplorable revolution they have effected. That this is not too strong language we will now make good. The Board not only reaffirmed the cautionary resolution of Dr. Chapin respecting committing the Board to an approval of the doctrine of future probation, but accepted as its own the Committee's interpretation of that action, and re-elected as its Secretary for the Home Department the man who has pressed on candidates, as a vital and essential doctrine of Christianity, the universal decisiveness of this life, and who avowed that his course in the future, if elected to office, would be shaped by the same convictions which had governed him in the past, and that he would pursue substantially the same methods as heretofore. In the Report which he presented from the Prudential Committee, and by which he declared that he stood, it is put forward as the ruling "principle of action" that the evangelical doctrines received by the churches and mandatory to the Committee "include the decisive nature of the present earthly probation as related to the issues of the final judgment." As interpreted by the Secretary's correspondence and by the action of the Committee, there can be no question that the Board has decided that it is a part of the evangelical faith which it must propagate through its missionaries that no heathen can be saved who is not saved in this earthly life. The agnostic position taken by Mr. Morse was rejected by the Committee, and the Board has approved this action. Dr. Alden's ground always has been that the universal decisiveness of this life is an essential doctrine of Christianity. We are simply putting into plain English what the Board voted by stating its action thus:—

Resolved, 1. It is an essential truth of the gospel as held by the churches sustaining the Board, that the heathen who have died ignorant of Christ have had in this life their only opportunity of being saved by Christ who died for them all.

Resolved, 2. A belief in this essential evangelical truth is an indispensable qualification for appointment to service under this Board.

"The Congregationalist" maintains that in taking such action the Board simply did its duty, although it had no right to decide a theological question!

We have tried to think out its position. We suppose it begins by distinguishing sharply between the function of the Board in deciding for itself a theological question, and in declaring such a decision to be one adopted by the churches. It has not decided, for instance, that this life is decisive, but simply that the churches have so decided. Such a position is analogous to that of mediæval Roman Catholic theologians. The Scriptures, they said, prove doctrine, but the church, through its bishops, declares doctrine. What the bishops affirm to be proved by Scripture is so proved. Out of this came the dogmas of Purgatory, Transubstantiation, etc. So, the "Congregationalist," as we suppose, will reason, the Board must look to the churches to know what is the saving truth, but it is its part to decide what the churches thus hold. On the whole we prefer the Roman Catholic doctrine, for something can be said for the authority of the Christian ministry as representing the church, but we know of nothing that can be said for the Board as an authorized interpreter of the faith. Who has commissioned this close Corporation with its later membership so peculiarly selected, to assume the prerogative of declaring for the churches what they hold on a question *now under discussion*? So far as we know the Board has never before formally affirmed any doctrine after this fashion. It has never approved any specific creed. Now it is brought in, in the midst of a theological controversy, and is put in the position of a judge. To say that in its recent action it simply affirmed on the point in dispute what the churches hold is a mere subterfuge. Practically, it is a distinction without a difference. The Board refused to allow the churches themselves to decide through councils, or in any other way of ecclesiastical action. It assumed to decide for them. It did decide for them, and this upon a question, as we have said, under discussion, and by a party vote. No refinement of distinction can obscure this conclusion: *The Board, under party leadership, rendered at Springfield a judgment in an existing theological controversy. Theoretically it was a vote that the churches hold thus and thus. In fact, it was a DOCTRINAL DECISION, and so far a revolution in the established policy of the Board.*

The precedent thus created may well excite the churches to careful consideration of the power which has suddenly assumed such authority. We may recur to this hereafter.

3. The "Congregationalist" overlooks the thoroughly partisan and divisive position in which the Board is now placed as respects its constituency. This is the less excusable in view of the strength of the liberal vote at Springfield and the standing, character, and determination of the men who cast it. The country at large has evidently been impressed by this weight of the opposition. When dissent first appeared from Dr. Alden's policy it was customary in certain quarters to sneer at its feebleness. Last year much use was made of the count of votes at Des Moines reported, not at the meeting, but through the "Congregationalist." This year the liberal vote mounted up to more than two thirds of the entire

vote cast at Des Moines. If it had not been for the overshadowing majority secured by the double representation given to Western States combined with the peculiar method of appointments, the vote at Springfield would have been a close one, to say the least. It is a partisan course and divisive in its tendency to disregard the opinions of such a minority. It will not be driven into separation. It is loyal to the Board and seeks for unity and harmony. But it cannot overlook the fact that it was treated at Springfield with a lordly disregard of its right to be represented in the management of the Board. When the "Congregationalist" has nothing better to say for the majority than that it did not turn out Dr. Clark and Mr. Dickinson, nor prevent the election to the Corporation of Dr. McKenzie when nominated from the floor, although it did refuse to permit him to serve on the Prudential Committee, there is no need of further argument on this point. When it appeals as follows for pecuniary support of the Board it betrays its own consciousness of the partisan and divisive policy which has been introduced. It says: "We equally credit both parties . . . with a good conscience. . . . Meanwhile we devoutly pray the God of truth and of peace to bless and to guide all his children, and especially to awaken toward the Board the fresh and tender interest of those who are in theological sympathy with the position it has voted to continue to hold." That is, the Board, as the representative in missionary work of all the churches, is bound, according to the "Congregationalist," to adhere to their common faith. In doing so it lays down a theological platform. And no sooner is this done than those who stand upon it begin to discriminate in their prayers between two "parties," and to implore from Heaven special help to the Board "*from those in theological sympathy with it.*" Could there be a clearer illustration than this of the essentially divisive spirit which informs the regnant policy.

4. The policy which was approved at Springfield is unjust and oppressive. Whatever may be the prayers breathed through the editorials of the "Congregationalist," the Board still remains the only agency of Congregationalists in foreign missionary work. Yet it ignores the wishes of a large and growing portion of its natural constituency. It desires their money, but not their sons and daughters, save as these will accept the dogma prescribed by the present majority. When it is remembered at what sacrifice of fairness in statement, by what personal misrepresentation, by what methods of combination and management, this temporary majority has been secured, the injustice and tyranny of the whole procedure become oppressively evident. If the question at issue were merely one of theology, the vote of the Board would be of little consequence. The serious and painful fact is, that just at the time when the unevangelized nations have become most accessible, and consecrated men and women are waiting to bear from the favored churches of this country the message of life, the Board that should send them makes itself the organ of a theological party, and excludes from its service those who cannot subscribe to its partisan creed.

We will only add that with this view of the wrong committed at Springfield we cannot accept the *dictum* of the "Congregationalist," "The question is settled." *It is but just opened.* The "Congregationalist" adds two questions which show how inadequately it appreciates the situation. It asks, "Is there need of further controversy? Why may not all conscientiously unite on the common platform of appointing only those who hold the common faith?" We answer: There is need of further discussion because the Board has refused to appoint men who do "hold the common faith." For the liberals to acquiesce in this action would be for them to consent to a policy partisan, revolutionary, divisive, unjust, repressive of needed effort for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ. We shall continue to do all in our power to overthrow it, and with new courage from the evidence given at Springfield of the strength, within the Board, of the opposition to the present management.

THE DOCTRINAL APPEAL TO THE CHURCHES.

So much of the question discussed and acted upon at Springfield, as pertains to doctrine, now reverts to the churches. The discussion in doctrine must go on, but under changed conditions. Heretofore it has been charged upon those who sought relief from the dogma of the universal perdition of the heathen in the hope of a Christian probation for all men, that they were forcing a theory upon the churches. Now the American Board, through its majority, has declared that the dogma which contradicts and prohibits this hope (namely, that the present life is decisive of the eternal destiny of every man irrespective of his personal relation to Christ) is an integral part of the faith commonly held by the churches. Nominally the theology of the Board still holds the doctrine of the universal perdition of the heathen; and mathematical illustrations of this doctrine are still allowed in the publications of the Board, and upon its platform. But really the doctrine is held and usually put forth under some relieving theory, and *this relieving theory, whatever it may be, now comes to the front, under attack or defense, in place of the theory of a Christian probation for all men.*

The doctrinal appeal having been taken to the churches, there are some considerations which we trust may influence future discussion as it is relegated to this larger sphere.

Evidently the present answer of the churches to this appeal would depend upon the form in which the question was put. If asked if they accept as an article of faith the theory of a Christian probation for all men, they would doubtless answer no. If asked if they accept as an article of faith the opposite theory, which affirms that the present life is in all cases absolutely decisive of destiny, we believe that they would answer no. We most assuredly believe that they would refuse, after serious thought of the consequences involved in such an affirmation, to acknowledge the theory as an integral and necessary part of their faith

Our reasons for this belief are, as already stated, that when the theory came under the careful and serious thought of the Congregational Creed Commission, it was denied a place among the essentials of the faith commonly held by the churches; and that whenever it has come up before ordaining and installing councils, it has been denied the place of a test of denominational fellowship. The present truth in the matter is that the churches are unprepared to give a well considered and final answer to the question. The mere fact that the creeds of some of the churches contain the clause — “Judged according to the deeds done in the body” — is irrelevant. For the scope of the words was not understood when they were inserted, and if referred to to-day as authoritative, it must be asked whether they are to be interpreted according to their exegetical or controversial use.

It must be allowed, in carrying the appeal to the churches, that any merely negative decision cannot be final. Religious faith is not satisfied by refusing to entertain a theory which offers itself for its aid, nor by turning aside to urge the criticisms and objections which the manner of its presentation may invite. Neither is it satisfied by the assertion of a counter theory which does not cover the ground. The dogma of the absolute decisiveness of the present life in determining the destiny of all men is not the full antithesis to the theory of a Christian probation for all men. It does not settle the questions which that raises, and for which it offers a reasonable and Christian solution. The American Board has denied the theory of a Christian probation for all men, setting up in its place merely the dogma of the final decisiveness of this life in respect to eternal destiny, and now calls for rest. The call is untimely. Rest will come when the logical requirements of a discussion, and the honest demands of faith involved in it, are satisfied. The call, too, is ungenerous. It asks a very considerable minority of the corporate membership of the Board to acquiesce in a dogma to which it cannot subscribe, and therefore cannot be accepted by representation, or even in person, in its missionary service. Evidently discussion must go on. The constituency of the Board is still open, though the organization may remain closed.

A great gain will be made toward some practical results from further discussion, if the original motive which prompted it can be kept steadily in mind. The immediate though incidental occasion of the present controversy was the preaching of a course of sermons by the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, in the year 1881, while pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Quincy, Ill., in one of which, upon “Negative and Positive Elements in the Conception of the Future Life,” he referred to one truth “which seems to be left in the shadow of the gospel of the kingdom; and that is the nature and intent of the divine administration of Hades, — the place of departed spirits, — from the time the dying leave the present world until the judgment-day.” The whole aim of these discourses was apologetic. They were “originally prepared in answer to certain objections which had been urged against evangelical teaching in the columns of a local

newspaper in my own home, and which are often raised, in various forms, as difficulties in the way of the popular acceptance of the doctrines of the churches." And as the author goes on to state in his preface, "I would introduce them simply as one series of a pastor's working sermons; they are not sent forth under 'the philosopher's cloak,' but clothed in the working-dress of the ordinary ministration of the Word, and for the purpose of helping among men the removal of some common difficulties in the way of the coming of a better day of faith." The circumstance of the after election of Dr. Smyth to the chair of Theology at Andover changed these sermons from their apologetic to a controversial use. But the original intent remains as a fact. They were the sermons of a pastor, and in answer to direct and influential objections urged against the orthodox faith. And the particular sermon, to which reference has been made, was prepared in the endeavor to recover the doctrine of the divine judgment to its full place and power in the current thought of men. The necessity for this work remains and is increasing. The pulpit cannot evade it. If it would declare the great dissuasive truths of revelation with power, it must have in view the serious difficulties of intelligent men in the manner of holding these truths. A gentleman in public life, a staunch believer in the orthodox faith, who has exceptional facilities for discovering the public thought, said to us but yesterday: "The great body of laymen in the churches are deeply concerned in present discussions about the doctrine of the divine judgment. They are peculiarly sensitive to any injustice which may inhere in the present holding of it. They are not prepared to take sides sharply in the 'Andover Controversy,' but their sympathies are with those who are trying to present truth in the justice of the Christian faith. The refusal of the pulpit to consider the case of the heathen is building up Universalism." "The case of the heathen" is now the largest factor in determining one's belief in the doctrine of judgment. Its practical effect is seen, not in the preaching to the heathen, but upon the preaching at home. The most serious intellectual obstacle to the success of the gospel is any sense of inequality in the application of the gospel. The endeavor to meet this difficulty has led to the advocacy of a Christian probation for all men. The method which we have urged may be discarded, but let not the motive be ignored. The man who can best relate the doctrine of the divine judgment to the doctrines of sin and of redemption will do most to preserve the orthodox faith in its integrity and vitality.

We may be permitted to ask, as a final consideration, whether the time has not come to separate the subject under discussion from the personalities which have thus far vexed and obscured it. Now that the question has ceased to be the Andover question, is it necessary to settle its legal relations to the creed of Andover Seminary? The dogma of the universal decisiveness of the present life, with whatever relieving theories may support it, is now on trial, not the "foolish and pernicious speculation" about a Christian probation for all men. May we not now expect

argument in place of sneers, or warnings, or pessimistic prophecies founded on supposed tendencies of present thought. In times of controversy no truth is maintained in its energy except by positive and timely thinking. No error is put down till it is thought down. The present discussion has drawn its heat and temper from personal and local influences within the Congregational body. Elsewhere, in other denominations and in other countries, the subjects here discussed with so much of contention and acrimony are undergoing the calm investigation of Biblical scholars, and the careful examination of Christian thinkers. Has not the time come in the present turn of affairs to remand controversy, if it must continue, to other questions, and in respect to doctrine to ask in simplicity and candor for the truth. With this end in view we shall open the pages of the "Review" to the presentation of argument from all sides, in the endeavor to reach the doctrinal truth involved in the contention which culminated in the action of the American Board at Springfield.

THE PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION OF MINISTERS.

AT a recent meeting of the Christian Workers' Convention in New York, strong exception was taken to the methods of education at present in vogue in theological seminaries. The assumption was made that young men when they enter the ministry are not fitted for the actual work to which they are called; that they are not in touch with the thought and life of to-day; that they are trained merely as sermonizers and makers of calls, but not as leaders of men. Their alleged inability to meet existing wants was traced to the inadequacy of instruction in theological schools, where teaching is the exclusive function, and training is almost entirely neglected. One speaker said that the work consists in cramming systems, and committing text-books; another said that his own course, besides nearly two years spent on Hebrew and Greek, consisted of one hundred lectures on how to make a sermon, one hundred more on the "dead, buried, and mummified church fathers," two hundred and twenty on systematic theology, and only twelve on pastoral theology, while no instruction was given about Sunday-schools, or prayer-meetings, or after meetings. It was urged that seminaries as much as medical colleges should have a clinical department. The criticism was also made that the study of theology tends to produce a spirit of irreverence, since the most sacred truths are brought into the arena of dialectical discussion, and that it does not tend to promote Christian love and Christian life.

It behooves all theological students and teachers to ponder these opinions, in order to ascertain what basis they have in the actual method and tendency of professional ministerial training, to guard against the dangerous effects of theological study, and to seek needed improvement in method and proportion.

We do not introduce the subject that we may rush to the defense of the divinity school, for we agree with some of the criticisms which

were offered, but in order to raise the whole inquiry concerning the preparatory education of clergymen, and in the hope that it may lead to a frank discussion of the subject in various quarters. It is desirable that those studies which are necessary should be recognized, that the proportion of different studies to each other and of all of them to practical work should be outlined, and that proper methods in teaching should be emphasized. If the young men, when they enter the Christian ministry, are destitute of a working knowledge of the Bible, and a sympathetic practical knowledge of men, the blame must be laid chiefly at the door of the professional school from which they have graduated, and those who are directly responsible should most eagerly welcome suggestions in the direction of improvement.

We reserve for a second article the effect of ministerial work, as it is usually conducted, upon the character, methods, and success of clergymen in actual service, and upon the estimation in which they are held, and confine attention now to the studies and training of students in preparation for the ministry.

The interesting coincidence may be remarked, in passing, that in England the demand is growing for a more extended discipline in theological studies. Thus Professor Duff, at the opening of Airedale College last month, gave an address on the qualifications of theological teachers, in which he stated that a reaction has begun in Congregational churches against the feeling common a few years ago, that theological education is useless. He says : —

“ The present public interest in theological teachers is fairly to be counted wonderful. It was not long ago customary to pit common sense against theology, the strong against the weak — the former being sure to win ; but now it is eloquent wisdom to bid common sense go out to seek theology and bring it home rejoicing. Ten years ago colleges bade theology stand aside and leave students alone through their four, five, or six years of diligent struggle after a London B. A. . . . But that is past. That method of training has been found insufficient for the needs of our pulpits, and has been laid aside. The men who were trained on that theory are the ministers to-day who are deploring the past, and are urging our colleges to provide a truly theological training in the future.”

The occasion of these remarks was the necessity of filling at once six or more theological chairs in the Congregational colleges, and the difficulty of finding suitable men for the positions. The growing demand for able theological teachers grows out of the conviction that the general culture of a college course, combined with however much religious zeal, does not fit men for the ministry in the absence of distinct and thorough theological instruction. The editor of the “ Nonconformist and Independent ” refers to the address quoted above, and adds : —

“ Dr. Duff puts aside, as no longer pretending even to be formidable, those specious and plausible, yet fundamentally fallacious arguments against theological training that used at one time to be considerably in vogue. With literary culture, fervent devoutness, and some native gift of utterance, a

preacher might, it was held, safely forego all special study of theology. If ease in the composition of sermons and popularity during the first few months or years of a preacher's career were the sole things to be aimed at in our colleges, all serious study of theology might, indeed, be dispensed with. But if the object is to provide the best attainable preparation for a life-long efficiency in ministerial work, then it is a deplorable mistake to send out preachers who carry with them from college nothing better than a few showy and superficial accomplishments. . . . The man who hugs a prejudice against thorough training in theology for aspirants to the ministry is just as antiquated and absurd as are those who should grumble against thorough technical training for agriculturists and engineers."

The critics of our American seminaries will probably admit that exegetical and theological studies are necessary, but that in addition there should be special training for the practical work of the pastorate. We will indicate, therefore, the studies which, it will hardly be denied, should have a place in the preparation of young men for the ministry, and for which, consequently, sufficient time should be allotted.

With rare exceptions clergymen should have some acquaintance with the original languages of the Bible. Not that all are expected to attain advanced scholarship in Hebrew and Greek, nor to continue far beyond the acquirements which can be made in the first year of the course. But enough knowledge should be gained to insure an intelligent use of the contributions of scholarship to the interpretation of Scripture.

There should be thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the development of doctrine in the Bible, and of the characteristics of the various writers and books. There must therefore be time for study of Biblical theology both of the Old and New Testaments.

No one can be well prepared for the preaching of the gospel who does not know its relation to reason and conscience, that is, its rational grounds and ethical quality, and its strength of defense as against skepticism and unbelief. Every one should know the significance and relation of the doctrines of the gospel. It is necessary to know them *as truth*. But this requires the study of theology.

Then, would a man be fitted for the position of religious teacher who has no knowledge of the history and development of doctrine in the past? Shall he go out in ignorance of the opinions of Athanasius, Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, and Edwards, all of whom are "dead, buried, and mummified church fathers"? And will a hundred lectures be too many for his guidance into such knowledge?

The student needs instruction and training in the preparation of sermons, the art of bringing religious truth to actual men in a popular and persuasive form.

If, now, these studies are to be pursued, it is evident that two or three years' time must be taken for the purpose, and under the direction of competent teachers. The method need not be cramming text-books on one side, nor listening to lectures on the other. There should be a wide range of reading, independent investigation, and free discussion. It has, in-

deed, been found that the best method, except in the study of languages, is courses of lectures, with ample lists of authorities for reading, accompanied by discussions and original work, and this method generally obtains in all higher departments of teaching in Germany, England, and America. That critic must be singularly ignorant of existing methods in American Divinity schools who alleges that the work consists principally in "cramming systems and committing text-books." It can do no harm, but rather incalculable good to a youth just out of college to spend three years in the acquisition of knowledge in the departments we have mentioned.

Improvements may and will be made in the proportionate place of the several studies. Certain departments should be made optional, such as the continuance of Hebrew after one year's study, researches in Assyriology and other archæological studies, the more remote relations of Christianity to science and to other religions; for these are the studies of special scholarship. Indeed, except in a limited degree, they are not insisted on. But in any professional school only a few studies can be optional. The choice of a profession is itself the election of certain studies which are indispensable.

The demand, then, if it is at all intelligent, must be, not for curtailment of theological instruction, but for enlargement in some directions. There might very advantageously be more time given to ethics in connection with theology, as is the case in Germany, and in some of the seminaries of this country. And, then, more attention might properly be paid to evangelism, the conduct of prayer-meetings, Sunday schools, mission work, and the like. In some seminaries this is already done, although, as any one must perceive, the theory of such work requires only a brief statement, and it is to be learned chiefly by experience.

But it should not be forgotten that students in seminaries are not separated from the life of the churches. They do not study in monasteries nor meditate in cloisters. They are present and participate in prayer-meetings, they teach in Sunday schools, they conduct religious meetings in outlying districts, and they hear preaching every Sunday. A majority of all theological students also spend three or four months of every year in charge of churches in various parts of the country. Indeed, a difficulty which becomes serious after the first year is to keep students from preaching too often, to the neglect of their studies.

The danger of considering truth from the intellectual more than from the spiritual side is a constant and serious danger to be carefully guarded against. It is a danger which resides not in the nature of the studies, nor in the proportionate amount of time given to them, but in the spirit and methods of instruction on the part of teachers. It has been a conspicuous fault in the past, especially in the department of theology, that metaphysics has had too large a place. The logical faculty in New England theology has been worked more than the spiritual. But the tendency at present is to build doctrine on the basis of the historical facts of

revelation, and to proceed out from them to the results in the redemption of men and the renovation of society. So far as the kingdom of God is substituted for a dialectic, so far will the danger of cold intellectualism, and of a merely curious debating of doctrine, be avoided. But, in any event, the theological teacher will determine very considerably the temper of students in their study. An instructor who is greatest in overcoming antagonists, most impressive in the keenness of his sarcasm, most skillful in the evasion of real difficulties, clearest in adjusting niceties of doctrine, but which are kept within a narrow horizon, will send out disciples of a like spirit, and theological study will not develop Christian love. An instructor who can see truth only from one point of view, and is without sympathetic appreciation of the opinions of those who differ from him, will encourage intolerance, as well as a purely logical method in students. But there need be no fear that cold intellectualism, or a merely dialectic attitude towards truth, will appear in the pupils of instructors who bring spiritual discernment to spiritual things, who show candor and sympathy in their dealing with error, and who speaking the truth in love are thereby growing up in all things into Him which is the head, even Christ; such men as Neander, Tholuck, and Dorner, Moses Stuart, Henry B. Smith, and Roswell D. Hitchcock, and living teachers who have found the Scriptures profitable for furnishing the man of God unto every good work.

✓ If ministers as a class fail to come into loving contact with men, the reason is more likely to be found in the customs and methods which prevail in the actual exercise of their profession than in the omissions of their theological course. In another article we shall therefore consider ✓ some of the conditions which have a tendency to make narrow, unreal, and unpractical the professional labors of clergymen in modern times.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

THE revival in the work of the Evangelical Alliance with new purposes and a wider field is one of the more important of recent religious movements. Certain phases of it come within the scope of these Notes. The Alliance proposes to hold a general conference in the city of Washington December 7-9 to study in effect the following questions:—

“1st. What are the present perils of the Christian Church and of the country?”

2d. Can any of them be met by a hearty co-operation of all Evangelical Christians, which, without detriment to any denominational concerns, will serve the interests of the whole church?

3d. What are the best means to secure such co-operation, and to awaken the whole Church to its responsibility?”

These questions rest upon three or four assumptions. They are: The prevalence of great social dangers, which the call of the Alliance specifies with considerable fullness; the existence of large bodies of Christians having a common purpose, but with separate and in some degree competi-

tive organizations ; the conviction that in consequence of these facts there is a serious waste or positive misuse of forces ; and an earnest feeling that the time is ripe for an attempt at the better development and adjustment of the resources of the Christian Church of our country, and that this can be made without serious disturbance of denominational interests. The method of the Alliance seems both scientifically and practically sound. While congresses of churches have been getting Christians to face each other's opinions and ecclesiastical bodies have been trying to formulate plans of union, the National Council of Congregational Churches and the Evangelical Alliance have begun work at the other end. The former method starts from the theoretical or dogmatic basis, and is important ; but the latter is practical and scientific. That is to say, it begins with the facts and tries to proceed inductively. The National Council has appointed an able committee, with Professor George P. Fisher of Yale University at its head, to confer with the general ecclesiastical organizations of all other churches of Evangelical faith for the purpose of reducing the evils growing out of the occupation by different denominations of the same territory, and to secure an inter-denominational congress whose aim it shall be to "open the way for a practical co-operation in such forms of Christian work as call for the concurring action of all Christian bodies." Power is given to this committee to represent the Congregational churches in such a congress. The aim here, it will be seen, is purely practical. The Evangelical Alliance goes even farther, but begins with what is now practicable. Indeed, its circular calling the general meeting carefully avoids all attempts at disturbing the existing status of the several denominations, and assumes the existence of a very large number of common interests demanding co-operation for their successful prosecution. Other steps towards closer relationship between the various branches of the Christian Church have been taken in this direction, notably that towards a union of the Free Baptists and the Congregationalists, but they belong mainly to the other class and begin with the aim, unity in doctrine or organization. Another significant assembly has been held recently in New York. It was a convention of Christian workers in which all forms of Christian work like those of the theological seminaries, reaching the masses by the ordinary church, the McAll Mission, Work for Women, Boys' Clubs, Street Preaching, Penny Savings Banks, and so on, were considered. The reader need only be reminded of the associations for the study of Social Science and Prison Reform, of Associated Charities, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Woman's Suffrage, Social Purity, Prevention of Vice, Divorce Reform, and so on to the end of a long list, to recognize the multitude of organizations for Christian or other philanthropic work which add to the multiplying agencies of the various churches. One can but acknowledge the great need of just such a study as the Evangelical Alliance proposes of the possibilities of a better adjustment of the relation of these multitudinous societies to each other and their common field.

The first suggestion that comes within the range of these Notes is the need of something like a scientific method of dealing with religious and kindred statistics. These movements are eminently those of practical men whose ideas are the result of actual experience and who seek a basis of solid fact. The popular mind is awake to the need of facts. One class of hearers listen eagerly to statistical statements having any semblance of reality. The other class are repelled by the popular credulity, and have a conviction or feeling that all statistics must be taken with much

allowance. Some would discard almost wholly the use of statistical methods. Many a keen listener to addresses in behalf of philanthropic objects is turned away from those entitled to his sympathy, while others are untouched, on account of a lurking but indefinable suspicion that what has proved so often a delusive method is never to be trusted.

In the January number of this "Review" some notice was taken of the perils of popular statistics. Since that time Mr. Carroll D. Wright has reinforced what was said there by an able plea in an address given before the American Economic Association in favor of the study of statistics in our colleges. In that address, which should be widely read, he put the truth in terse expression when he said that "the lies of statistics are unscientific lies." In other words, it is only when statistics are improperly used that they are misleading. We cannot give up their use in the study of social problems if we would, unless we are ready to discard the inductive method entirely. For statistics are the necessary instrument for the record of facts, and in all inductions from them. They stand related to social matters as book-keeping does to the operations of a manufacturing establishment where the highest success demands the most exact knowledge of every detail bearing on production and distribution. When carried to scientific perfection, religious and other social statistics would give orderliness and comprehensiveness to the facts that concern work in those fields. They would lead to the discovery of principles and the formulation of methods which would become part of the mental equipment of the worker in a way that would wonderfully strengthen and direct powers of observation and judgment. Here, as everywhere, scientific training puts a man far in advance of his actual experience, helps him interpret the experiences of others, and make rapid and safe progress in new directions.

The plan is suggested, as at least worth careful consideration, of having some of our great benevolent societies receive the benefit of the advice of a trained statistician, to whom all statistical matters should be referred for suggestion and correction. Our home missionary and church extension societies might with profit seek advice from an expert in statistics as well as from a legal counselor. An insurance company has its actuary whose advice saves it from many an unfortunate venture. Why should not a home missionary society seek statistical counsel? No one who has had any considerable experience in statistics as they are scientifically handled can attend a missionary gathering, or read publications in the interests of ecclesiastical organizations hardly anywhere without meeting with the most fallacious use of figures. Many excellent measures are imperiled by being made to rest on statistical grounds which would condemn them in the eyes of expert statisticians or of business men. For the methods of the latter are really scientific, though often regarded as simply practical, for the reason that the truly scientific and the best practical methods are of close relationship. The excellent secretaries of our benevolent societies are frequently unequal to their work, either for want of training in this direction, or because there are no other persons, either in the management or among those called on for advice, who have duly apprehended the need.

Further than this is the rapidly growing necessity for more comprehensive and critical religious statistics. For one thing, why should there not be some common plan by which the leading Christian denominations should agree upon the collection, so far as practicable, of the same facts to be arranged in similar ways, and then, perhaps, to be collected together

in one publication, or in forms to be easily compared? Why might there not be some co-operative plan made by which the important facts could be gathered for considerable sections of the country concerning population, church attendance and non-attendance, distance from church, cost and results, with comparative statements somewhat in the line of the admirable work of Mr. Henry Fairbanks, of St. Johnsbury, Vt., in that State as described in this "Review" for July, 1886? Secretaries and managers in deciding appeals for new churches or outlays in support of existing churches constantly need just such information in available form. And the study of the problem of reducing the evils of unwise distribution of money and such work as the Evangelical Alliance and the committee of the Congregational council have undertaken imperatively need material of this sort.

Another suggestion refers to the valuable aid to these activities that would come from sociological advice or training. The almost countless number in the forms of religious and benevolent activity that we have, and the remarkable changes the older organizations like the local church are passing through, demand attention from several points of view. To the popular mind they are, with the exception of local churches and their higher organizations, little more than devices for doing certain things, which are constantly coming and going, like the mechanical inventions whose models fill the Patent Office, with nothing about them worth serious study except their ability to do the work of the hour. They are considered as simply experiments whose merit cannot be foretold on any scientific ground, but which must be judged by the testimonials of those who have tried them, or by their apparent fitness for the task temporarily in hand. A host of these have accordingly had their day and gone by. Others are retained and used largely because they have the merit of age and past success. But the student of the structure of society and the history of its institutions is able to apply to many of these an intelligent criticism. He knows the limitations under which each necessarily does its work. He sees where success in one set of conditions may be followed by failure in another. He can see instructive resemblances and differences between religious and economical institutions which wholly escape the notice of even men of keen observation in business, but upon whose detection and right understanding a true estimation of success may depend. The skilled geologist is hardly more useful to the mining company than a good sociologist may be to some of our benevolent societies. The foreign missionary field affords many opportunities for the profitable use of this kind of knowledge. The communal germs of Western political institutions in Bulgaria, their early Aryan prototypes in India, the domestic religion of China, the tribal life of the Indians, the semi-serfdom of the negroes in the South, are all more or less reducible to classified orders. The ability to comprehend these facts, and the lessons to be drawn from the knowledge by the missionary, is something like the value of botanical knowledge to the florist and gardener.

There is undoubtedly a rich opportunity for the Evangelical Alliance in these and other directions. Could it provide for the dissemination of the best statistical material, methods and principles of using them, could it undertake for the several great ecclesiastical organizations the work of collating their various contributions to religious statistics and gradually lead them out into a better and more comprehensive survey of the field, it would greatly advance the interests of all Christian work. The secre-

taries of most of our societies would be grateful for the aid thus rendered them.

Another advantage that might possibly come in this direction is the study of the various benevolent institutions with a view to their classification and ultimate reduction in number to a few leading forms, or the combination of all in a given place, if it be small, into one organization with different sections as is the case with some of the great scientific associations. For example, those working at the problem of the evangelization of cities might possibly be brought together in one department, in which each local interest could share in the experience of all. The several temperance societies might be helped to such co-operation as would strengthen each. The tract and denominational publishing houses might consider the expediency of having a large portion of their issues, which are of common concern or faith, written and published on the principle of association, reducing their own separate issues to the minimum, and of otherwise working together. Building associations, Sanitary associations, those for the Relief of the Poor, Prevention of Poverty, and the like, belong to another class. The several agencies now at work for the Prevention of Vice, and the evils of Divorce and in behalf of Chastity, Marriage, and the like, could possibly be helped towards unity in one department touching the Family. Plans might be formed and aid given to churches in villages and smaller cities and in country towns for the best means of uniting in their common work, and for fostering that public spirit which does so much to make church and state. In short, there is hardly any limit to be set to the possibilities in these directions before the Evangelical Alliance and others interested in Christian benevolence, if pursued patiently and in a broad way. And it is but just to add that the officers of the Alliance are aware of many of these opportunities, and have been considering some of these very measures.

In this connection note is made of the quarterly meeting of the American Statistical Society in Boston, at its new Library room in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, October 21, at which General F. A. Walker, its President, will be in the chair, and the subject of discussion will be the Religious Statistics of our country and their needs. It comes too late for a report in the Notes of this month. It is not unlikely that this discussion and the energetic labors of the officers of the Statistical Association—President Walker, Mr. Edward Atkinson, Corresponding Secretary, and Professor D. R. Dewey the Librarian, who is teaching the science of statistics in the Institute of Technology in connection with his other work—may give a great impulse to this branch of knowledge in our country.

Had we space, fuller account would be given of the admirable address of Mr. Wright, already quoted, on the study of Statistics in Colleges. It gives in brief the best account we have seen of the Statistical work in Europe, the rich opportunities in this country, and the meagre provision for training young men for it. Its analysis of the difficulties and fallacies in statistical knowledge is instructive. He points out sharply some serious defects, as when he refers to "the statistical mechanic, the man who builds tables to order to prove a desired result." We wish we had space to quote entire his eloquent tribute to the history which the statistician writes.

Samuel W. Dike.

AUBURNDALE, MASS.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY UNION.

THE International Missionary Union was organized in 1884. During the early summer of that year Rev. W. B. Osborn, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who with his wife was once engaged in evangelistic work in India, and who still retains an earnest love for foreign missions, was about to start a Camp Meeting Association to hold services in Wesley Park, near Niagara Falls. He requested Dr. J. T. Gracey, formerly a missionary in India, but then pastor of a Methodist church in Rochester, N. Y., to provide for a week's missionary meetings. Acting upon that request, Dr. Gracey sent invitations to as many returned missionaries as possible, of all denominations, to attend and participate in the exercises. The attendance was gratifying, and the success of the meeting encouraging. Meantime Dr. Gracey had conceived the idea of forming a permanent organization of returned missionaries, of all churches and all fields, which should hold an annual meeting for the promotion of acquaintance, for the discussion of missionary plans and methods, the comparing of experiences, the quickening of the spiritual life, and the diffusion of missionary intelligence. The result was the organization of the International Missionary Union at Wesley Park in 1884, where also the meeting of 1885 was held. In 1886 the Union met at Thousand Island Park, on the St. Lawrence River, and the meeting of 1887 was held at the same place during the month of August last.

The meetings have hitherto filled an entire week, and have been of yearly increasing size, interest, and delight. Indications are not lacking that the Union is destined to a permanent career of usefulness and power. Its membership is composed exclusively of returned foreign missionaries, and any such person, man or woman, at home permanently or only temporarily, can join it. It now bears upon its roll the names of missionaries of the Congregational, Presbyterian (North and South), Methodist (North and South), Baptist, Free Baptist, Reformed, and Evangelical Lutheran churches, and of the United Brethren. Canada is represented by members belonging to the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches of the Dominion. The mission fields represented at the meetings of the Union present even a greater diversity than the churches. In 1886 missionaries were present from China, India, Burma, Siam, Japan, Africa, Bulgaria, the New Hebrides, South America, the North American Indians, and from several European countries which are the scene of Protestant evangelistic efforts; and in 1887 from India, the Turkish Empire, China, Japan, Siam, Mexico, from several missions among the papal populations of Europe, and the Indians of America.

The fact that in this association members of different churches are consulting regarding the common work of Christianity, excludes at once anything like sectarianism or narrowness. The meetings of the Union have thus far been remarkable for their freedom from all denominationalism. In fact, denominational names are hardly uttered at all in its sessions; the interests of the kingdom of God, in its widest sense, are before the minds of the members; they are discussing how to promote the gospel of Jesus Christ, not for the interests of any sect or any partic-

ular church. The temper of the meetings is Christian throughout. It would be impossible for a stranger coming in to tell to what denomination any one belonged; no one would imagine, from anything that he heard, unless it were the President's introductions of the successive speakers, that all were not members of some one church, only he would be puzzled to guess what particular one that was. Nothing connected with the meetings of the Union is more delightful than this fraternal spirit of Christian intercourse. If the Union did nothing more than furnish an object-lesson every year in true inter-denominational comity, it would be worth all it costs. We believe that it will do much more than merely furnish such an example; that it will be an active promoter of that practical Christian unity which is so much needed in the work of the church, both at home and abroad, and that its discussions will do something to foster that coöperation of different Christian bodies which intelligent Christians so much desire to see supplanting the present system of competition.

Another very valuable consequence of the comprehensiveness of the Union is the breadth of its outlook. The work of most of the leading Protestant missionary societies comes under its survey, and is reported by missionaries from those organizations. If any one society has had remarkable success, or unusual discouragements, or has used with good effect any particular form of missionary work, it is pretty sure to be made known in the discussions of the Union. The methods and the work of no one society engross attention; but the work, the methods, the success, and the hindrances of all, come up for review and discussion. The platform of the Union affords a fine opportunity for the comparative study of modern Protestant missions. For instance, at one of the sessions during its recent meeting, the question of the higher education was under debate; the speakers represented the American Board, the boards of both the northern and southern Presbyterian churches, the Free Baptist Board, the American Baptist Missionary Union, and the Canadian Baptist Board; while the mission fields where the experience of these speakers had been gained lie in Ceylon, in different parts of Turkey, in widely separated provinces of India, in several of the subdivisions of the vast Chinese Empire, in Japan, in Burma, and in Siam. It is no small advantage to the members of the Union that the practical knowledge of so many earnest men, and the accumulated experiences of so many different missionary organizations, and the lessons learned in years of toil on so many and so diverse fields of evangelistic effort, can be focalized at one spot upon difficult problems of missionary procedure.

As compared with other missionary meetings, especially with the great annual convocations held by the American Board, it is very noticeable that the meetings of the Union are entirely in the hands of missionaries themselves. At no one of the four sessions of the Union has any person been invited to address the audience who has not been in actual missionary service. The sessions of our great missionary societies, on the other hand, are largely devoted to the discussion, by home speakers, of matters involved in the home policy of the missionary societies. Questions of missionary statesmanship are treated in lengthy papers by the secretaries, and in carefully prepared reports and addresses by prominent clergymen. Comparatively little time is devoted to the accounts of work actually performed on foreign mission fields by the workers themselves. But at the meetings of the Union, men and women, who have gained their training in hand-to-hand encounters with paganism and superstition, narrate what

their own eyes have seen, and discuss missionary theories in the light of actual personal experience. For this reason, as well as on account of its comprehensiveness, and the exceedingly practical nature of all its discussions and addresses, some missionaries of the American Board have not hesitated to declare that the meetings of the Union exceed in interest and value even the famous and enthusiastic gatherings in which the constituency of the American Board so greatly and so worthily rejoices.

A few words describing the exercises of the recent meeting at Thousand Island Park, in connection with the general remarks on the character of the Union now given, will enable the reader to understand more accurately what it is and what it does. The daily sessions were always introduced with devotional exercises, which lasted usually for about an hour, and which were seasons of rich spiritual enjoyment. Necessary items of business would then be considered. Including the time spent both in devotions and in business, the morning sessions would usually occupy two hours. The afternoons were mostly given up to the discussion of practical topics; these sessions were considered by the missionaries exceedingly valuable and helpful. Two subjects which were brought forward are of the greatest importance to us at home: the one related to the best means of arousing missionary interest in our churches; the other to the Christian use of money. In connection with the former subject, Rev. W. H. Belden, of New Jersey, formerly of Bulgaria, read a very earnest paper descriptive of the simultaneous missionary meetings, first planned by the Church Missionary Society of England, and now to be tried by the Presbyterian Synod of New Jersey. It will be strange if this paper does not bear fruit in similar series of meetings elsewhere. As an introduction to the second topic mentioned, Rev. Dr. Speer, formerly of China, read a paper on the consecration of property to Christian uses. The church has not yet more than begun to realize her duties and the possibilities of service which are involved in the possession of property; it is a cheering fact that she is now awaking to some sense of what is demanded of her. A very interesting and spirited discussion on the higher education, already alluded to, revealed very plainly the fact that the missionaries do not propose to see the converts abroad left in intellectual darkness; at the same time they insist most strenuously upon an education based on Christian principles, and inclusive of Biblical training. The reports by missionaries personally cognizant of them, of wonderful instances of piety among native Christians, and of remarkable instances in which pagans themselves had, in their dissatisfaction with ancestral faiths, asked for the gospel, and had welcomed it when brought to them, were most thrilling. No less so were the accounts given by some of the missionary ladies of the transforming power of the gospel upon the faces as well as upon the character of ignorant and degraded women in China, Siam, or Ceylon. It is impossible here to particularize the addresses, frequently of exceptional interest, made by many members of the Union.

As it is one object of the International Missionary Union to diffuse missionary intelligence, and to arouse enthusiasm at home, the evening sessions were wholly given up to popular addresses on missionary work and experience in many lands. Large audiences gathered at these times, and received impressions of evangelistic work abroad which they will not soon lose.

It is not yet decided where the meeting will be held next year; probably, however, at Clifton Springs, N. Y. The meetings are all open to

any who wish to attend, and the members of the Union hope that the pastors and members of many churches will avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded of becoming familiar with missionary operations. The Union already seems to have justified its existence, and it is hardly doubtful that it can be made still more efficacious than it has yet been in securing the several ends which it was designed to foster.

C. W. Park.

BIRMINGHAM, CONN.

CURRENT GERMAN THOUGHT.

THE event of the autumn in the German theological world is the appearance of the second volume of Harnack's "*Dogmengeschichte*." The first volume of this work (1886) marked an epoch in German theology, and the influence of its principles and of its method has been very widely felt. The appearance of the second volume will be the signal for a renewed study of the first, and will doubtless extend the influence of the principles which underlie the whole work, while at the same time the sharpest controversy will be again aroused. The work may therefore be looked upon as a probable topic of German thought for some time to come, and as such I shall attempt here to point out briefly its chief characteristics, and to show in what its real significance lies, without attempting to give a review of it, or to pass any sort of a judgment upon the positions and principles of the author.

It was the original intention to complete the work with the second volume, but that has been found impracticable, and a third volume of about the size of the second will be needed to bring the history to a close. The first volume treated of the *rise* of Christian doctrine under the two divisions *Vorbereitung* and *Grundlegung*. The second and third volumes are to exhibit its *development* from the beginning of the fourth century to the present time. The second embraces "*Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Dogmas als Lehre von dem Gottmenschen auf dem Grunde der natürlichen Theologie*. Nämlich die Geschichte des Dogmas von Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts bis zu seinem Abschluss in der morgenländischen Kirche im 19. Jahrhundert."

The author is of the opinion that the dogmatic period of the church is but a single period, and he attempts accordingly in his first volume to show how and under what conditions this period began, while in the second he pictures the "classical age" of the dogmatic period, and in the third intends to show how Christian dogma in the Middle Ages, and especially in modern times, while indeed continuing in existence under one form or another, has everywhere lost its original significance as the complete and authentic expression of Christianity.

The second volume discusses the development of the Christian doctrine of the God-man. The author shows that if Augustine be left out of account, the whole doctrinal history of the Græco-Byzantine period is embraced within the frame of Christology. In his treatment of the material he combines the systematic and the historical method.

The history of Christian doctrine is treated by Harnack in the present work in a manner which varies widely from that of all previous historians. The most important points of difference may be summed up as three. In the first place he takes the word dogma in a stricter sense than his predecessors, and accordingly has attempted to write, not a his-

tory of theology in general, but of officially recognized dogma alone. The superiority of such a method is conceived to be that the peculiarity of the dogma as an ecclesiastical formula in distinction from theological speculation is thus more clearly brought out. In the second place he distinguishes sharply the earliest period of Christianity, when dogma had not yet come into existence, from the subsequent ages of the church. He thus divides the history into two periods; first: The Rise; second: The Development of Dogmas. As in the history of the canon the conditions under which it took its rise form the most important subject for investigation, so Harnack conceives of the first period, in which the ground was prepared and the foundations laid, as by far the weightiest part of the history of doctrines. By this method is brought out most clearly the difference between the original gospel and the later development of dogmas in the Christian church, and in the emphasis laid upon this difference lies a lasting service upon the part of the author. In the third place, Harnack regards the conception of dogma as such not as a natural fruit of the gospel itself, but as the combined product of the gospel and of ancient Græco-Roman thought and philosophy. As the Catholic church in other respects grew out of a union of the gospel with Græco-Roman culture, (Christian forms of worship developing under the influence of the ancient heathen mysteries, Christian literature under the influence of classical literature, the Christian ecclesiastical constitution under the influence of Græco-Roman forms of polity,) so in the opinion of the author Christian doctrine is a structure which was reared by Platonists and Stoics upon the gospel as its foundation. In this third point lies the great moment of Harnack's work. In it he introduces a principle which, if accepted, changes completely the hitherto existing conception of the growth of Christian doctrine, and is consequently epoch-making in its significance. Baur, as is well known, explained Christian dogma as a product of the conflict of Jewish and Pauline Christianity, and treated it as a natural and necessary development of the gospel itself without reference to the influence of external forces. Baur's conception was epoch-making, and its influence over enemies as well as friends was prodigious. It is Ritschl's great and lasting service that he first broke the spell of this thoroughly unhistorical scheme by showing indisputably that Jewish Christianity had no such influence in the formation of the Catholic church as had been ascribed to it. According to him, Christian doctrine as developed in the church catholic was a "verschlechterter Paulinismus" growing out of the efforts, but at the same time the utter incapacity of heathen Christians to understand and appreciate the theology of Paul, for which was required a thorough acquaintance with Judaism which had been Paul's training-school. The vital force, according to Ritschl, was therefore Paulinism, instead of a Pauline-Judaistic conflict, but in common with Baur he looked upon Christian doctrine as a development which took its rise within Christianity itself. To heathen culture he accorded only an indirect influence in so far as it was through the incapacity of those trained under it to understand and perpetuate Paulinism that the peculiar theology of the church catholic was developed. Harnack contradicts the theses both of Baur and of Ritschl, while with Ritschl he emphasizes over against Baur the absence of Jewish Christianity as a factor in the development of the church after the second century; he at the same time rejects Ritschl's position in that he shows that neither did Paulinism exert the supreme influence in the formation

of Christian doctrine, which the latter had assumed. To Harnack, in fact, the development of dogma presents itself as due, not to an inherent force within Christianity itself, — a force which has naturally brought about such a development, — but to the power of Græco-Roman philosophy working upon the gospel as its material.

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that in the positions of Ritschl and of Harnack alike it is assumed that Christian dogma as it has existed in the church catholic for more than fifteen centuries marks a degeneration from the position of Christ and his apostles. From those who hold that the dogmas which have grown up amid the strifes of the centuries and have been crystallized in our existing creeds and confessions are a glorious acquisition of history to be treasured as exponents of what Christianity is, and wishes to be, or from those who hold that they are simply an unfolding of the truth which was believed by Christ and his apostles, such an assumption can of course excite only opposition.

In so far as Harnack finds the gospel in the life of Christ rather than in doctrinal formulas he is in exact accord with Ritschl, and where Ritschl finds enemies there will Harnack also. But however we may stand in relation to the positions taken by the author of the present work, it must be acknowledged to be a work of great significance, especially under the present condition of theological opinion. It is the first really original history of Christian doctrine which has appeared in Germany since the great work of Baur, and as such is destined to leave its mark upon German thought.

Arthur C. McGiffert.

PARIS, FRANCE.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW. By JOHN A. BROADUS, D. D., LL. D. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1420 Chestnut Street.

If this book gets the recognition it deserves it will get it by conquest. Its back confronts us with the legend, "An American Commentary on the New Testament." Now, though a lover of his country is, and ought to be, long-suffering towards the diverse appeals to his favor made by employing the national prefix, though when suffering the pangs of expatriation he may even read with a certain patriotic titillation the placards of foreign shopmen advertising "American sewing-machines," "American canned meats," "American overshoes," and the like, yet a Biblical scholar, whether at home or abroad, will shake his head dubiously over a distinctively "American commentary." If his curiosity gets the better of his scruples, and he opens the book and looks at the list of more than two hundred and fifty authors who are referred to so often that their mere name (or even an abbreviation of it) must represent them in the body of the page, he is relieved to find that not one in six is an American. The learning of the book, therefore, is not of the extreme "protectionist" or "know-nothing" type.

But again: when he notices that by far the larger number of the American authors cited belong to the Baptist denomination, and reads in

the Preface that "this Commentary does not profess to be undenominational," he feels a stirring within him of that disgust which every healthy Christian soul entertains for books designed to foster denominational self-conceit and narrowness. But examination dissipates again the repugnance. The comments on the standard proof-texts in the Baptist controversy (such as chaps. iii. 6, 11; xxviii. 19) show that the author is no bigoted partisan, but a candid reasoner, who is chargeable, at the worst, only with such over-emphasis of the formal element in the rite as harmonizes rather with the genius of Judaism than with that of Christianity. The general tone of the book is thoroughly unsectarian.

Yet a third unfavorable prepossession, however, is started by the practice adopted of interspersing the exposition with whole sections devoted to "Homiletical and Practical" remarks. Such remarks, interesting and carefully culled as they are, are out of place in a "commentary." There is often no discernible reason (as, indeed, the author confesses) why many of them should be classed as "Homiletic" rather than as "Expository." In so far, moreover, as they are "pious reflections," there is no natural end to them. And when they take the form of "schemes" for sermons, they are positively pernicious. The habitual use of crutches will make any man a cripple. One who can read our author's expositions of the Sermon on the Mount or of the Parables without discovering that they are abundantly "profitable for teaching," may safely conclude that he has no "call" to be a preacher. The omission of all this homiletic material would have been a positive advantage to the book by reducing its size.

But the reader who disregards the repellent suggestions started by the external and incidental particulars mentioned, and examines the Commentary proper, will form a high estimate of its merits. It is the product of honest, thorough, scholarly, first-hand work. Every page of it gives token of wide learning, ripe culture, good judgment. These qualities, indeed, will be looked for by all who are acquainted with Dr. Broadus's previous publications; but they are exhibited here in a new field, and to a degree so unusual that the reader is not surprised to learn that the book "has been on hand more than twenty years," and "considerable portions of it have been twice or thrice rewritten."

Into the discussions of Higher Criticism the Commentary does not enter. The broad preliminary questions respecting Matthew's sources, the date of our present Gospel, its original language, its relations to the other Synoptists, are passed over. The author simply recognizes the fact that Matthew groups his material topically rather than chronologically, adheres to the current opinion that our Lord's ministry occupied about three years and a half, and then troubles neither himself nor his reader about delicate harmonistic problems. This course is a wise one in a commentary designed for general use; at any rate, it leaves the more space for exposition.

In matters of Textual Criticism the author has not exercised the like self-restraint. Where the text is doubtful and the variant materially affects the sense, the evidence has been briefly presented and considered in foot-notes. These discussions indicate an acceptance in general of the conclusions of the later critics, particularly Westcott and Hort, yet evince at the same time an independent and intelligent judgment.

The foot-notes further contain occasional discussions of points of Greek grammar, and also of single Greek and Hebrew words, such as those for

"servant," "master," "preach," "happy," "world," "eternal," "soul," and the like; but throughout the Commentary the only character employed is the Latin.

Respecting matters of doctrine, and the general authority of the Scriptures, the author's views have a decided leaning towards conservatism. But he is not haunted by a nervous solicitude either to explain every difficulty or else explain it away. More than once he frankly declares that the attempt to find spiritual food always and everywhere is unreasonable, and dishonoring to the Bible, which is "not a book of riddles, but must be interpreted on principles of common sense or it cannot be interpreted at all." While he does not blink the theological aspects of a text, he never by partisanship forfeits a reader's respect. Some of his discussions of much-debated passages — chap. xvi. 18, may be taken as a specimen — are pre-eminently manly and scholarly.

Of course critical scrutiny will here and there detect statements which are dubious at the best; such as (page 104) that the symbolic use of fire, in chap. v. 22, was derived from the alleged fiery sacrifices to Moloch, over which even the preceding page confesses there hangs much obscurity; that the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians observed a weekly day of rest called by the name of the Sabbath (page 260); that our Christian Sabbath appears to have been "changed by the Apostles" from the seventh to the first day of the week. And some readers certainly will be disposed to modify the statement or the solution of such problems as our Lord's use of Psalm cx. in chap. xxii. 43 ff., and his reported utterances respecting the Parousia. In the latter case, indeed, our author at one moment, in his remarks on chap. x. 23, seems about to get a glimpse of the solution which the "historic" principle affords. Yet in the palmary passage, chap. xvi. 27 f., which unquestionably combines the "coming" at the destruction of Jerusalem and the "coming" to judgment, and so confronts an interpreter with the whole problem in a nutshell, our author contents himself with saying: "The sudden transition from the final coming for judgment to this nearer coming at the destruction of Jerusalem is repeatedly paralleled in chap. 24." And in commenting on chap. xxvi. 64, he intercalates (apparently unconsciously) after the phrase "sitting on the right hand of power," the words here italicized: "*and finally they would behold his second coming on the clouds,*" etc.

It should have been explicitly stated earlier, perhaps, that the Commentary takes as its basis the English text, and gives the current version and the revised in parallel columns. It would have been more in harmony with the high scholarship which in general characterizes the work had Dr. Scrivener's Cambridge Paragraph Bible been taken as the representative of our common version, instead of the American Bible Society's edition. The history of the modifications which that version has undergone would not then have occasionally escaped notice; the marginal note, for example, now appearing at chap. vi. 1, was not added till the year 1762 (see Scrivener, page xxxii). And, alike in the case of the Authorized Version and of the Revision, the marginal renderings should have been recorded not "usually" merely, but without exception. Incidentally it may be added here, that those for whom the "Index of Authors" was made would find its helpfulness increased if the information given were supplemented by mentioning in every instance the date and place of publication of (the best edition of) the works named.

The brief discussions, in their appropriate places, of the divers archaeological and geographical topics, such as the Jordan, Galilee and its Sea, Pharisees and Sadducees, Samaritans, phylacteries, demoniacal possession, etc., are not as in the average "popular commentaries" with which this work may be unjustly confounded, hasty and indiscriminate compilations from the most accessible books of reference, but evidently rest on a wide range of the best ancient and modern sources, and often happily condense much trustworthy information into narrow limits.

In fine, we have here a commentary marked by original study, ripe scholarship, conspicuous thoroughness, fairness, good sense. While the bulk of the work is addressed to English readers, there is much which will be serviceable to the most scholarly ministers. We may search long for a work in English on the First Gospel, which, taken for all in all, is equal to it; in vain, for its superior.

J. H. Thayer.

CAMBRIDGE.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES. By PATON J. GLOAG, D. D., Minister of Galashiels; author of "An Introduction to the Pauline Epistles," "A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles," etc. Pp. xvi, 416. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1887.

Our English literature of New Testament Introduction has not kept pace with the German. Our best books on this subject are translations of German works, and the recent treatises of Holtzmann and Weiss, both of which are crammed full of facts and acute criticism, are not yet accessible to English readers. There is room, and there ought to be a brisk demand, for first-class works in this line. This book of Dr. Gloag's covers only part of the ground, but what it does it does well. It is a more thorough piece of work than his "Introduction to the Pauline Epistles." The author does not claim credit for original research, but he has studied the best books to good purpose, and gives a clear, candid, and impartial statement of divergent views and theories. On most points he agrees with the views most widely current among evangelical Christians, on some his judgment is in suspense, and sometimes he gives no intimation of his own opinion, but contents himself with a clear and fair statement of the arguments of opposing schools. In the preface a recent writer is criticised because he does not always estimate adequately the objections of his opponents. It can be said of Dr. Gloag, that he not only treats opponents with respect, but sincerely endeavors to give full value to their arguments.

The customary topics are treated, viz., the authenticity, authorship, readers, etc., of the several Epistles; and there are dissertations upon certain special difficulties and disputed questions, which add much both to the bulk and the value of the book. The subjects of these dissertations are: The Pauline and Jacobean Views of Justification; Resemblances in the Epistle of James to the Sermon on the Mount, the Epistles of Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the First Epistle of Peter, and the Apocrypha; The Anointing of the Sick; Peter's Residence in Rome; Petrine Theology; The Eschatology of Peter; Relation between 2 Peter and Jude; The Heavenly Witnesses; Gnosticism as referred to in John's Epistle; The Assumption of Moses; and The Book of Enoch.

In the discussion of the Petrine doctrine of sin, after saying that Peter regards sin chiefly from an ethical point of view as that which corrupts

and pollutes the soul, and that he dwells on sin as having its seat in the soul in the form of evil desires and lusts, Dr. Gloag states the apostle's teaching concerning the relation of the knowledge of the gospel to human sinfulness as follows: "Before the preaching of the gospel, these sinful lusts and actions arose from ignorance (*ἀγνοια*); hence he warns his readers against 'the former lusts in their ignorance' (i. 14). But after the promulgation of the gospel, they become willful transgressions — disobedience to the gospel. Hence sin not merely polluted the soul, but it exposed to punishment; there was not only defilement, but guilt; but still the chief element in sin, according to Peter, is its defiling nature."

The discussion of 1 Peter iii. 18-20 is cautious and sober, and free from offensive dogmatism. Especial attention is asked to his treatment of this subject on account of the fact that some of our religious journals have claimed Dr. Gloag as a supporter of their own view, and by judiciously selected quotations have *seemed* to make good their claim. This is the penalty the author has been made to pay for stating so impartially the view to which he does not himself incline. In a note on page 180 he gives this brief exegesis of the passage: "The two datives, *σαρκί* and *πνεύματι*, can only be understood adverbially; that as regards his flesh, Christ was put to death, and as regards his spirit He was quickened. Hence the translation in the Authorized Version is wrong, and that of the Revised Version is correct. The verb *ζωοποιηθεῖς* does not mean preserved or remained alive, but made alive, the antithesis to *θανατωθεῖς*. *ἐν ᾧ* is not, as in the Authorized Version, *by which*, but, as in the Revised Version, *in which*: in which spirit, made alive, Christ went. *πορευθεῖς* certainly suggests a local transference. *ἐκήρυξεν* is here equivalent to *εὐηγγελίστατο*, *went and preached*, namely, the gospel, for so only can the word be understood with reference to Christ. *τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν* are the disembodied spirits in Hades, who were shut up, as in a prison, waiting their final doom. These spirits are further described as *ἀπειθήσασιν ποτε*, 'sometime, or formerly, disobedient,' unbelieving. And the period of their disobedience is described as that when 'the long-suffering of God was waiting in the days of Noah,' namely, during the hundred and twenty years (Gen. vi. 3) while the ark was preparing." A very careful statement is made of the views of those who hold that this passage represents Christ as preaching in person in Hades, and also of those who think it teaches that He preached mediately by his spirit, and that not in Hades, but in this world. Immediately after these statements the strongest objections to the view under discussion are given, and also the replies made to these objections. The view that Christ preached the gospel to the disobedient spirits in Hades is characterized as "plausible," and as "giving a good interpretation to the passage"; but of the opposing view, that the preaching alluded to is that of the Spirit of Christ through Noah to the disobedient at the time of the deluge, he says, after weighing carefully the arguments in its favor and setting aside as groundless some of the objections that have been made to it: "On the whole, however, the feeling remains, that the above interpretation is somewhat far-fetched and somewhat forced." Yet he is so cautious as to conclude with the statement: "The meaning of the passage must be left in uncertainty. It is one of those obscure statements of Scripture on which it is impossible to dogmatize, and any inference derived from which must be extremely problematical." The concluding paragraph of this dissertation is worthy of careful consideration: "The doctrine of a future state, especially that

which relates to the intermediate state, is a profound mystery; eschatology relates to the darkest enigmas of revelation; an impenetrable veil hangs over our condition after death which it has not pleased God to remove. 'It doth not yet appear what we shall be.' We dare not affirm anything positive concerning such a mysterious subject. We have few data to proceed upon. We cannot speak with confidence concerning an eternal hope with regard to those who have died impenitent, however anxious we may be to believe it, in the face of our Lord's strong declarations concerning the undying worm, the unquenchable fire, the impassable gulf fixed between the righteous and the wicked, and especially as the same term (*αἰώνιος*) is employed to denote the duration of the happiness of the righteous and the misery of the wicked. On the other hand, everlasting punishment is a subject too awful to contemplate, a full realization of which would convert this world, to every benevolent mind, into a scene of unparalleled woe. Here dogmatism is entirely out of place. We must leave the fate of the departed with the Judge of all the earth, who must inevitably do right and whose name and nature is love; but whilst we fear his justice, we are still permitted to hope in his mercy." Seemingly significant of the trend of the author's thinking is his quotation of the opinion of Bishop Martensen, who conceives that both everlasting punishment and universal restoration are unequivocally taught in Scripture; that there is here "an apparent contradiction between two laws equally divine, and which consequently cannot find a perfectly conclusive and satisfactory solution in the present stage, the earthly limits of human knowledge."

These passages are sufficient to show that the author is not a dogmatist who is absolutely certain that he possesses the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth concerning the difficult problems of human destiny, but an earnest and sincere thinker, who keeps his mind open for the reception of new truth, and has some adequate sense of the limitations of human knowledge.

A few errors have been noted, most of which seem to be due to careless proof-reading; e. g. on page 5 catholic is said to be "synonymous with *exegetical* (?) or circular"; on page 15 the translation of a passage from the Muratorian canon gives *three* Epistles of John, where the number should be two (the Latin foot-note gives *duas*); on page 104 "*venal* sins" takes the place of the customary phraseology, and on page 162 it is said that the spirit of Christ was in the *apostles* testifying beforehand of the sufferings of Christ, where obviously *prophets* are meant. There are some mistakes of a more serious nature. On page 118 it is said that Huther "wavers in his opinion" as to the dependence of 1 Peter upon the Pauline Epistles. "In one place he observes: 'The similarity between particular passages of Peter's Epistle and Paul's other Epistles is not of such a nature as to warrant the conclusion that there is a dependence of the former upon the latter;' whilst elsewhere he appears to admit such a dependence." The author must have failed to notice the word *other* in his quotation, for the fact is that Huther admits the dependence of 1 Peter upon Romans and Ephesians, but not upon Paul's *other* Epistles.

In his references to the use of the Catholic Epistles by Clement of Alexandria, the author is hardly self-consistent. On page 323 he quotes the statement of Eusebius, "In the work called Hypotyposes he (Clement) has given us abridged accounts of all the canonical Scriptures, not

even omitting those that are disputed, namely, the book of Jude and the other Catholic Epistles," and draws the inference that "Clement was acquainted with the seven Catholic Epistles." On page 207 he says that Clement's acquaintance with 2 Peter has been inferred from this statement, but does not himself expressly accept the inference as sound; while on page 339, in the discussion of 3 John, he says: "If what Eusebius says of Clemens Alexandrinus is to be taken in its full extent . . . then this Epistle was known to Clement." A comparison of the general statement of Eusebius with the more specific one of Cassiodorus in his "Introduction to the Reading of Holy Scripture," has led most scholars to the conclusion that Clement recognized as canonical all of the Catholic epistles except James, 2 Peter, and 3 John (see Westcott on the canon, page 357), and there is no room for an inference which covers the seven Catholic Epistles.

But the blemishes are only a drop in the bucket. For its mastery of the literature of the subject, its sound judgment, and its absence of dogmatism and partisan bias, this work is to be heartily commended.

F. E. Woodruff.

GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Kirchliches Handlexicon. Ein Hilfsbuch zur Orientierung auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Theologie und Kirche. In Verbindung mit einer Anzahl evangelisch-lutherischer Theologen herausgegeben von Dr. Carl Mensel, unter Mitwirkung von C. Haack und B. Lehmann. Erster Band. A bis Columna. Leipzig: Naumann. 1887. 8vo, pp. 800. 10 mks. — The present work aims to fill a place which, in spite of the great number of German theological encyclopædias already in existence, has hitherto remained vacant. The intention of the editors is to produce a brief, but at the same time comprehensive, handbook which shall embrace the whole field of religion and theology, and yet fill but four moderate sized volumes. Such a work cannot, of course, aspire to take the place of a Herzog or of the great Biblical, geographical, and biographical dictionaries of Smith and of others, but it will render excellent service in giving in a condensed form the main facts upon the various subjects which are treated with such fullness in those larger works. If the character of the whole may be judged from the first volume, the work may be recommended as filling its purpose admirably. It is in the hands of conservative theologians, and is intended to represent evangelical Lutheranism of the present day. The names of the various contributors have not yet appeared, but will be published with the last volume. The work appears in installments of eighty pages each, at intervals of a few weeks; the tenth, which has just been issued, completing the first volume. The whole is to embrace four large octavo volumes, each of 800 double-columned pages. — *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien.* Hermann Reuter zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet von Theodor Brieger, Paul Tschackert, Theod. Kolde, Fried. Loofs, und Karl Mirbt. Mit einer Beigabe von August Reuter. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1888. 8vo, pp. 351. 8 mks. — These studies are dedicated to the celebrated Göttingen Church Historian by six of his former pupils. They are upon widely varied subjects, but each is worthy

of careful perusal, and the book as a whole is exceedingly valuable. Professor Loofs discusses *Die Handschriften der lateinischen Uebersetzung des Irenaeus und ihre Kapiteleinteilung* (pp. 1-93) in a most exhaustive manner. The article will form a most valuable adjunct to the editions of Stieren and of Harvey. In fact, no patristic student can afford to overlook it. Karl Mirbt follows with an interesting paper upon a subject of importance both to the church and secular historian, *Die Absetzung Heinrichs IV. durch Gregor VII. in der Publicistik jener Zeit* (pp. 97-144). Professor Tschackert, in possession of a mass of hitherto unpublished material, contributes a biographical paper, *Georg von Polentz, Bischof von Samland*. Ein Charakterbild unter Benutzung vieler archiepiscopalischer Quellen entworfen. . . . Mit einer Auswahl ungedruckter Briefe des Bischofs (pp. 145-194). By Professor Kolde, *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte*, including: 1. *Wie wurde Cochleus zum Gegner Luthers?* 2. *Das zweite Breve Adrians an Friedrich den Weisen vom Jahre 1522*. 3. *Zum Prozess des Johann Denk und "der drei gottlosen Maler von Nürnberg."* 4. *Nürnberg und Luther vor dem Reichstage zu Augsburg 1530* (pp. 195-263). All of these studies rest upon recently discovered letters and upon other documents hitherto unpublished. Professor Brieger also makes an important contribution to the history of the Reformation in his paper *Die Torgauer Artikel*. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Augsburgerischen Confession (pp. 265-320). The appendix contains an article by August Reuter, *Zu dem Augustinischen Fragment "De Arte rhetorica,"* in which we are made more intimately acquainted with St. Augustine as a rhetorician. — *Neutestamentliche Schriften*, griechisch, mit kurzer Erklärung, von Siegfried Goebel, Hofprediger in Halberstadt. Erstes bis fünftes Heft, enthaltend die älteren Briefe des Paulus. Heft I: Die Briefe an die Thessalonicher, 8vo, pp. 38. Price 80 pf. Heft II: Der Brief an die Galater, pp. 35. Price 80 pf. Heft III: Erster Korintherbrief, pp. 92. Price 1.60 mks. Heft IV: Zweiter Korintherbrief, pp. 75. Price 1.60 mks. Heft V: Römerbrief, pp. vi, 125. 2.20 mks. Gesamtband, price 7 mks. Gotha: Perthes, 1887. — The present work contains the Greek text (after Tischendorf's last edition, with occasional alterations) and a running commentary in the form of foot-notes, which occupy from two thirds to three fourths of each page. The form is one which is very familiar to English students, but to the Germans, who devote themselves chiefly to the production of extensive critical commentaries, it is almost unknown. The notes in the present work are very brief, but, as far as they go, are well adapted to elucidate the text. They are chiefly grammatical and linguistic, not of a homiletical character. The author's theological position is conservative, but controversy is sedulously avoided, and the presentation of the views of other commentators is of necessity dispensed with. The convenient form of the work (each epistle composing as it does a separate Heft, which contains at once text and notes) will undoubtedly give it an extensive circulation, and it is hoped promote a wider study of the epistles in the original tongue. — *Vorträge der theologischen Konferenz zu Giessen*, gehalten am 9. Juni 1887. W. Herrmann: *Der Begriff der Offenbarung*. K. Müller: *Bericht über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Forschung auf dem Gebiet der vorreformatorischen Zeit*. Giessen: Ricker. 1887. Pp. 65. 1 mk. — The lecture of Herrmann, although brief, is of great significance. The author's general position is well known (he is one of the leaders of the Ritschlian School), and the present lecture falls into line with his other

works. His main thesis is that that alone is a revelation of God to us *by which God makes of us new creatures*. The lecture of Müller presents a most thorough discussion of a subject upon which he is an acknowledged authority. — *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, von Prof. Dr. Adolf Harnack. Zweiter Band: *Die Entwicklung des kirchlichen Dogmas I.* Freiburg i. Br.: Mohr. 1887. 8vo, pp. xvi, 483. 9 mks. — For this work see the article on Current German Thought in the present number of the "Review," p. 548. — *Die Dialoge des "Adamantius" mit den Gnostikern*, von Theodor Zahn. Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, Bd. IX., Heft 2 und 3, pp. 193-239. — A critical discussion of the Pseudo-Origenistic dialogues of "Adamantius" with the Gnostics, of which a newly discovered Latin version by Rufinus was published by Professor Caspari in 1883. Zahn considers the Greek text, which lies at the base of Rufinus's version, to be an older form than that which exists in our Greek manuscripts, and concludes that the original work was written between 300 and 313 A. D., probably in the neighborhood of Antioch, and that at the base of the dialogues lies an anti-Gnostic work which was used also by Irenæus and Tertullian: namely (according to Zahn), the work of Theophilus of Antioch against Marcion (upon which work compare Zahn's *Forschungen*, Heft II, and against his results Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. I. Heft IV, a criticism which caused Zahn to present greatly modified conclusions in Heft IV. of his "Forschungen"). — *Melancthon's politische Stellung auf dem Reichstag zu Augsburg 1530*, von Dr. H. Virck. Ibid. Bd. IX., Heft 1, pp. 67-104, and Heft 2 und 3, pp. 293-340. — This careful and exceedingly interesting study, to be mentioned in connection with the *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien* noticed above, discusses very freely the conduct of Melancthon at the Reichstag, and brings out most clearly his lamentable weakness displayed there. At the same time the general course of the Reichstag is described, together with the positions taken by the other leaders of the two parties.

Arthur C. McGiffert.

PARIS, FRANCE.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Boston and Chicago.
The Royal Service, or the King's Seal. By Kate W. Hamilton, author of "Rachel's Share of the Road," "We Three," "Tangles and Corners," etc. Pp. 192. 1887. \$1.00; — *In Black and Gold. A Story of Twin Dragons.* By Julia McNair Wright, author of "Bricks from Babel," "Mr. Standfast's Journey," "Rasmus," "Grahame's Laddie," "The Early Church in Britain," etc., etc. Pp. 400. 1887. \$1.50.
Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. American Statesmen. Patrick Henry. By Moses Coit Tyler. 16mo, pp. 398. 1887. \$1.25; — *The Gates Between.* By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. 16mo, pp. 222. 1887. \$1.25; — *Well-Worn Roads of Spain, Holland, and Italy, Traveled by a Painter in Search of the Picturesque.* By F. Hopkinson Smith. 16mo, pp. 121. 1887. \$1.25; — *Wit, Wisdom, and Beauties of Shakespeare.* Edited by Clarence Stuart Ward. 16mo, pp. 188. 1887. \$1.25; — *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson.* By James Elliot Cabot. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. viii, 809. 1887. \$3.50. — *Our Hundred Days in Europe.* By Oliver Wendell Holmes. 12mo, pp.

329. 1887. \$1.50; — Jack the Fisherman. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. With Illustrations by C. W. Reed. 16mo, pp. 59. 1887. 50 cents; — The Unseen King, and other Verses. By Caroline Leslie Field. Pp. 73. 1887. \$1.00.

Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. What To Do? Thoughts Evoked by the Census of Moscow. By Count Lyof N. Tolstoi. Translated from the Russian by Isabel F. Hapgood. Pp. 273. 1887. \$1.25; — The Invaders, and other Stories. By Count Lyof N. Tolstoi. Translated from the Russian by Nathan Haskell Dole. Pp. 343. 1887. \$1.25; — St. Paul's Problem and its Solution. By Faye Huntington. Pp. 218. 1887; — My Confession, and The Spirit of Christ's Teaching. By Count Lyof N. Tolstoi. Translated from the Russian. Pp. 242. 1887. \$1.00.

Funk & Wagnalls, New York. Hints on Early Education and Nursery Discipline. Pp. 95. 1887; — The People's Bible; Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By Joseph Parker, D. D., Minister of the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, London; author of "Ecce Deus," "The Paraclete," "The Priesthood of Christ," "Springdale Abbey," "The Inner Life of Christ," "Ad Clerum," "The Ark of God," "Apostolic Life," "Tyne Chylde," "Weaver Stephen," etc. Vol. VI. Judges vi.-1 Samuel xviii. Pp. 354. 1887.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. The Science of Thought. By F. Max Müller. In two volumes. Pp. xxix, 656. 1887. \$4.00; — Christian Facts and Forces. By Newman Smyth, D. D., LL. D. 12mo. 1887. \$1.50.

Scribner & Welford, New York. Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students. Edited by Rev. Marcus Dods, D. D., and Rev. Alexander Whyte, D. D. The Gospel of St. Luke, Chapters xiii.-xxiv. By Thomas M. Lindsay, D. D. 1887; — Apologia Ad Hebraeos, the Epistle (and Gospel) to the Hebrews. Pp. 268. By Zenas. Pp. 493. 1887; — System of Christian Ethics. By Dr. I. A. Dorner, Oberconsistorialrath and Professor of Theology, Berlin. Edited by Dr. A. Dorner. Translated by Professor C. M. Mead, D. D., formerly Professor of Hebrew in Andover Theological Seminary, and Rev. R. T. Cunningham, M. A. Pp. 611. 1887.

Thomas Whittaker, New York. Of the Doctrine of Morality in its Relation to the Grace of Redemption. By Robert B. Fairbairn, D. D., LL. D., Warden of St. Stephen's College, Annandale, New York. Pp. 324. 1887. \$1.50; — The Theological Educator. Rev. Charles Hole's Manual of the Book of Common Prayer. Pp. 276. 1887. 75 cents; — The Vine out of Egypt, or The Growth and Development of the American Episcopal Church, with Special Reference to the Church Life of the Future. By Wm. Wilberforce Newton, author of "Essays of To-day," "Priest and Man," "Summer Sermons." Pp. 153. 1887. 50 cents.

Office of "Words of Reconciliation," Philadelphia. The Fire of God's Anger; or, Light from the Old Testament upon the New Testament Teaching concerning Future Punishment. By L. C. Baker, author of "Mystery of Creation and of Man," Editor of "Words of Reconciliation." Pp. 282. 1887.

Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Wind Flowers. By J. Luella Dowd Smith, author of "Wayside Leaves." Pp. 231. 1887. \$1.00.

Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn. Atonement. Review of Atonement and Law (Armour). S. G. Burney, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Systematic Theology, Cumberland University. Pp. 239. 1887.

PAMPHLETS. — *Government Printing Office.* Annual Report of the Commissioner of Pensions for 1887. Pp. 95. 1887. — *Alfred Mudge & Son, Boston.* The Congregational Churches and Christian Education. A Paper read before the National Council of Congregational Churches, during its Sixth Triennial Session, at Chicago, October 19, 1886. By Rev. George H. Ide, D. D. Pp. 22. 1887. — *At the Bookstores, New York.* God in Creation and in Worship. By a Clergyman. Pp. 96. 1887. — *Published by the Author, Battle Creek, Michigan.* Alatypes or Stenography. A System of Condensed Printing, together with The Elements of Alagraphy or Syllabic Short-Hand. By Henry H. Brown. Pp. 92. 1887. — *Published by the Author, Boston.* Christian

Science : No and Yes. By Mary Baker G. Eddy, President of Massachusetts Metaphysical College. Pp. 56. 1887. — *Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Boston and Chicago.* Vesper Service. For the Use of Congregations, Colleges, Schools and Academies, for Sunday Evening Worship. By Rev. J. T. Duryea, D. D. Vesper Service I. and II. Pp. 12 and 13. — *Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London.* The Origin of Worship and the Genesis of Belief. A Paper read before the Croyden Socratic Society on December 8, 1886. By J. H. Mitchiner, F. R. A. S. Pp. 24. 1887. One shilling. — *Cupples, Hurd & Co., Boston.* The Right of Property and the Ownership of Land. By W. T. Harris. — *Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Herbert B. Adams, Editor. Fifth Series. IX. The Predictions of Hamilton and De-Tocqueville. By James Bryce, M. P. Pp. 57. 1887. 25 cents. — *Akademische Buchdruckerei, von F. Straub, Munich.* Introduction to the Inscriptions Discovered by Mons. E. De Sarzec. Part of a Dissertation presented to the Philosophical Faculty, University of Leipsic, to obtain the Degree of Dr. of Philosophy. By Ira Maurice Price, Chicago, U. S. A. Pp. 32. 1887. — *Georg Reichardt's Verlag, Leipzig: Williams & Northgate, London.* Theologischer Jahresbericht, unter Mitwirkung von Benrath, Böhringer, Dreyer, Ehlers, Furrer, Hasenclever, Holtzmann, Kind, Lüdemann, Marbach, Nippold, Seyerlen, Siegfried, Werner. Herausgegeben von R. A. Lipsius. Sechster Band, enthaltend Die Literatur des Jahres 1886. Pp. 527. 1887. — *R. Beresford, Washington, D. C.* Biographical Sketch of John G. Deane, and brief mention of his connection with the Northeastern Boundary of Maine. Copied by permission of the Maine State Historical Society ; also, Memoranda about Members of the Family, Old Residents of the City of Ellsworth, Maine, etc. Prepared by, and printed for, his son, Llewellyn Deane, June, 1885, for private use. Pp. 70. 1887.

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Leonard Scott Publication Co., Philadelphia, Pa. Shakespeariana, August, September, 1887. \$1.50 per annum ; — The Scriptures and Christianity versus Theology. By a Layman. 1887. 10 cents ; — The Proposed School of Biblical Archaeology and Philology in the East. By Henry W. Hulbert. 1887 ; — Ultramontaniam is unlawful in the United States, "A Plea for American Home-Rule contra Rome-Rule on account of the McGlynn Case." By Adolph Hepner. 1887. 10 cents.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

I HAVE elsewhere ("The Independent," January 14, 1886,) tried to call attention to the study of our social questions as a proper part of University discipline. It seemed to me that this whole range of movements, looking toward philanthropy and reform, and forming so conspicuous an element in modern social life, ought to be accepted as new material in a liberal education. No sooner do young men or young women leave their colleges than they are called, in the present state of American society, to an interest in these affairs. Such a student must take his part in the charities of his town, or must give his vote concerning temperance, or finds himself thrown into the midst of a labor agitation, or is called to some service for the cause of the Indian. To separate himself from such questions is to withdraw himself altogether from the larger life and broader interests of his community. The moment one takes his place in the organism of social life he discovers a demand such as has never been felt before for intelligent and disciplined views in such affairs. He finds not only that these are the burning problems of the time, but that if they are not frankly faced they are likely to become its tragic problems. A very few years ago they were the concerns of specialists in philosophy or in political economy, but they are now questions concerning which every educated person must have an opinion, however crude it may be. A few years ago, for instance, the administration of charity had seemed to be systematized under a few beneficent institutions and the mechanism of State Boards, but now a new science of charity has been developed, with principles never fully recognized before, and with methods which demand a new accession of intelligent sympathy. A few years ago the problems of marriage and divorce seemed to be

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matters for legal experts and legislative action. Now they are seen to be questions involving our whole national life, threatening that unit of civilization which has lain since prehistoric times in the institution of the family, and depending, not on technical action in a single profession, but on a quickened public sentiment concerning the sanctity of the home. Temperance agitation is manifesting in these very years so amazing an increase of rational method that no educated man or woman can now escape the responsibility of a personal decision and influence. The discipline of the criminal classes, the regulation of the Indian tribes, — these again are matters which have been taken out of the hands of specialists and have been seen to involve the intelligence and the conscience of the whole community. The transition is most marked, though not more real, in what we call the labor question. A few years ago the relations between employers and employed seemed finally determined at the hands of the economists. They had their inevitable adjustments and their invariable laws. Political economy appeared to be so completed a science that in 1876 the Hon. Robert Low declared that it seemed to him to have no more work to do. Now, with a sudden and startling uprising in all civilized countries, these same discussions have taken on a new meaning. They have been snatched by plain people from the economists' hands. The victims of these necessary laws cry out against them. They will either break these laws, iron though such laws may be, or they will counteract them with new laws, born of the new time. Thus, throughout Europe and America has spread a startling gospel of discontent, creating its mass of inflaming literature, inculcating a crude creed for the ignorant, involving the prosperity and permanence of our social life, and finding among us a great moral and intellectual unpreparedness to meet the situation. In such a state of things the duty of the colleges is clear. It is in them that the hope of discriminating, far-sighted, and intelligent views must lie. A man has grave disadvantages who begins these studies amid the pressure and prejudices of his active interests. It is in the calmness and the untainted atmosphere of academic life that the first principles of such studies can best be found. Fortunately for our future, the colleges and the seminaries of the country are rapidly recognizing the new demand made upon them by these new problems of social life. In a half dozen of our universities, instruction — more or less thorough and explicit — is already directed to this end, and a new department of liberal education appears to be forming

which ought to be stimulating and elevating alike to those who teach and to those who learn.

Such is the subject, regarded as one of direct and practical usefulness. I now desire, however, to say of it something more than this. For it is not alone by being useful that a study is justified in a liberal education. A university is not the place for a purely technical discipline. The question still remains whether the studies which I have described can be philosophically pursued; whether, that is to say, they may be regarded as illustrations of the principles which control and interpret human life. This would be to deal, not merely with the study of the social questions, but with the philosophy of the social questions, — and this is the further step which I now wish to take. I do not merely say that the student of social questions is learning things which he will be glad to know, and thinking of the things of which the world about him is most seriously thinking; I do not merely say that information about such affairs is a demand of modern education, and that to send thousands of young people into American life, as our colleges do every year, without any preparation for these large conflicts of opinion, and to call these people educated, will soon seem worse than absurd; I say that these large movements of social life open before the student into philosophical principles, surprising alike in their nearness and their scope, and that they reaffirm and verify, by a hitherto unused method, some of the profoundest impulses and principles of human life. This is the proposition on which I wish to dwell. Taking the study of social questions as material, to what large conclusions does it lead? Regarding these diverse phenomena as illustrations of human life, what are the laws of human life which they illustrate? Beginning with these immediate and easily observed data of social experience, into what principles of human conduct is the student led? This is the point with which I now wish to deal.

I name, first, among these larger results of the study of social questions a clearer sense of the relation between economic science and ethics. Here is a matter which has been of late much debated. On the one hand have stood the orthodox economists with their abstract and deductive science, announcing laws with no moral content or intention whatever; and on the other hand there have ranged themselves the whole series of prophetic utterances, beginning with the passionate outburst of Carlyle, taken up by the lyric protest of Ruskin, and now repeated in sterner tones by the masses themselves, demanding that political economy shall be

transformed into a moral science, dealing with what ought to be, describing other terms of union than the "cash nexus," growing from "roots of honor" and multiplying "not commercial profits but healthy souls." Here, as is well known, is the source of that disaffection and revolution which political economy has lately witnessed. The old school and the new are divided by their different conception of the relation of their science to the sense of duty.

Now let a man with any degree of thoroughness consider the methods of our social questions, and he becomes aware of two important truths. One is, that such movements must proceed through the mechanism of economic laws. They cannot be regulated by sentimentalism or by conscience alone. They must discover and conform to the methods of science. Thus charity becomes a blessing only as it works under economic principles. Sentimental charity has had its day; scientific charity has just begun its usefulness. So, again, temperance reform has set itself to discover practicable and scientific methods, and its great achievements must be reached through an absolute conformity to the economic principles of social life. Yet, on the other hand, it is equally obvious that no method in the social questions has any motive power in itself. What gives impulse and force to a social movement is not the method which it pursues but the moral intent which it conveys. Charity must be scientific, but the sentiment of charity moves the science of charity. Wise temperance reform is good political economy, but political economy was never the dynamic of temperance reform. Thus economic science provides the mechanism, and the sense of duty provides the power. Sentiment without science is like steam unapplied to its proper work. It seethes and boils and threatens with its tumultuous vitality until it is compressed in its proper engine. Science without sentiment is mechanism without steam, ingenious and complete, but without the dynamic which gives it motion and power. Is not this the true relation between economics and ethics in the commercial world? It is quite true, as the orthodox economists declare, that the principles of their science are independent of the hopes, fears, duties, or desires of life. They are the adjusted mechanism through which life has to weave its destiny of good or evil. They are principles which may be analyzed with the same calmness and remoteness from practical intent with which the chemist examines his compound, careless whether it is a poison or an antidote. Yet it is equally true that the principles of economic science have no self-acting quality for

usefulness. They demand behind their mechanism an impulse of moral purpose. The chemist completes his analysis, and then the physician takes up his results and applies them to the healing of disease. This is the precise transition which economic science is now witnessing. It is not a revolution which discards economic methods, but it is a great moral, arising, acting through the mechanism of science with the power of an awakened conscience. Let the mechanism fail, and we have the impracticable dreams and sentimental vagaries which are now so often expressed as substitutes for economic science; let the ethical dynamic fail, and we have a science which may be complete in itself, beautiful, like an engine in its intricate adjustments, interesting, like a chemist's analysis as a contribution to truth, but dead, like an engine without steam, dangerous as chemical compounds in untrained hands, because unapplied by the disciplined mind to the practical issues for which it was made. A twofold teaching then runs through these social questions, and it is the very teaching which, in the social distresses of the time, we need to hear. "Mechanism," says the greatest of contemporary philosophers, Lotze, in perhaps the most important words of modern philosophy, "is everywhere essential yet everywhere subordinate." To revolt from the mechanism of economics and to demand that morals shall supply its laws, — that is the one peril of the social questions. To rest in the mechanism, satisfied with its completeness and indifferent to its application, that is the other. To accept the principles of economics as the method of profitable philanthropy, as one accepts the laws of the natural world as the method of profitable living, and then to illuminate and penetrate these principles with the dynamic of a moral purpose, — that is the way of social order, progress, and peace.

I name next, as a result of the study of these social questions, their contribution to a new method of ethics. It is a curious fact that ethics has almost always been a dull study. It seems to deal with the most practical of human interests, its material is alive and near; conduct and duty ought to make the most stimulating of subjects for study; yet we must confess that among the most lifeless literature must be classified the text-books of ethics. Its method has been deductive, introspective, psychological; it has dissected and tabulated the impulses and emotions of life until they lie before us, not like the fresh growths of the flowers of the field, but like the dried specimens of an herbarium. "Never before," as has been wittily said, "had human nature been so neatly

dissected, so handily assorted, or so ornamentally packed up. The virtues and vices, the appetites, emotions, affections, and sentiments stood each in their appointed corner, and with their appropriate label, to wait in neat expectation for the season of the professional lectures, and the literary world only delayed their acquiescence in a uniform creed of moral philosophy till they should have arranged to their satisfaction whether the appetites should be secreted in the cupboard or paraded on the chimney-piece; or whether certain of the less creditable packets ought in law and prudence, or ought not in charity, to be ticketed 'Poison.' Now, what does moral philosophy need in such a state of things? It needs a new method of approach. It ought to have its part in the inductive method which is controlling research elsewhere. The moral life has its living specimens, waiting for our scientific observation, subjects, as it were, for the field-work of the student. Suppose we begin with the observation of moral facts, in search of the law which adequately interprets them; suppose we examine by practical methods some great moral movement, like the development of charity, or the progress of temperance, or the methods of coöperation between employer and employed. Here are large phenomena of an evidently moral content. They represent a community or class of persons trying to do right. They are expressions of a social conscience. They lie before us, moreover, as facts large enough to be easily examined. One may be misled in considering the complex and subtle motives which control an individual, but when he sees a whole community swept along in the process of a great moral movement, he can hardly be mistaken as to its central meaning and motive. The facts of life thus readily observed open the theory of conduct which is often so obscure. Thus these social questions present a wonderful opportunity for what may be called "inductive ethics." The name has been misapplied to that form of philosophy which reached no ethics at all, just as the title "positive philosophy" has been assumed by methods which are almost wholly negative. It is high time that so good a name was brought to its true use. Inductive ethics is the legitimate title of that study which reaches the principles of ethics by the observation and analysis of moral facts. It is the new method of approach by which moral philosophy may regain its just relation with the living problems of the practical conduct of life. Nor is this all. As one proceeds in this inductive inquiry, he is almost certainly brought, by a new and unexpected path, to the ethics of idealism. He is looking for

a moral motive sufficient to account for such social movements, and he discovers, with a certain surprise, that neither the ethics of selfishness nor the ethics of expediency is sufficient for these things. Much may be laid to selfishness, and much to the balancing of one's own rights against the rights of others, but it is not from any such motive that human beings have been led to these great works of charity, self-restraint, and benevolence. The disciples of Hobbes would not have originated these movements, and the disciples of Spencer would not have perpetuated them. The inductive study of these special phenomena leads, then, to the search for a sufficient motive force. Ethical systems which, under other conditions, look complete enough, are put to a new strain when we consider whether they hold this class of facts. Not the claiming of one's own rights, nor the adjusting of conflicting rights, brings us to the secret of the charity question, or the Indian question, or the labor question. These problems are only questions postponed and questions growing more perplexing until they are taken up into an ideal principle large enough to comprehend and inspire them. Thus inductive ethics applied to the social questions opens into ideal ethics; and the idealism which the scientific method seemed to displace is restored to moral philosophy again. The scientific habit of mind, facing facts with absolute sincerity, guides the student by a new path into the ideal world. It is the half-hearted or light-minded pursuit of science which finds no vista through material details into spiritual principles. Inquiries which seem to withdraw men from the vision of ideals, if only they are heartily pursued, are beginning to show us in the most various regions that the things which are unseen and unattained are the eternal impulses of the things which we observe. "You see, Hylas," says Bishop Berkeley in one of his dialogues, "the water of yonder fountain, how it is forced upward to a certain height, at which it breaks and falls back into the basin from whence it rose, its ascent as well as descent proceeding from the same general law. Just so the same principles which at first view lead to skepticism, pursued to a certain point, bring men back to common sense."

I name next, among the results of this kind of study, a new sense of its unity. At the first glance these diverse questions—Indians, prisons, labor, temperance—seem to be isolated subjects, each dealt with by its own specialists, and each commended by its own devotees as the one source of hope for society. And, in a certain sense, all these specialists would be right. It is quite true that movement along the line of any one such reform would give

a lift and strength to all. For they are interdependent, the one with the other. The progress of each is the welfare of the others. The retardation of each checks the whole. There is, in fact, among these social questions that same correlation and transformation of force which we observe among the forces of nature. I rub my hands briskly, and the motion is transformed into heat; I strike two stones together in violent collision, and the motion becomes light; I rub my sealing-wax, and the motion becomes electricity. Or again, I transform heat into motion through the steam-engine; heat into light in the lime light; heat into electricity in the electric light. Now it is most interesting to see the same correlation of force among our social questions. A person interests himself in charity, and he finds the problem of charity suddenly transformed into the labor question. If continuous and fitting employment could be found, then his charity question would be solved. Or he finds that in dealing with charity he is confronted with the question of the home. If a proper sense of marriage and its relations could be induced among the poor for whom he cares, then again his problem of charity would grow light. Or, a person is stirred about the Indian question, and as he works down to its principles he finds, with a certain surprise, that they are the principles of his associated charities. What has retarded the Indian problem has been indiscriminate giving. What the Indian needs is—in the language of the Associated Charities—“Not alms, but a friend.” Or, again, as he considers our Indian legislation, he finds that it is but a disguised form of the labor problem. It is, indeed, a very curious fact that just as a certain class of labor reformers are announcing private ownership in land to be the curse of our civilization and the evil to be done away, this same ownership of land in severalty is announced as the single hope of elevating the Indian into the ways of civilized life. Most of all, we observe this interdependence of our questions in the case of temperance. Each social movement finds itself transformed at some point into this other issue. Think of the correlation between temperance and our attempts at scientific charity. Charity is simply baffled and perplexed at every step until it can somehow deal with the problem of drink. The vast proportion of poverty and crime with which charity has to deal is to be stopped, not by charity, but by temperance. I know of nothing more interesting in modern sociology than the way in which this fact has impressed our workers in charity. Here is this multitude of willing visitors among the poor, who have given themselves to

this one end only to discover that to gain this one end they must deal with a question which they had not meant to touch. If they would do their work among the poor, they must take to the poor the doctrine and the practice of temperance. Thus it has happened that many a person who has never felt the demand made upon him for personal abstinence has been brought to it of late through his dealing with the poor, and the work of charity has been no less a blessing to those who gave than to those who received. If charity is transformed into temperance, so are the other social questions. When General Armstrong returned not long ago from his last visit to the Indian reservations, he said, "The red man's greatest danger is rum." So it always has been throughout the history of the contact of Indians with whites. The civilization of the Indian waits until temperance is the white man's law of life. I need not dwell upon the relation of the liquor curse to the problem of the home and the permanence of marriage, or to the problem of our criminals, eight tenths of whose offenses against law are to be traced to the liquor traffic; but I cannot pass by the new and striking relation which has been discovered between temperance and the labor question, and which it is to the lasting credit of the labor organizations to have made conspicuous. I had the privilege not long ago of addressing a club made up in part of Knights of Labor, in one of our large manufacturing towns, and I had anticipated that the questions they would ask would be directed toward the political economy of their situation. It was a surprise to find that their immediate problem, and that which they regarded as the key of their situation, lay not in their labor organization, but in their habits of temperance. They knew as well as the economists the many hundreds of millions of dollars which must be charged annually to the drink bill. They knew that a surplus of income was here wasted, which, even if it could be in small part saved, would bring to the laboring classes not only sober habits but immense financial strength. Thus the labor organizations are not only morally right but economically sagacious in perceiving the dependence of that which they want to achieve on a question which they did not at first mean to touch.

Such is the correlation of the social questions. Diverse as they seem to be, they are interdependent and transformable. They are not to be settled independently, with the panacea of a special agitator. Each is related to the whole moral condition of society, and each demands patience, self-restraint, and breadth of

view. What is there that reformers need to learn so much as this? Impatience is their constant hindrance. "The trouble is," said one of them, "that God is not in a hurry, and I am." The magnitude of their undertaking is not half discerned because it is not seen to involve the whole moral texture of society. But when one has thus seen the largeness of each special undertaking through its relation to the whole, then a new hope begins. For one sees that in this correlation of movements every stroke done anywhere for progress is felt all along the line of social needs. Let a man deal wisely with one such question and he is affecting all. He is like the sergeant in a regimental line toward whom the touch of all the elbows tends, and who affects by his own motion the solidity and straightness of the whole. Let him move straight on, not wavering in his own course, with his eye on his own end, and the touch of elbows runs all along the line and keeps it firm and true. What motive to philanthropy can be more quickening than this,—that the whole organism of society is waiting for every wise plan that can be made and wholesome word that can be spoken? It is the social verification of the doctrine of St. Paul, that we are members one of another, so that if one member is weak, it is the illness of the whole body, and if any member is strong, it is the joy and the health of the whole.

Thus I am brought, by the very language I am forced to use, to the last principle which the study of these social questions seems to disclose. We have seen them leading us from economics to ethics, from materialism to idealism, from diversity to unity, and now, finally, we ask for the nature of that unity which thus binds the varied movements into one organic life. Just as the physicist, observing the correlation of his varied forces, refers them all to a central cosmic Energy of which they are all expressions, so we inquire for that central Energy in modern life which utters itself through the correlated forces of social reforms, now in works of charity, now in movements of temperance, now in the reformation of our prisons, and now in the adjustments of our business. What is this dynamic of social reform? I answer abruptly: It is the power of the Christian life, finding its partial expression in these diverse social movements and co-ordinating them all through its single impulse. Consider, for instance, what it is that makes a community or a state care for its poor? It is not self-interest or self-preservation. It is a sense of responsibility toward the helpless, slowly expressing itself through economics and through legislation; and this sense of responsibility toward the

weak is a distinctively Christian principle. It is one of the most surprising facts of history, that the history of charity begins with the history of Christianity and grows with its growth. There is a profound contrast between the "Liberalitas" of the heathen world and the "Caritas" of Christians. It is the difference between the prodigal display of one's own capacity and the considerate thoughtfulness of another's need. The one is the expression of human differences, the other of human brotherhood. Wise charity is, indeed, good social science; it is, indeed, expedient for the state to help the helpless; but, none the less, it is neither social science nor expediency which suggests or perpetuates the impulse to charity. It is the power of the Christian ideal, the sense of the organic life of man, the discovery of personal happiness in the service of the community, — it is this wondrous dynamic which has slowly penetrated the Christian world and is finding now its systematic and scientific expression. Or again, what is the real question of which our treatment of the Indians or of the criminals is an expression? It is the question whether this is a Christian nation, whether its methods shall be those of shifting expediency and personal profit, or whether out of the sense of the Fatherhood of one God there shall issue the confession of the brotherhood of all men, so that human life, however conditioned or however brutalized, shall appeal to us as children of our own Father for the discipline, education, and opportunity which are for us to bestow. That which has stirred the nation in these affairs and transformed them from details of policy into great social questions, is the half-recognized truth that they are tests of the reality among us of Christian ideals and Christian faith. And when we turn to the bewildering problems of the labor question, where is any hope of a solution to be found? There is no self-acting panacea. Legislation, organization, arbitration, co-operation, — these are not methods which have in themselves any moral dynamic. The conditions of their success lie in the spirit which they illustrate. The most promising methods fail through moral unpreparedness alike in employers and employed. Co-operation — the most hopeful modern expedient — demands, first of all, what has been called the "co-operative man," — the man, that is to say, who can contribute to the problem an endowment of patience, foresight, and fidelity. It fails under the fairest outward conditions when the inward life is thus unprepared. "I wish to express my profound conviction," says the first exponent of profit-sharing in industry, "that the methods

described in this volume, valuable as they are in themselves, constitute no self-acting panacea, and that their fruits can be reached only by men who feel that life does not consist in abundance of material possessions, who regard stewardship as nobler than ownership, and whose economic science is enlightened by the spirit of the gospel." And so, last of all, it is in the method of temperance reform. Prudential caution, physiological effects, legislative methods, — all these have their place in supporting the cause of temperance, but the fundamental question still remains the question of a Christian principle. Has the sense of human brotherhood possessed my life? Have I been taken out of my atomic existence into the organism of the world? Do I know that no man liveth to himself or dieth to himself? Do I believe that we being many members are one body, so that the foot cannot say of the hand, I have no need of thee? Then behind my prudence and my personal estimates of life I feel a new impulse sweeping me on to principles which no self-culture could enforce, persuading me to self-denial for the love and honor of the whole social body wherein I am a part, and the only sufficient dynamic for temperance is moving me as I say after my Master, "If any man will lose his life for my sake, the same shall find it," and with the apostle, "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend."

Thus it is that these large movements of human life which we call social questions disclose to us more than they at first seem to contain. They seem to be the action of society trying to adjust itself to new conditions. But they are in reality much more than this. They are the impulse of the Christian life trying to get a hearing through the tumults and discords of the social world. They are not many movements with diverse principles, but varied expressions of the one magnificent enterprise of regenerating human life through the power of the Christian Gospel. They are the new channels through which the Christian church, under a new Providence of God, has its way opened into the living issues of the modern world. It is the spirit of the Lord that is upon us, anointing us — not to the contentions of theology or to the upbuilding of ecclesiasticism — but to preach the gospel to the poor and deliverance to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind. Beginning with economics, we end in faith. The progress of social questions waits for increase of faith. Their real problem is the question of the vitality of the Christian impulse. They are the partial expressions of that principle of life of which Christian dis-

cipleship is the complete expression, and he alone who stands in the midst of these baffling problems and reads them in the light of the Christian ideal can face with any hope or read with any clearness the secrets of the economic or the moral world.

Francis Greenwood Peabody.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI.

VICTOR HUGO has somewhere said, "*Les grands hommes sont les coefficients de leur siècle.*" This age is getting to know better every day that Dante Rossetti was the coefficient to the circle of its highest development. At the centre of this busy, struggling, money-getting mart of the modern world, in the crowded streets of London, lived the body of Rossetti, but his mind dwelt afar off on the outer rim of the earth. Between the deep spirituality of his mental habit and the engrossing materialism or utilitarianism of his age the distance would, at first look, seem to be as wide as the East is from the West. Most fitly his words on Keats apply to himself :—

"The weltering London ways where children weep
And girls whom none call maidens laugh, — strange road
Miring his outward steps, who inly trode
The bright Castalian brink and Latmos' steep :—
Even such his life's cross-paths ; till deathly deep
He toiled through sands and Lethe."

Living in the world of men, this greatest inventor of abstract beauty in ideal and form was in a large sense not of the world ; his spirit moved about in "worlds not realized" by the many, striving, in his own earnest, whole-hearted fashion, to make palpable to our senses forces that are living and life-making in a world unseen.

His theory of things was electively akin to that of the Philosopher of Clothes. His gaze sought always to penetrate through the outward surroundings, signs, and symbols of this world and its life to the inner significance, the very soul of things, "the Eternal deep, haunted forever by the Eternal Mind."

In this characteristic he was essentially a seer and a prophet, *vates*, as the true poet ever must be. What wonder, then, that his language is mystical and symbolical. To the prophets truth

came at all times in symbols, in pictures, and in images. The imagination was the medium of their utterance. Perhaps profound truths find all other expression inadequate. At any rate it is written of the infinite Truth who came down from Eternity into time, "sine parabola autem non loquebatur eis." And in the world's literature the most lasting presentations of truth are the symbolic. Dante preaches better than Peter Lombard, and Milton's voice, to this day, sounds where the sermons of the Puritan preachers have died away into the silence of forgetfulness. It is worth while, at the start, to learn as far as possible the genesis of this mind of unusual character. What was the germ, and what the environment of growth, of this remarkable genius?

Our Rossetti was born in London the 12th of May, 1828, and at the font was named Gabriel Charles Dante. His father, Gabriele Rossetti, an Italian patriot, a refugee in England, was a man of no mean station in the world of art and letters. His patriotic hymns are at this day held in high esteem in Italy, and a medal has been struck in his honor. Gabriele Rossetti's knowledge of art had raised him, while yet in Italy, to the position of curator of ancient bronzes in the *Museo Bourbonico* of Naples. In England he is best known by his "Analytical Commentary on the Divine Comedy," his "Disquisition on the Antipapal Spirit in the Middle Ages," his "Mystery of Platonic Love Revealed," and his "Beatrice of Dante." In these works, written in Italian, appears the most ingenious system of allegorical interpretation since the days of Gregory the Great, Nicolas of Lyra, and Antony of Padua. Here is a sufficiently characteristic example. In his exegesis of the "Divina Commedia," Paradiso, Cant. vii. 14, "Di tutto me, pur per B e per I C E," he says, this gives the key to the "Divina Commedia," for B stands for Beatrice, or Dante's own story, I C stands for Iesus Christus or theology, and E means Enrico VII. or politics: So in its natural meaning the poem is figured by Beatrice, in its theological by Iesus Christ, and in political by Henry VII. of France. But this is of the simplest of the utterances of the elder Rossetti. He often becomes as little intelligible as Ezekiel with his reeds and measurements, as Daniel with his times and times and half times, and as the Apocalypse with its enigmatic numerals. He rivals the hair-splitting of all the doctors subtle, irrefragable, angelic, and seraphic. He outstrips even the "Palmoni," and the Hon. Ignatius Donnelly's computations upon the first folio of Shakspeare. But the vice of it all is, that, like the Carbonari and Eliphaz Levi, his mystery and his magic are of the great beast, Politics.

The point to notice is, that this strong strain of mysticism went down from father to son, but in the son it was at once more subtle and pure. The mysticism of the father was involved, overwrought, and scholastic, that of the son was simple, direct, and spiritual. Dante Rossetti's mother was the daughter of Gaetano Polidori, the Italian translator of Milton, at one time secretary of the dramatist Alfieri, and the sister of that Dr. Polidori who was once the friend and physician of Lord Byron. Gaetano Polidori had married an Englishwoman. Thus Dante Rossetti was by extraction one fourth English. Yet he who was by blood three fourths Italian never stepped his foot across the boundary line of Italy.

The grandfather Polidori was also a writer of poems, so that from both sides of the house Rossetti inherited the poetic bent. From his grandmother Polidori he inherited the rational element in Saxon blood, and from his mother, whom he adored all his life, to whose opinion he gave absolute deference, came doubtless the tender religious element of his character.

Of such surroundings of his boyhood's days as have to do with the formation of his intellectual disposition little can be said in detail. His father's house was the haven of Italian refugees in London, and from some of them came his conception of the chief character in the "Last Confession"; but besides these came to his home many of the artists and literary men of the time, so that his intellectual atmosphere was highly charged with the mental activity of the best of the day. Nor should we omit as elements of intellectual influence his brother William Michael Rossetti, the poet and critic; his sisters, Maria Francesca, author of "The Shadow of Dante," who became an Anglican Sister of Mercy, and Christina, author of "The Goblin Market," "The Prince's Progress," and other works in prose and verse. From 1837 to 1843 Dante Rossetti attended King's College school, where he acquired Latin, French, and the beginnings of Greek. Italian was native to him. German he studied at home. In 1843 he left school, which he detested, and began his technical education as a painter, as his father had designed for him beforehand.

What books early influenced his mental evolution? In his correspondence he tells how he tried to read Bird's "Infidel's Doom" and Walpole's "Castle of Otranto," but failed. Their shallow romanticism had no charm for him. But the weirdness of the early German ballads, the mysterious myths of the "Niebelungen Lied," suited better the cast of his mind. A landmark of this

section of his intellectual roadway is his "Henry the Leper," a version of the old German ballad "Arme Heinrich" of Herman Von Aube, the German Crusader and Minnesinger. Rossetti made translations also from the "Niebelungen Lied." Prosper Mérimée's tales, "Columba," and especially "La Venus d'Ille," which Mr. Wm. Morris tells over again in "The Ring given to Venus," and Mr. Anstey turns into a farce in "The Tinted Venus," made a deep impression upon his youthful imagination. At all times the novels of the Dumas, *père et fils*, were his delight. The so-called school of "Cockney poets," Shelley, Coleridge, and Keats, was congenial to his taste. Keats in particular, "the pangedowered poet, whose reverberant lips and heart-strung lyre awoke the moon's eclipse," he never ceased to admire and to study. Ballad literature, the Elizabethan dramatists, the "Gesta Romanorum," the "Morte d'Arthur" of Sir Thomas Mallory, and the metrical legends of the Arthurian Cycle, were the studies of his later years. Most potent of moulding forces upon him were the works of the great Florentine whose name he bore, and above all the "Vita Nuova," which he translated as consonant in the short blissful season of his married life, stamped its device upon his mind. The "Vita Nuova" and the "Divina Commedia" furnish the rationale of the mind of Dante Rossetti. This, Rossetti acknowledges in the sonnet "Dante's Tenebrae," in memory of his father:—

"And didst thou know indeed, when at the font
 Together with thy name thou gav'st me his,
 That also on thy son must Beatrice
 Decline her eyes according to her wont,
 Accepting me to be of those that haunt
 The vale of magical dark mysteries
 Where to the hills her poet's foot-track lies
 And wisdom's living fountain to his chaunt
 Trembles in music? This is that steep land
 Where he that holds his journey stands at gaze
 Tow'rd sunset, when the clouds like a new height
 Seem piled to climb. These things I understand:
 For here, where day still soothes my lifted face,
 On thy bowed head, my father, fell the night."

Is it a mere fancy that with Rossetti, as with Alighieri, in the Teutonic blood it was, that under the softly undulating plains and sunny pleasantnesses of the Italian nature, burned with lurid fires, or slumbered in sombre shadows, the fierce forces of the ruder North. In Rossetti these tendencies were awakened and intensified by study of the formless and weird works of William Blake, and of the visions of Emmanuel Swedenborg in heaven and hell.

From such seed, influenced by such soil and climate, grew and flowered the genius of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. He could not, like his friend William Morris, ignore the tragic elements of life, and content himself with being "the idle singer of an empty day"; nor with Matthew Arnold hear jocundly faith's ocean, and

"Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar,
Retreating, to the breath
Of the night-wind, down the vast edges drear
And naked shingles of the world,"

and say, love is enough: nor, with Swinburne, could he console himself with sensuous beauty, Hellenic culture, and a materialistic Fate. It was not in his character, of which faith was a powerful though sometimes, as with us all, a latent force. His was not "the Spirit that evermore denies." Deep down in his soul doubts that came danced about "the grand Perhaps"; to that, with Rabelais, he said, "I believe," and asked, "Do not my works testify to my Christianity?" His catholic spirit shows itself in the lines —

"Let lore of all Theology
Be to thy soul what it can be :
But know, — the Power that fashions man
Measured not out thy little span
For thee to take the meting-rod
In turn, and so approve on God
Thy science of Theometry."

In so far as he was agnostic, it was in the true and better sense. His mental attitude was that of interrogation, and finds expression in "Cloud Confines": —

"The day is dark and the night
To him that would search their heart ;
No lips of cloud that will part
Nor morning song in the light :
Only, gazing alone,
To him wild shadows are shown,
Deep under deep unknown
And height above unknown height.
Still we say as we go, —
'Strange to think by the way,
Whatever there is to know,
That shall we know one day.'

"The Past is over and fled ;
Named new, we name it the old ;
Thereof some tale hath been told,
But no word comes from the dead ;

Whether at all they be,
 Or whether as bond or free,
 Or whether they too were we,
 Or by what spell they have sped.
 Still we say as we go, —
 'Strange to think by the way,
 Whatever there is to know,
 That shall we know one day.'"

Yet he protests against that immortality of the "Choir invisible," whose only life is "to live again in lives made better by their presence." To his mind the positivists' idea of an abstract immortality is a very Barmecide's feast, and, in strong words, he bids —

"Watch thou and fear ; to-morrow thou shalt die.
 Or art thou sure thou shalt have time for death ?
 Is not the day which God's word promiseth
 To come man knows not when ? In yonder sky,
 Now while we speak, the sun speeds forth : can I
 Or thou assure him of his goal ? God's breath
 Even at this moment haply quickeneth
 The air to a flame ; till spirits, always nigh
 Though screened and hid, shall walk the daylight here.
 And dost thou prate of all that man shall do ?
 Canst thou, who hast but plagues, presume to be
 Glad in his gladness that comes after thee ?
 Will his strength slay *thy* worm in Hell ? Go to :
 Cover thy countenance, and watch, and fear."

Nor shall our ignorance of the world unseen check our efforts here. What lies beyond the horizon of time is but infinite room for growth and development. This life is but the "seed plot" of the future. Time cannot end progress. Therefore again he earnestly cries : —

"Think thou and act ; to-morrow thou shalt die.
 Outstretched in the sun's warmth upon the shore,
 Thou say'st : 'Man's measured path is all gone o'er ;
 Up all his years, steeply, with strain and sigh,
 Man clomb until he touched the truth ; and I,
 Even I, am he whom it was destined for.'
 How should this be ? Art thou then so much more
 Than they who sowed, that thou shouldst reap thereby ?
 "Nay, come up hither. From this wave-washed mound
 Unto the furthest flood-brim look with me ;
 Then reach on with thy thought till it be drown'd.
 Miles and miles distant though the last line be,
 And though thy soul sail leagues and leagues beyond, —
 Still, leagues beyond those leagues, there is more sea."

In the sonnet, "The Soul's Sphere," he asks what the powers of memory and imagination portend, everlasting life or annihilation? —

"Some prisoned moon in steep cloud-fastnesses, —
Throned queen and thrallèd ; some dying sun whose pyre
Blazed with momentous memorable fire ; —
Who hath not yearned and fed his heart with these ?
Who, sleepless, hath not anguished to appease
Tragical shadow's realm of sound and sight
Conjectured in the lamentable night ? . . .
Lo ! the soul's sphere of infinite images !

"What sense shall count them ? Whether it forecast
The rose-winged hours that flutter in the van
Of Love's unquestioning unrevealed span, —
Visions of golden futures : or that last
Wild pageant of the accumulated past
That clangs and flashes for a drowning man."

The question is asked of Psychology, and she remains speechless. Then he gazes out upon the world, charged with a life that, under changing forms, ceases not in power and beauty, and there he finds the answer in "The Trees of the Garden" : —

"Ye who have passed Death's haggard hills ; and ye
Whom trees that knew your sires shall cease to know
And still stand silent : — is it all a show, —
A wisp that laughs upon the wall ? — decree
Of some inexorable supremacy
Which ever, as man strains his blind surmise
From depth to ominous depth, looks past his eyes,
Sphinx-faced with unabashed augury ?

"Nay, rather question the Earth's self. Invoke
The storm-felled forest-trees moss-grown to-day
Whose roots are hillocks where the children play ;
Or ask the silver sapling 'neath what yoke
Those stars, his spray-crown's clustering gems, shall wage
Their journey still when his boughs shrink with age."

In no words could the faith of Rossetti be more exactly expressed than in the creed of Dante Alighieri in the "Divina Commedia" : —

"Credo in uno Dio
Solo ed eterno, che tutto il ciel muove,
Non moto, con amore e con disio ;
.
.
.
Quest' è il principio ; quest' è la favilla
Che si dilata in flam ma poi vivace,
E come stella in cielo, in me scintilla."

"In one God I believe,
Sole and eterne, who moveth all the Heavens
With love and with desire, himself unmoved ;
— This the beginning is, this is the spark
Which afterwards dilates to vivid flame,
And, like a star in heaven, is sparkling in me."

(PAR. XXIV. 130.)

It would be a grave misapprehension to conceive that Rossetti, in his pictures and poems, consciously tried to teach or to preach. With him beauty was the object of art. Yet no man saw more clearly that the body's beauty is as naught without the indwelling loveliness of soul. He virtually takes up the thought of Boileau, "*rien n'est beau que le vrai, le vrai seul est aimable.*" It is from this central law that it results that Rossetti's work is strikingly symbolical, profoundly mystical, and intensely spiritual, without being, save in few instances, didactic. The fixed spiritual bent of his thoughts is evident in all his creations in art and song. To him the world was no dead thing, nor a soulless machine driven by blind forces. Like Spinoza, the "God-intoxicated," the sphere of sense was as the vision of the all-present Mind and living Love. His pen or brush was as a wizard's wand to rouse from slumber rocks and trees and waters, till, in the mazes of life's mystic whirl, they moved and sang. As when one looks for awhile upon that glorious canvas of Corot, the Orpheus, he seems to hear, as in a dream, the ghostly music of the singer's lyre, to see the life awakening in the grass and in the air, and the leaves to rustle tremulously as by the first breath of dawn, so in "The Stream's Secret" and in "The Sea-Limits" Rossetti invokes nature into life by the spell of fancy and melody.

"What thing unto mine ear
Wouldst thou convey, — what secret thing,
O wandering water ever whispering ?
Surely thy speech shall be of her.
Thou water, O thou whispering wanderer,
What message dost thou bring ?

"Say, hath not Love leaned low
This hour beside thy far well-head,
And there through jealous hollowed fingers said
The thing that most I long to know, —
Murmuring with curls all dabbled in thy flow
And washed lips rosy red ?
.

"And as in the dim grove,
When the rains cease that hushed them long,

'Mid glistening boughs the song-birds wake to song,—
 So from our hearts deep-shrined in love,
 While the leaves throb beneath, around, above,
 The quivering notes shall throng.

.

"O soul-sequestered face
 Far off,—O were that night but now!
 So even beside that stream even I and thou
 Through thirsting lips should draw Love's grace,
 And in the zone of that supreme embrace
 Bind aching breast and brow.

"O water whispering
 Still through the dark into mine ears,—
 As with mine eyes, is it not now with hers?—
 Mine eyes that add to thy cold spring,
 Wan water, wandering water weltering,
 This hidden tide of tears."

THE SEA-LIMITS.

Consider the sea's listless chime :
 Time's self it is, made audible,—
 The murmur of the earth's own shell.
 Secret continuance sublime
 Is the sea's end : our sight may pass
 No furlong further. Since time was,
 This sound hath told the lapse of time.

No quiet, which is death's,—it hath
 The mournfulness of ancient life,
 Enduring always at dull strife.
 As the world's heart of rest and wrath,
 Its painful pulse is in the sands.
 Last utterly, the whole sky stands,
 Gray and not known, along its path.

Listen alone beside the sea,
 Listen alone among the woods ;
 Those voices of twin solitudes
 Shall have one sound alike to thee :
 Hark where the murmurs of thronged men
 Surge and sink back and surge again,—
 Still the one voice of wave and tree.

Gather a shell from the strown beach
 And listen at its lips : they sigh
 The same desire and mystery,
 The echo of the whole sea's speech.
 And all mankind is thus at heart
 Not anything but what thou art :
 And Earth, Sea, Man, are all in each.

Great as is this transforming or vivifying power, it is not in "The Stream's Secret" wholly in consonance with Rossetti's characteristic mental tone. No one could well be more subjective than he in his habits of thought. In picture and song the highest and completest expression which he effected was the result of searching self-analysis. As he says in a fragment :—

"I shut myself within my soul,
And shapes come eddying forth."

All the wealth of his gorgeous tapestry of pictured phrase is only, like the veil of *Mâyâ*, a shimmer and play of fancy between us and the underlying creative thought. His poetry then, being essentially psychical, is never without autobiographical significance. Indeed, his works might fitly take upon them the title of Goethe's invention, "*Dichtung und Wahrheit*," only the *Wahrheit* would be the story of his inner life. Seldom is the connection between his poetry and his external life of any import. If ever he makes any confession, it is in the extremely exquisite prose poem, "Hand and Soul." In it he obviously traces the evolution of his own art-idea. He tells of one Chiaro dell' Erma, who, "*conceiving art almost for himself*, and loving it deeply, endeavored from early boyhood towards the imitation of any objects offered in nature. The extreme longing after a visible embodiment of his thoughts strengthened as his years increased, more even than his sinews, or the blood of his life; until he would *feel faint in sunsets and at the sight of stately persons*. . . . He was well favored and very manly in his walking; and, seeing his face in front, there was a glory upon it, as upon the face of *one who feels a light around his hair*." This much for an example of the beautiful diction. The italics are not in the original. The story is, that after striving in one way and then another for fame, Chiaro at last lost fame and faith. Then a shape appeared and counseled him. That shape is his own soul. "Thou hast said that faith failed thee. This cannot be. Either thou hadst it not, or thou hast it. Who bade thee strike the point 'twixt love and faith? Who bade thee turn upon God and say, Thy offering is not worthy? Why shouldst thou rise up and tell God He is not content? Be not nice to seek out divisions; but possess thy love in sufficiency, assuredly this is faith, for the heart must believe first. What He hath set thine heart to do, do thou. . . . How is it that thou, a man, wouldst say coldly to the mind what God hath said to the heart warmly? Thy will was honest and wholesome; but look well lest this also be folly,—to say, 'I, in doing this,

strengthen God among men.' When at any time hath He cried unto thee, saying, 'My son, lend Me thy shoulder, for I fall'? Chiaro, servant of God, take now thine art, and paint me thus, as I am, to know me." Rossetti did thus, with cunning hand, paint his own soul in words and in color. Doubtless "Hand and Soul" is an autobiographical allegory, wherein he, as it were, strove with the angel of God and prevailed, therefore he became a prince.

As years went on, and sorrow and pain dimmed his life, his exclusive habits became more fixed. All movement of life, save of the inner life, "the soul's sphere of infinite images," grew to be of less and less interest. He was, as a friend concisely put it, "of imagination all compact." Outside his great gloomy house No. 16 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, stored with antique furniture, carved cabinets high and age-darkened, brass censers, altar lamps, chalices, bronzes, sculptures, Hindu idols, charcoal sketches, paintings, and rare and curious books on History, Art, Poetry, and Magic, he seldom of his own will emerged. The problems which vexed his mind are as old as humanity, new to each soul in turn. What is life, what destiny, what love, what evil, what knowledge? If not altogether new, yet well worth our trouble in reading is his solution.

Out of his self-imposed loneliness came power of intense concentration and a peculiarly distinct consciousness of mental processes. Sharp and unerring is this bit of psychical anatomy:—

"The hours and minutes seemed to whirl
In a clanging swarm that deafened her;
They stung her heart to a writhing flame,
And marshalled past in its glare they came,—
Death and sorrow and sin and shame."

It is the crisis of an agony that will be followed by madness or by death, and when read apart from the story affects us very much as an operation of vivisection.

Another set of emotions find picture in "The Bride's Prelude":

"Her thought, long stagnant, stirred by speech,
Gave her a sick recoil;
As, dip thy fingers through the green
That masks a pool,—where they have been
The naked depth is black between."

"Her fingers felt her temples beat:
Then came that brain-sickness
Which thinks to scream, and murmureth;
And pent between her hands, the breath
Was damp against her face like death."

So strong is the realism here that it becomes positively painful,

like the sharp repeated twanging of a single harp-string. It is a relief to turn from anguish to sorrow, as in "Broken Music": —

"The mother will not turn, who thinks she hears
Her nursing's speech first grow articulate;
But breathless with averted eyes elate
She sits, with open lips and open ears,
That it may call her twice. 'Mid doubts and fears
Thus oft my soul has hearkened; till the song,
A central moan for days, at length found tongue,
And the sweet music welled and the sweet tears."

Here there is such a gradual growth to the crisis as to remind one of the psychological method of Poe's tale, "The Fall of the House of Usher." Akin to this soul-painting is the "Sudden Light," beginning, —

"I have been here before,
But when or how I cannot tell ;"

with the vague sense of pre-existence which Rossetti dwells upon again in "St. Agnes of the Intercession." It is in the sonnet "Inclusiveness" that this psychical analysis reaches perhaps the furthest limits of subtlety : —

"The changing guests, each in a different mood,
Sit at the roadside table and arise :
And every life among them in like wise
Is a soul's board set daily with new food.
What man has bent o'er his son's sleep, to brood
How that face shall watch his when cold it lies ? —
Or thought, as his own mother kissed his eyes,
Of what her kiss was when his father wooed ?

"May not this ancient room thou sit'st in dwell
In separate living souls for joy or pain ?
Nay, all its corners may be painted plain
Where Heaven shows pictures of some life spent well ;
And may be stamped, a memory all in vain,
Upon the sight of lidless eyes in Hell."

Another phase of the mind when held in tension by grief finds expression in "The Woodspurge" : —

"The wind flapped loose, the wind was still,
Shaken out dead from tree and hill:
I had walked on at the wind's will, —
I sat now, for the wind was still.

"Between my knees my forehead was, —
My lips, drawn in, said not Alas !
My hair was over in the grass,
My naked ears heard the day pass.

"My eyes, wide open, had the run
Of some ten weeds to fix upon ;
Among those few, out of the sun,
The woodspurge flowered, three cups in one.

"From perfect grief there need not be
Wisdom or even memory :
One thing then learnt remains to me, —
The woodspurge has a cup of three."

Rossetti's theory of things and their interrelations (for to speak of his philosophy would perhaps be to use too technical a term) was early acquired, and, though his mode of expression after awhile burst the bonds of Preraphaelite conventionalism, and expanded in the large room of romanticism, his point of view was never altered. In "The Blessed Damozel," written at the age of nineteen, he strikes the key-note of all his song, that note is the oneness of all love and the identity of love and life. There can be little doubt that the tone which he produced in "The Blessed Damozel" sounds now high now low throughout "The House of Life." Life and love "*son una cose*," is the leading idea of all his work. All life is from the one infinite source of life, and that one is Love.

"By what word's power, the key of paths untrod,
Shall I the difficult deeps of Love explore,
Till parted waves of Song yield up the shore
Even as that sea which Israel crossed dryshod ?
For lo ! in some poor rhythmic period,
Lady, I fain would tell how evermore
Thy soul I know not from thy body, nor
Thee from myself, neither our love from God.

"Yea, in God's name, and Love's, and thine, would I
Draw from one loving heart such evidence
As to all hearts all things shall signify ;
Tender as dawn's first hill-fire, and intense
As instantaneous penetrating sense,
In Spring's birth-hour, of other Springs gone by."

It is a truth that has been presented in various guises by Hindu sage, Mystic theologian, and German pessimist. That infinite life is infinite love is both the metaphysics and the *summum theologiæ* of Rossetti. His song is an echo of the "Gita Govinda," the Indian drama of love.

"Thou that art the Three Worlds' glory,
Of life the light, of every story
The meaning and the mark, of love
The root and flower, o' the sky above

The blue, of bliss the heart, of those
 The lovers, that which did impose
 The gentle law, that each should be
 The others Heav'n and Harmony."

(Edwin Arnold's trans.)

But not from this, nor from Buddha's *tan ha*, nor from Böhmen's *ja*, nor from Schopenhauer's "assertion of the will to live," did Rossetti draw his thought. His idea was simply a development of Dante's "*Amor e il cor gentile son una cose*"; and indeed we could not find a key more fitly shaped to unlock the secrets of "The House of Life" than this same sonnet in the "*Vita Nuova*."

"Love and the gentle heart are one same thing
 Even as the wise man in his ditty saith;
 Each, of itself, would be such life in death
 As rational soul bereft of reasoning,
 'Tis Nature makes them when she loves; a king
 Love is, whose palace where he sojourneth
 Is called the heart."

No one who attentively studies the "*Vita Nuova*," which is accessible in Professor Charles Eliot Norton's exquisite version, and the "*Divine Comedy*," can fail to see how this principle runs through all. Love is life. The one same love which is the torturing fire of the city of Dis in the *Inferno*, the cleansing grace and uplifting force on the steep mountain of *Purgatorio*, is the warmth and bliss of the souls in *Paradiso*. Even sins come from the love-principle, and result from love distorted, from love defective, or from love excessive. So the "sorriest thing that enters Hell" is a "vain virtue;" a potency that awoke not to a life of either good or evil, was empty of love.

"Night sucks them down, the tribute of the pit,
 Whose names, half entered in the book of Life,
 Were God's desire at noon."

This reminds us of Mr. Browning's dogma:—

"The sin I impute to each frustrate ghost
 Is the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin."

All human love is but a part of the love wherewith God loves us. This is the secret both of the "*Vita Nuova*" of Dante Alighieri and of "The House of Life" of Dante Rossetti. Rossetti himself in his sonnet on the "*Vita Nuova*" reveals this origin of his theory:—

"As he that loves oft looks on the dear form
 And guesses how it grew to womanhood,
 And gladly would have watched the beauties bud
 And the mild fire of precious life wax warm:—

So I, long bound within the threefold charm
 Of Dante's love sublimed to heavenly mood,
 Had marvelled, touching his Beatitude,
 How grew such presence from man's shameful swarm.

"At length within this book I found portrayed
 Newborn that Paradisal Love of his,
 And simple like a child ; with whose clear aid
 I understood. To such a child as this,
 Christ, charging well his chosen ones, forbade
 Offence : 'for lo ! of such my kingdom is.'"

This theory is the *motif* of all Rossetti's utterances, and out of its depths arose the subtle mysticism of his thought, definite in "The Blessed Damozel," "Sister Helen," and "Rose Mary," but in some of the sonnets of "The House of Life," in "The Last Confession," "The Bride's Prelude," and "The Stream's Secret," it becomes elusive to the last degree.

With him the conception made all the difference in Art. Of the principle set forth by the Preraphaelite Brotherhood in the GERM he never lost sight. He could not say too strongly to suit him, that "fundamental brain work" was the first matter of importance ; beauty, melody, and diction the second. He believed that a beautiful thought would clothe itself in fair words, a beautiful soul would evolve a lovely body. His ethics of beauty was, "*Quod Deus purificavit commune ne dixeris.*" All the passionate and just delights of the body, when exalted by a noble soul and a right intention, became corrupt if the holy love of the soul once took its leave. This he embodied in "Orchard Pits," a fragment full of weird horror, painting the Nemesis of sensual love. "The Blessed Damozel" is a maiden who looks down from heaven and yearns for her lover left behind upon earth. Hers is a love that, like Marguerite's, purifies and ennobles. It sublimates earthly relations, and its home is as truly in Paradise as in this world, for is it not a part of the infinite love ?

" 'I wish that he were come to me,
 For he will come,' she said.
 'Have I not prayed in Heaven ? — on earth,
 Lord, Lord, has he not pray'd ?
 Are not two prayers a perfect strength ?
 And shall I feel afraid ?

" 'When round his head the aureole clings,
 And he is clothed in white,
 I'll take his hand and go with him
 To the deep wells of light ;
 As unto a stream we will step down,
 And bathe there in God's sight.

“ ‘He shall fear, haply, and be dumb,
 Then will I lay my cheek
 To his, and tell about our love,
 Not once abashed or weak :
 And the dear Mother will approve
 My pride, and let me speak.

“ ‘Herself shall bring us, hand in hand,
 To Him round whom all souls
 Kneel, the clear-ranged unnumbered heads
 Bowed with their aureoles :
 And angels meeting us shall sing
 To their citherns and citoles.

“ ‘There will I ask of Christ the Lord
 Thus much for him and me :—
 Only to live as once on earth
 With Love, only to be,
 As then awhile, for ever now,
 Together, I and he.’ ”

Another aspect of the problem is mystically shadowed forth in “Rose Mary.” The beryl-stone into which she is bidden to look is for the pure alone. But, alas, Rose Mary has lost her purity, and sees only lying phantasms. The beryl-stone is the “soul’s sphere of infinite images,” and the winged form upon which, in its shrine, it rests, conveys an obscure allusion to the wings that covered the Shechina in the Holy of Holies. The lesson is the blindness that comes when innocence is lost. The way of life becomes cloud-covered or deceptive. The only cure is to cast forth the spirits of evil, which results in death to the old life and a birth into the new life of peace and blessedness.

The whole poem is a comment on the text, “Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God.” Incidentally he treats treason as the deadliest sin, just as Dante locates Satan for his treason in the lowest ice-bound depths of the nether Hell, farthest from the warmth of divine love. For when Rose Mary shatters the evil spell,—

“ ‘Twas then a clear voice said in the room :—
 ‘Behold the end of the heavy doom.
 O come, — for thy bitter love’s sake blest ;
 By a sweet path now thou journeyest,
 And I will lead thee to thy rest.

“ ‘Me thy sin by Heaven’s sore ban
 Did chase erewhile from the talisman :
 But to my heart, as a conquered home,
 In glory of strength thy footsteps come
 Who hast thus cast forth my foes therefrom.

" 'Already thy heart remembereth
 No more his name thou sought'st in death :
 For under all deeps, all heights above, —
 So wide the gulf in the midst thereof, —
 Are Hell of Treason and Heaven of Love.' "

The spirit of evil was to Rossetti a wraith of the unbeautiful; like Blake's Satan, sexless, and like Coleridge's conception of Geraldine in "Christabel," with eyes in her bosom, horribly monstrous. Was there a Fate — a Card-Dealer ?

" What be her cards, you ask ? Even these : —
 The heart, that doth but crave
 More, having fed ; the diamond,
 Skilled to make base seem brave ;
 The club, for smiting in the dark ;
 The spade, to dig a grave.

" And do you ask what game she plays ?
 With me 'tis lost or won ;
 With thee it is playing still ; with him
 It is not well begun ;
 But 'tis a game she plays with all
 Beneath the sway o' the sun.

" Thou seest the card that falls, — she knows
 The card that followeth :
 Her game in thy tongue is called Life,
 As ebbs thy daily breath :
 When she shall speak, thou'lt learn her tongue
 And know she calls it Death."

Was there a cobweb of sin stretched from star to star across the worlds, and some dark, squat, malignant thing lurking in the middle, watching with its innumerable, lidless eyes to ensnare souls ? However it be, of this he was convinced, that to temper its power, to neutralize it, comes divine love, falling out of the height of holiness, —

" E'en like the passage of an angel's tear
 That falls through the clear ether silently."

In "Jenny," Rossetti preaches a sermon against lust. So "Marion Lescaut" was written by the Abbé Prevost for a sermon, and a powerful sermon it is. No one can fail to hear it cry mightily, like Daudet's "Sapho," "the soul that sinneth it shall die." Rossetti's is no threat, no anathema against animalism, but a horror, a pity, an overpowering compassion, like that of Him who said in the ears of the self-righteous Simon, "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven ; for she loved much."

"Sister Helen" gives even a sadder side of the love ethos. This awful tragedy, sombre with supernatural shadows, gains heightened power from the calm of pure love of the Virgin Mother as we see her drawn in the prints of Dürer, contrasted with the fierce passions of hate and revenge that seethe in the soul of the wronged woman. As she melts before the fire the waxen image of him who has betrayed her, the drama grows in intensity. Without, upon the stairs, plays her little brother, who brings the messages of those who come to beg for mercy.

"He sends a ring and a broken coin,
Sister Helen,
And bids you mind the banks of Boyne.'
'What else he broke will he ever join,
Little brother?'
(*O Mother, Mary Mother,*
No, never joined, between Hell and Heaven!)

"He yields you these and craves full fain,
Sister Helen,
You pardon him in his mortal pain.'
'What else he took will he give again,
Little brother?'
(*O Mother, Mary Mother,*
Not twice to give, between Hell and Heaven!)

"He calls your name in an agony,
Sister Helen,
That even dead Love must weep to see.'
'Hate, born of Love, is blind as he,
Little brother!'
(*O Mother, Mary Mother,*
Love turned to hate, between Hell and Heaven!)

Inflexible as Medea, she persists even to the bitter end, deaf to all prayers for mercy, feeding her heart upon love turned to hate. Yet even this is a more poignant misery for her:—

"Oh the wind is sad in the iron chill,
Sister Helen,
And weary sad they look by the hill.'
'But he and I are sadder still,
Little brother!'
(*O Mother, Mary Mother,*
Most sad of all, between Hell and Heaven!)

Yes, "he and I are sadder still" is the wail, for some little of the old love must remain in her heart. Perhaps, unless there always remained some element of good, even in the damned, there could be no hell—no torture arising from conflict. Can the conflict

his beloved rather than she should give herself to another. Here it is love turned to jealousy, as Aloyse's is to disgust, and Helen's to hate. The tragedy of Othello is not more unerringly drawn. Love, to be holy, peaceful and blessed, must be spiritual and unselfish, else it turns the whole life awry. Nay, in itself it, then, constitutes the unrighteous life. This is the whole scheme of Dante's "*Divina Commedia*," and of Rossetti's poems. "God is Love," but, "with God there is no lust of the Godhead."

While Rossetti brooded over the supreme problems of life, out of the agony of his heart and brain arose the pathos, the mystery, the occult forces, the ghostly shapes, and the sharp fine shriek of life-hunger, which characterize his works. He is ill rated an anachronism. He was essentially a child of his age, and his works are the natural and normal outcome of his life. Anachronism comes from pedantry, not from sincerity. Again, his writings are of the age, because, however much uttered in the imagery of mediævalism, character rather than incident is dominant. He was the legitimate fruit of that movement of thought which, beginning with "*Hernani*," broadened out in Scott, Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats, which gave rise to Oxford Tractarianism, and to Pugin and the Gothic revival, and the works of John Ruskin. Earnestness, sincerity, purity of soul and purpose, were the forces that shaped its development.

In these pages no attempt has been made to discuss the literary forms of Rossetti. That is left to a more competent hand, but the writer must beg leave to dissent from the verdict of a critic to whose decision he generally bows. It is not the outward form and melody of the poems of Dante Rossetti that are most precious, but it is the soul, the inward content.

"Heard melodies are sweet,
But those unheard are sweeter."

Charles James Wood.

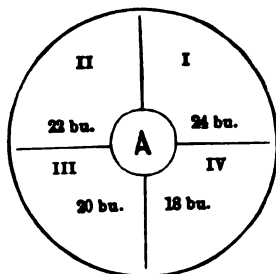
LOCK HAVEN, PENNA.

HENRY GEORGE'S TAX ON LAND VALUES.

So many who write upon the now famous theories of Mr. George either see all his fallacies and none of his correct views, or else laud him to the skies with extravagant praise, that there seems occasion for another article upon his theories, and this the

present writer will attempt with due humility, but with the introductory remark that what will be said is based on a careful study of nearly all that Henry George has written in his books and as editor of the "Standard."

Since he proposes while leaving the ownership of land in private hands to tax it high enough to cover all the economic rent, it is of first importance to gain a clear idea of what rent is in the economic use of the word and how it arises. An illustration borrowed from Francis A. Walker, but with some additional features, will furnish such an idea.



Let us suppose the town A surrounded by wheat-fields I, II, III, IV, at equal nearness and convenience of access but of the respective degrees of fertility of 24, 22, 20 and 18 bushels of wheat per acre on the application of equal amounts of capital and labor. Let us next suppose that 70 cents a bushel or \$16.80 an acre in I will just cover all the expenses of labor, whether of workmen or manager, the average interest on capital, and the average profits of ordinary business on the investment. When the town A is so small as to be supplied with its flour from field I, wheat will be 70 cents a bushel, since, if below that, capital will be transferred to business in the town where the average returns on investments can be had, and, if over 70 cents, the capital from the town will seek the more profitable returns of the country. But now suppose the town to grow until it needs more wheat than field I can produce with the former outlay. People are so clamorous for bread that rather than go without it they will pay enough to get wheat from field II. Let us see what they must pay. Without professing entire accuracy, the price will be largely determined by the following consideration. The same \$16.80 per acre by our supposition produces 22 bushels in II instead of 24 bushels in I, and consequently the 22 bushels must sell for enough to pay this sum, or capital will never be put upon II, but that means ($\$16.80 \div 22 = 76$ cents) 76 cents a bushel. The moment people are will-

ing to pay 76 cents a bushel they can obtain all the wheat they need. But wheat cultivated at the cost of 70 cents a bushel in I will also be sold at 76 cents, since all goods of the same quality sell for the same price at the same time in the same market for reasons which we need not here stop to explain.

At this point economic rent begins—a rent of six cents a bushel on all the wheat raised in I, or 24 times six cents, or \$1.44 an acre. If I is cultivated by its owners, they get \$1.44 an acre over and above all the reward of their capital, labor, and risk. The owners of I might also go to Europe, and without doing a stroke of work obtain a rent above returns for all permanent improvements of \$1.44 an acre, an amount due entirely to the growth of A, which can therefore justly tax the owners of I \$1.44 an acre without handicapping them one particle as compared with those in business in the town.

While agreeing fully with Henry George, as did Mill, and as do all economists, relative to the justice of this principle of taxation, we shall soon see that the practical objections to it and the injustice of now introducing it in the radical way proposed by Henry George are what lead all economists of recognized standing, whether in Germany, England, or America, and whether conservatives like Professors Sumner and Laughlin or more radical like James and Ely, to oppose the ideas of Henry George.

In our supposition that field I yields 24 bushels an acre we said that this was in part due to the necessary capital applied. As this capital must be largely due to permanent improvements, like barns, fences, ditches for drainage, etc., we may suppose the field I to be worth, because of this fixed capital upon it, \$30 an acre before field II was cultivated. When that occurs and the income from I is increased \$1.44 an acre without any increase of capital, the salable value of the land would be increased fully $20 \times \$1.44$ or \$28.80 an acre, so as to amount in all to \$58.80. Now if Henry George's mode of taxation were applied the land must at once fall to \$30 an acre. This means the taking under form of law of \$28.80 from every owner of I. If the present owners of I had held it during all the rise from \$30 to \$58.80 it would not be so bad; but when it happens, as almost universally, that the present owners of I did not buy it until it already paid some economic rent and consequently had to pay for it over \$30,—say \$45, out of the rewards and savings of honest labor,—then to reduce their property at one blow by \$15 below their purchase price does seem very much like confiscation.

George would answer in two ways. First, he would claim that, since the present economic rent was due to the growth of the community, his tax was analogous to the restitution of stolen property. The reply is that, inasmuch as the state has made the retaining of such rent by the individual legal, the analogy does not hold. Even the staunchest believers in the iniquity of slavery did not advocate the taking of the slaves from their masters without full compensation, 'until it became necessary as a war measure, and there is no talk here of another civil war.

In the second place George would reply, as did Thomas G. Shearman in a recent leading article in the "Standard," that very little difference would be made to the cultivators of their own land by this new land tax, since buildings and improvements are no longer to be taxed, and consequently the increased land tax would no more than offset the decrease of all other taxes. Let us see. It is not merely a question of transferring to land all the present local taxes which are now levied on buildings and personal property as well as on land, but Henry George proposes, while remitting other taxes, to raise the revenue for national as well as local purposes in large measure from the land tax. He would, as just seen, levy a tax upon land-owners equal to what the land, independent of buildings but not of permanent improvements of long standing, would rent for.

The simple question then before us at the moment is, whether the present taxes on land and buildings equal the economic rent of the land. In the present absence of exact figures it cannot be exactly determined, but if we take the present income from rents of tenements and stores in our business blocks and deduct therefrom fair interest on the cost of the building, together with yearly cost of insurance, supervision, repairs, water-rent, and other expenses save taxes, we shall find that the remainder is from one to five or more times the present tax, the ratio increasing as we approach the heart of the city. On the outskirts residences are (now probably taxed as much as they would be under the proposed system.

Similarly on land used for farms and vegetable gardens. George's system would increase ruinously the tax of all save those now cultivating the poorest soils. To be sure, Mr. George says that the application of his ideas would lower the rent and to a certain extent, as we shall soon see, he is right; but the fall would not, we believe, be anywhere near sufficient to counterbalance the present difference between rent of land and taxes. Henry George

says no. But the view I have expressed is arrived at from considerable investigation and inquiry of those extensively engaged in real estate transactions, and I repeat for the sake of emphasis that the economic rent of all business locations, of all property in cities save in the outskirts, and of all good farming land within convenient access to the market, in other words, the rent of all land save poor farms and residence locations in the outskirts of cities and in villages, is much more than the present tax on both the land and the property on it, while the somewhat diminished rent which the application of his theory would effect would not, in the opinion of the writer, be at all sufficient to balance the scale. Let Mr. George prove the contrary by careful presentation of statistics and deductions therefrom, or cease to try to persuade "land-owners whose interests as land-owners do not exceed their interests as capitalists or laborers, or both," that his proposition to relieve the capitalist and concentrate all taxes upon land values "should as a matter of mere individual interest commend itself" to them, as he claims in the "Standard" of September 10th.

The lowest estimate of the rental of land in the United States we have seen is that of W. T. Harris on the basis of the Massachusetts returns of 1886, which gave land at forty-four per cent. of the value of land and buildings in that State. Starting from this, and knowing from the census of 1880 the total value of both in the entire country, Mr. Harris estimates the value of the land alone at \$10,000,000,000, and \$400,000,000 as the rental in 1880. But in the census year the entire taxes on land, buildings, and improvements was \$100,000,000 less, so that the application of George's theory would mean the increase of fully one third in the taxes on land-owners throughout the country.

We must, however, avoid the error of Mr. Harris in supposing, as he seems to, that George advocates raising all taxes from land. He simply advocates taking the rental value, which, indeed, he often refers to as sufficient to dispense with all other taxes, but he also vigorously urges such regulation or ownership of all public franchises like steam and city railroads and gas works as would, if well managed, increase the revenue of the State.

As W. T. Harris showed in a paper before the American Social Science Association in 1886, rent, instead of absorbing, as George believes, a large share of the national income, amounts to only one eighteenth of it, and has only increased in thirty years equal to what would add three fourths of a cent to the average day's income of every person in this country. Rent now is only two

and one fifth cents a day, while the average earnings since 1850 have increased from about twenty-five cents a day to about forty cents. The more accurate statistics of Great Britain similarly reveal an increase in land values in thirty years of 23 per cent., in houses of 138 per cent., and the aggregate income from manufactures, mercantile employments, and professions of 128 per cent.

Henry George was recently asked the following question in public, according to his report of it in the "Standard":—

Q. (Student.) "Would it be just for the owner of a plot of ground with only a small building of two stories, say, to pay as much tax on the land as his neighbor on the opposite corner who owns a similar piece of land, but has a fine six-story fire-proof building on his property? Would that be fair for the poor man? He would be taxed just as much as the rich man.

A. "If I go up here to the Fifth Avenue Hotel and order a room, they will charge me just the same whether I am a big man or a little man, whether I am rich or poor. Just the same whether I make use of it or not. And the reason is that I am taking that room and keeping somebody else out of it. If one man has little buildings, it is not the fault of the community. He is holding the ground on which he might put big buildings. We give him the opportunity; if he does not put up big buildings it is his own fault.

"This is the true system of taxation. It is not what the man himself does, but the opportunity that the community gives him that ought to be considered, and if the opportunities are equal, taxation ought to be equal."

Whatever may be thought of this as a principle, it would evidently work great hardship upon existing owners of land numbering over four million, or, with their families, two fifths of our entire population, if they were to be taxed not according to their actual income or ability to pay, but according to the income or ability they ought to have. Such a system of taxation would still further handicap the vast mass of those of ordinary abilities. In fact, one of the serious mistakes of George is his failure to see that we are already suffering, not merely from natural monopolies in coal and gas and means of transportation, but from the fact that the possessors of a considerable fortune are rendered thereby in the majority of instances so superior to the poorer competitor that no free competition is possible. As has been said, "There is an enormous accumulative power in aggregations of wealth which tends to override and overshadow everything." Hence the need

of an income tax, and of one mildly graduated so as to render less rapid the increase of enormous fortunes, and to make their possessors contribute to the support of society according to their ability. Henry George, by opposing this and relieving the capitalist from all taxes at the expense of the farmer and the land-owner, seems the real enemy rather than friend of the poor. George is reported as recently avowing, what is surely the tendency of his theory, the survival of the fittest, — not, be it noted, the fittest morally, but those with the greatest sharpness and power of accumulation.

The whole aim of modern economic and social science is to moderate the fierceness of all competition save that for the survival of the morally fit, and it is the aim to make fit through education and better environment those now unthrifty and poor. Yet George is the accepted leader of thousands and tens of thousands of the laborers of New York. A recent editorial in the "Springfield Republican" thus puts it: "It is not the first time in this country that mere sentiment has driven laboring classes to rally about a man and swallow a great delusion; but it is the first time they were ever led about by a man who boldly declares himself in favor of taxing the poor homestead owner and farmer to the exemption of the holdings of the rich, and who openly opposes a scheme of taxation designed to prevent immense concentrations of wealth and turn them to the uses of the state."

We have seen that George, starting with a correct theory of rent, proposes a system of taxation which would rob present land-owners, and intensify the power, by diminishing the burdens, of the large capitalists, who to-day are gaining in wealth much faster than land-owners.

It remains to consider the flagrant wrong in our present method of land taxation to which George has called attention, that is, the keeping of land unoccupied while waiting for a rise in its value.

Revert to the illustration at the beginning of this article. Suppose when the town A has grown enough to need the wheat from field II, the owner of that does not care to cultivate it, but prefers instead to hold it for a rise in value, thus necessitating resort to field III of inferior soil, or, we might suppose, of soil further from the centre of the town. But according to the method of computation previously explained, III could not be cultivated unless wheat could be sold at 84 cents a bushel. This would mean an increase of rent per acre in field I from \$1.44 to \$3.86 an acre, and an increase from 76 to 84 cents a bushel in the price of

wheat. Now George points out this great abuse. But the remedy is far simpler than he assumes.

The possibility of keeping valuable land from occupation is chiefly due to the unjust favoritism shown by our boards of assessors to the owners of such land who are not assessed, as are the owners of occupied land, at its salable value, but at much less. In almost every town in our land hundreds of instances can be found, like that of Senator Payne, in Cleveland, who owns forty acres fronting on Euclid Avenue and running back over one eighth of a mile. The rear is used as a cow pasture, in the heart of this great city, and Mr. Payne is assessed on all this according to its value for the uses to which he puts it rather than, as it should be, according to the amount that would be given for it for any purpose if put up at auction. Land that is thus assessed for \$200 an acre in many a town would not be sold by its owner for ten times that. The cause of this abuse is that our legislation and its administration has hitherto been in the hands of the wealthy, and class action is almost always selfish action. The remedy is plain. As the masses grow more intelligent and understand these questions better, they will demand assessment of all real estate according to its market value. This would soon drive the owners of unoccupied land to utilize it for productive purposes, or sell it to those who would, but would not rob the present owners, as would the proposal of George. If assessment of unoccupied land at its market value fails to repress the evil as much as desired, a slightly higher rate of tax on such land may be imposed, though neither the necessity nor expediency of such a measure is yet clear.

The existence of this evident violation of justice in too low assessments of unoccupied land which undoubtedly increases rent, though not as much as many suppose, and the belief that George's remedy would mend it, lead many to favor him who have very indistinct notions of his theory of rent.

John Stuart Mill, as many are aware, went over much of the same ground as George, and concluded that there would be no injustice in passing a law enacting that after a certain date, set some time in the future, all subsequent *increase* of rent should go to the state in the form of a tax. The objections to this are, that rents often decline as well as rise, and if the state takes away all increase, it must restore all decrease. This would bankrupt many cities and states in such times of industrial depression as the years following 1873, when rents declined one half in many sections.

Then the machinery and cost of applying this moderate measure would cost too much to make it profitable.

One thing might be done. In Savannah, Ga., a few years ago, the municipal authorities bought a large tract of land in the outskirts, put in improvements, such as water, gas, sidewalks, and sewerage, and leased the lots for a good return on the investment. The city might have leased for ten years, with the stipulation that at the expiration of that time the rents should be raised to market rates. The owners of the buildings might have been given the first opportunity of bidding off the lots for a second term, and if outbid might have been assured pay for their improvements at an appraised valuation. If New York had done this ten years ago she might now be obtaining a large income, without any of the robbery involved in George's plan. Any city might try this as an experiment. It would be interesting, at least, to note the result. Columbia College, in New York, thus leases for periods of years several pieces of valuable property in the city, though without the power of improving streets at public expense. This plan of city ownership of land is not here advocated, but is simply mentioned as the best way probably, if indeed any way is practicable, of securing to the state the unearned increment.

In cities covering a large area, where working-men through building associations can hope to own their own homes, as in Philadelphia, St. Paul, and Minneapolis, it is doubtless better to encourage the ownership of such homes by the masses by allowing them to retain all this unearned increment as now. So with the farmers. The conservatism of our farming population is so important a factor in national stability, while the tendency to leave the country for the city is so great, that here, the writer believes, it is most productive of social good to allow a premium on land-owning instead of, by taking away all the rent, to make farm life still harder than to-day. It is only in the heart of large cities that the unearned increment is large or open to attack, and here, if reached at all, it must be by some less radical measure than Henry George offers. Probably a moderately graduated income tax would be the best addition to our present forms of taxation, and might enable us to dispense with some of our present cumbersome means of raising revenue.

Edward W. Bemis.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

CHURCH PROBLEMS IN GERMANY.

IN Germany they have been and are yet making church history so rapidly that a bird's-eye view of the recent and rapid developments and of the status and outlook at present is not a work of supererogation. With the adoption, last April, by the Prussian Parliament of the church bill as prepared by the authorities, a *modus vivendi* between Berlin and the Vatican has been reached, and the *Kulturkampf* has been officially declared ended. With this event the chronicler of modern church history will doubtless close an important chapter in his records, for it has, temporarily and outwardly at least, brought to a conclusion one of the most intense struggles between principles that are contending for supremacy in the religious world of the nineteenth century.

As is the case in regard to more than one important historical event, it is a matter of no little dispute what the true cause and origin of the *Kulturkampf* was. Yet so much is certain, that, although in its developments and conclusions it was almost entirely an affair between Prussia and the Vatican, its beginnings stand in close connection with the establishment of the German Empire. The remarkable events of 1870 and 1871 re-established the old German Empire, but not in its former condition. Before the Napoleonic wars in 1805 put an end to the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation," the Emperor of Austria, a Catholic prince, was also Emperor of Germany. The Franco-Prussian war not only re-established the empire, but also placed the king of the leading Protestant power in continental Europe upon the Imperial throne and made him the political arbiter of Europe. At the same time the Pope lost his temporal supremacy, so that the Catholic cause seemed to be seriously endangered by the strange course of events. The Catholic papers of Germany and elsewhere openly and repeatedly at the time gave expression to their fears, that the new German Empire meant danger to Roman Catholicism. In the very first German Parliament a Catholic or Centre party made its appearance, which worked and voted as a solid body, under the leadership of the astute Malingrodt, at whose death Windthorst took the reins. This hostile attitude was answered by Prussia by abolishing the Catholic department of the Cultusministerium, which has the special interests of religion and education under its direction. No action against the Catholics

was taken by the general government until in December, 1871, when at the proposal of the Bavarian members of the *Bundesrath*, or National Council, the German Parliament passed the famous "pulpit paragraph," which imposed imprisonment up to two years upon any clergyman using his pulpit for political agitation. Bavaria took the lead in this matter in the interests of Old Catholicism, which, under Döllinger, Friedrich, and others at Munich, was beginning to effect an organization, and which was favored by the government and, as appears from letters recently published, by the late king himself. Prussia, in February, 1872, took a further step in totally secularizing the public schools, and in depriving all the clergy of their office as school inspectors, to which positions only laymen were now to be appointed. This law also, as interpreted and carried out by the Cultusministerium, excluded all members of a religious order from positions as teachers in any of the public schools. The next step was taken by the general government, and was one of the most important in the whole contest. In July, 1872, the German Parliament passed the Jesuit law, which expelled from Germany all non-German Jesuits and members of allied fraternities, such as the Redemptorists, the Lazarites, the Priests of the Holy Ghost, the Society of the Holy Heart of Jesus, while the German members were forbidden to labor in the official capacity, and were put under police surveillance. The famous "May laws" followed in May, 1873, but these were measures of the Prussian government only, and did not affect the other German states. These laws aimed at depriving the Catholic authorities of the right of entirely controlling the education of the young priests. The laws decreed that no one could be appointed as a clergyman in Prussia, unless he was a German subject, had studied three years at a German university, and was able to pass a state examination in philosophy, history, and German literature. A diocesan priest-seminary could not be established in a university town. The political authorities hoped, that if the Catholic candidates were compelled to study these branches, or at least do so from a standpoint other than the Ultramontane, they would become more friendly to modern thought and to the new empire. Against the higher clergy the law concerning the duty of announcements was directed (*Anzeigepflicht*) which decreed that the bishop, before ordaining a candidate or making other official appointments, must make announcement of his purpose to the president of the province. Further, the May laws curtailed the rights of the bishops to discipline their subordinates,

and such disciplinary measures were not to be passed or published only after due investigation. Nor was any one allowed to exercise this discipline unless he was a German subject. These measures aimed at protecting those priests who were willing to obey the laws against the disciplinary measures of their bishops for doing so. This was followed in 1874 by the civil marriage law and by the removal of obligatory baptism. These were the leading legal measures adopted by Germany or Prussia in order to crush the Ultramontane opposition. Supplementary laws were passed to make the others effectual, such as the decision that no bishop's chair shall be vacant more than one year, which was intended to prevent banished bishops from governing their dioceses from abroad, and few similar measures, growing out of the conflict. The *Anzeigepflicht*, which seemed equivalent to a total subordination of the church to the state, was resisted to the extreme. Fines effected nothing, and the leading officials of the Catholic Church of Germany were thrown into prison, and only one or two of the bishops and archbishops of Prussia retained their sees. When this did not secure submission, these men were deposed from their offices by the state. The Pope took courage from the determined attitude of his lieutenants in Germany, and by his Encyclica "*Quod Nunquam*" of 1875 declared the May laws as null and void. The Pope before this had directly interfered but on one occasion, namely, in 1873, when he personally wrote a letter to Emperor William, in which, among other things, he made the remarkable assertion, that all baptized persons really belonged to his fold as the head of Christendom. The determined hostility of the Catholic Church in head and members finally, in 1875, induced the Prussian authorities to pass the so-called "*Sperrgesetz*" (staying or prevention law), by which the state refused to support the Catholic priests unless they would submit to the laws of the land. It was proposed "to hang the breadbasket so high" that many would yield. Then all religious orders were done away with, except those that were engaged in caring for the sick; and, thirdly, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and eighteenth articles of the Prussian constitution of 1850 were abrogated. The fifteenth article says, that "The Evangelical and the Roman Catholic Church, as also every other religious communion, can control its own affairs independently." The sixteenth reads, "The dealings of religious societies with their superiors is not to be interfered with; the promulgation of church announcements are subject to only those conditions under which other announcements can be made." The eighteenth

article reads, "Proposing, appointing, electing, or confirming incumbents in ecclesiastical offices, in so far as the state has exercised any privileges in this regard, are herewith abrogated."

Some features of these laws are at once noticeable. The actually aggressive party was the state, however much it may have been provoked to take these extreme measures, which sought to deprive the Catholic Church of certain privileges which it had enjoyed in Prussia and in Germany. As far as the Catholic party was concerned, the contest on its side was really of a negative character, namely, to regain these privileges. During the whole contest it never made demands for new and positive rights, however much it may be inclined to ask this now. The *Status ante bellum* was the extreme that was aimed at and contended for. Accordingly, even if it had gained all its points, it would be simply in the same relation to the state in which it was fifteen and more years ago. A complete victory of the Ultramontanes would legally not have improved the status of the church in Germany, however much internally the battle and the results have strengthened the Catholics in the land of Luther. In reality a complete victory has not been gained. The *modus vivendi* does not include the entire surrender of all the legal enactments of the German and the Prussian parliaments. The May laws have been done away with, but the Catholic Cultusministerium has not been established again, the school law of 1872, the pulpit paragraph, the Jesuit law, the civil marriage law, and the abrogation of §§ 15, 16, 18 of the constitution, are all yet in force. Notwithstanding the cry raised about Bismarck's journey to Canossa, the Catholic Church of Germany is legally under a closer watch of the state now than she was in 1871 when the *Kulturkampf* began. This, too, the Catholics of Germany themselves feel, and it is only too evident that they regard the present stage only as an armed neutrality. At the Catholic congress in Breslau last year, and this year at Treves, Windthorst declared that the *Kulturkampf* had been insignificant in comparison with the struggle that would soon break out, namely, the contest for the control of the schools, both high and low; and his words were applauded by the hundreds of representatives from Catholic Germany to the echo. Indeed, the Catholic leaders were much dissatisfied that the Vatican authorities concluded the negotiations with Germany without consulting those who had fought for fifteen years for the Church of Rome. So much was this the case, that these men suppressed the first letter sent by Leo XIII. to the German Catholics urging them

to vote for the Septennate. In his famous Cologne speech, justifying his course, Windthorst appealed a *papa male informato ad papam melius informandum*. In fact, the era of good feeling, which the liberalizing tendencies of the present Pope are favoring, has been a thorn in the eyes of the German Ultramontanes, whom the struggle for their principles has made all the less willing to yield even an inch. The position of the Catholic press of Germany, which is virtually controlled by the *Augustinus-Verein*, when the compromising measures of Rome were made known, was certainly remarkable. The instructions were severely criticised, and even refusal to yield was urged, although this seems not to have been done. Sanguine men began to speak of a "Catholic democracy," which might maintain a certain independence over against the Rome as the Gallic church of old had done. That the Catholics do not regard their work as done and their mission ended is evident from the fact that the Centre party is to remain a separate political faction. The next parliaments, both Prussian and German, will tell the story as to the actual outcome of the agreement reached through direct negotiations between Berlin and Rome.

In the mean while Bismarck's dream of peace is being rudely disturbed from a direction whence he had doubtless expected little trouble. Over against the negative struggle of the Catholics now officially ended, the Protestant Church, not of Germany as yet, but of Prussia only, has inaugurated an aggressive weapon for positive rights and concessions, which the state has heretofore never granted, but which the Evangelical leaders claim. An examination of the legal enactments against the Catholic Church will make it plain that the Evangelical Church also suffered through these measures. They were urged to yield without complaint, since these measures were pronounced as necessary in the interests of the contest of the Protestant principle over against Vaticanism and Ultramontanism. This was done, although many of the clearer heads saw that the *Kulturkampf* was not such a struggle at all between these two principles, but between state omnipotence and Vaticanism, and that, *mutatis mutandis*, the state could consistently operate from its standpoint against the Protestant cause in a similar manner as it had done against the Roman Catholic. The concessions made by the "April laws" to the Roman Catholics aroused the Protestants of Prussia to demand certain rights and privileges. The movement was headed by the conservative side in the Church of Prussia. Already on the 17th of May, Freiherr v. Hammerstein, the editor of the "*Kreuzzeitung*,"

the most influential conservative paper in Germany, introduced a measure in the Prussian Parliament, to the intent that "the Royal Government should take proper measures, in consideration of the restoration of enlarged liberty and independence to the Roman Catholic Church, that a corresponding greater measure of liberty and independence be granted also to the Evangelical Church in accordance with her churchly needs." It should be remembered that in Prussia the official church is the "Evangelical," formed in 1817 of a union between the Lutheran and Reformed in which the confessional differences of these two historical communions are disregarded. In the lower house these measures were not at all brought up for consideration, but in the upper house (*Herrenhaus*) they were introduced by the veteran conservative v. Kleist-Retzow in June and were passed with a great majority.

In order to understand the why and wherefore of these measures it must be remembered that in Prussia state and church are intimately connected. The roots of the present organization go up into the period of the Reformation, when a *cujus regio ejus religio* did not necessarily mean harm to the church, but as in Saxony, Prussia, and elsewhere meant the protection and defense of the newly restored gospel. But now matters have changed, and where state and church are united, the former is apt to use, or rather abuse, the latter for its own ends. In Prussia, by constitutional arrangement, the king is the highest bishop of the Evangelical Church. The government is in his hands, and the mediums of government are consistories, etc., appointed often for political purposes. Accordingly, in the Parliament, Jew, Social democrat, and Catholic sit and vote on questions of the most vital interests of the Evangelical Church. The proposals of Hammerstein and Kleist were quite general in their character, and no official formulation or specification of these demands have been made. But from the utterances of the great Free Conference of the friends of this movement held in Berlin, together with the position taken by such leading authorities as the "*Kreuzzeitung*" and the "*Reichsbote*," the latter edited by Stöcker, these demands for greater liberty and independence include: (1) Influence of the synods and church on the election of theological professors. As matters now stand these men are appointed by the government usually on the recommendation of faculties, but without consultation of synods or congregations. The latter have no voice in the selection of those who are to train the new generation

of pastors. In this way such an abnormal state of affairs can arise as exists in the Rhenish provinces. While the majority of pastors and congregations are comparatively orthodox, at the university of Bonn there is such a man as Bender, who teaches so radical a rationalism that he is even disowned by Ritschl's School. The demand means, (2) that the government of the church be divorced in a greater or less degree from those agencies operating between the royal highest bishop and the church, and that the functions now assigned to them be given to the synods, which at present have no real but only advisory authority. This does not aim at a disestablishment — which is indeed especially disclaimed — but only at an ecclesiastical instead of a political government of the church. Whether this is to lead to an Episcopacy seems yet uncertain, although an "office of oversight" seems to be the ideal of the friends of the movement.

That the second demand, namely, for more funds to carry on the work of the church, is justified by facts is very evident. Venter, a recent writer on this subject, has shown that the dotation granted by the Prussian state during the past fifty-four years to the Catholic Church was 121 million of marks, while that given to the Evangelical during the same time was only 58 millions. And yet only about one third of Prussia's subjects are Catholics.

The matter has been agitated in an exceedingly lively manner throughout Prussia, and the friends of the cause are confident of victory. It has been taken into politics and will be *the* question in the next Prussian Parliament. In the Church of Prussia none oppose it except the few extreme Confessionalists, who are no longer in connection with the state church, and the radical *Protestantenverein*.

A movement of a similar and yet dissimilar nature we have in the Evangelical Association (*Bund*) organized throughout Germany to fight Rome "with word and pen." This was started by the Mediating theology men in conjunction with the more advanced men. It seeks to unite all Protestants of Germany, of all shades of opinion, in the one common struggle against Romish aggression. The association confesses its adherence to the faith in "Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, and the Mediator between God and man; and also in the principles of the Reformation." It is organizing local societies throughout the empire, and reports a membership of over ten thousand. The first general meeting was recently held in Leipzig. It is particularly successful in places where the Roman Catholic population is about equal

to the Protestant. To a measure it has secured the sympathy and co-operation also of the more conservative classes, who at first hesitated on account of the indefiniteness of its doctrinal platform, and it has officially declared that it will labor hand in hand with the Hammerstein-Kleist movement. What the outcome of the contest may be, only a prophet or a prophet's son can foretell. The principles involved and the issues at stake are certainly of the greatest importance.

Germanicus.

PAUL'S THEOLOGY.

II. PROPITIATION.

ACCORDING to Paul, redemption is wrought through the sufferings as well as the life of Jesus Christ. This truth is variously expressed by him, and with no inconsiderable emphasis. "Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his *blood*." "While we were yet sinners, Christ died for us; much more then, being justified by his *blood*, we shall be saved from wrath through him." "He that spared not his own Son, but *delivered him up for us all*." "I determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and *him crucified*." "He hath made him to be *sin* for us who knew no sin." "In whom we have redemption through his *blood*." Such are a few out of many analogous expressions; they are enough to make it clear that Paul puts unquestionable emphasis on the sufferings and death of Christ; that they are not in his thought accidental or incidental; that he believes and teaches that they have entered largely into the divine plan for the rectification of human life and character; and that no interpretation of Paul's writings which passes over this aspect of them can be regarded as other than either partial or superficial. In order to understand the apostle's teaching on this subject we must look back and inquire into the condition of the minds of the men — both Jews and Gentiles — whom he was addressing.

Sacrifice has existed from the earliest historical ages of the world, and among all nations, as a method of expression of the spiritual life. Whether sacrifice was commanded by God to the first parents of the race, as some have supposed, or whether

it was the natural expression of the profound and universal religious feeling, as seems to me far more probable, both from Biblical and extra-Biblical history, it is not here important to inquire. It is enough for our purpose to know that in Persia, Babylon, Egypt, Phœnicia, Judea, Greece, and Rome, as well as among the barbarous Goths and Vandals of the North, suffering and sacrifices and death were the commonest method of expressing spiritual experiences, whether of penitence or devotion or gratitude. It is equally certain that the general tenor of the Old Testament Scriptures tended to guide and restrain rather than to stimulate this sacrificial habit. The Old Testament statutes were not indeed prohibitory; but neither were they mandatory: they were regulative and restraining. Hence the very first law on the subject of the altar for the sacrifice was one forbidding elaboration and expense: "An altar of *earth* shalt thou make unto me, . . . and if thou wilt make me an altar of stone thou shalt not build it of *hewn* stone." It was to be of the simplest possible construction. Similar in spirit are the laws regulating the sacrifices to be offered. In the surrounding nations sacrifices were measured by their costliness. And since no outpoured wealth was adequate to express what the soul in its deepest experience felt, and since human life was rightly accounted the most sacred thing, human life was frequently offered on the altars to the gods. Captives taken in war were sacrificed in gratitude; and children were laid upon the altar by their parents as the supremest expression of penitence, the supremest means of expiation, or the supremest utterance of devotion. When Abraham was told to offer up his only son Isaac to God, he could give to the inward impulse no other interpretation than that which has too often been given to it since, that of a divine command to slay his son; until God's angel interfered to divert him from his purpose, and teach him that God measures sacrifice, not by the value of the thing offered, but by the reality of the inward life which prompts the offering. The Mosaic statutes on the subject of sacrifice, if they are carefully examined, will be seen to be, in their general tendency, if not in their every clause and section, aimed, not to stir up a reluctant people to bring adequate sacrifice to God's altar, but rather to restrain a superstitious people from multiplying sacrifices and measuring their devotion by the cost to themselves of what they put upon the altar. Any lawyer reading the first chapter of Leviticus, for example, would at once declare that these provisions were to be classified with directory not mandatory stat-

uses ; that their object, apparent on their face, is to regulate and restrain, rather than to incite and compel sacrifice. If you bring an offering it shall be without blemish ; a bullock, or a sheep, or a turtle-dove, or a piece of meat roast in the oven, or first-fruits from the field — no matter what, — such is the spirit of the law — so that what is brought is not picked out because it is useless for any other purpose. If the worshiper can, let him bring a lamb ; if not, then two turtle-doves ; if not so much as these, then a little fine flour.¹

If we turn from the law to the writings of the inspired prophets, this restraining tendency of the sacred writings of the Jews is still more apparent. All through their history is discernible, as there has been ever since, the two streams of influence : one proceeding from the temple and the priesthood to emphasize the importance of the ritual of sacrifice, and one from without the temple to minimize the significance of its sacrificial services. The stream of dissent from sacrificial ritualism is continuous and unbroken from Samuel to Malachi.² "Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams:" this is the utterance of one of the earliest of the long line of prophets. "From the rising of the sun to its setting, my name shall be great among the nations ; and in *every place* incense shall be offered to my name and a pure offering:" this is the utterance of the latest.³

Now the first thing to be noticed about Paul's treatment of the death of Christ is that it is simply a continuance and consummation of this constant stream of dissuasion from a merely sacrificial and ritualistic religion. For, in spite of restraining statutes and more eloquent restraining words of prophets, the sacrificial ritualism had grown strong. The religion of Judaism was a two-fold religion : of minute ceremonial regulations of life by the Pharisaic doctors of theology, and of elaborate and costly sacrificial ceremonial by the priesthood of the Temple. The whole service of the Temple was expressed by the one word, blood ; its

¹ Leviticus, chaps. i. ii. iii.

² 1 Sam. xv. 22 ; Malachi i. 11.

³ See for other examples Psalm xxiv. ; l. 7-14 ; li. 16, 17 ; Isaiah i. 10-20 ; Amos v. 21-24 ; Micah vi. 6-8. Note, too, that never do the prophets urge on the people the duty of sacrifice, or make it a condition of divine favor, which is always represented as depending wholly on practical repentance and righteousness : for example, Isaiah lv. 6, 7 ; lviii. 1-7 ; Jer. xviii. 7-10 ; xxii. 2-5 ; Ezekiel, chap. xxxiii.

whole economy was based on the pagan notion, rooted in the Jewish mind in spite of Hebrew law and Hebrew prophet, that the greater the outpouring of blood, the greater the appeasement and satisfaction of God. "Hundreds and hundreds of lives of sheep, every passover, as well as at every Pentecost and every feast of Tabernacles, were borne into the Temple and carried or driven into the court of the Priests, and there slain, the blood being caught by the priests in bowls and dashed upon the altar. Hour after hour the whole day long the spectacle continued. The secret channels down through the rocks, toward the king's garden, gurgled with blood."¹ Over all a truly prophetic soul might have heard the remonstrance of the ancient prophet, "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me, saith the Lord. I delight not in the blood of bullocks or of lambs or of he-goats. Wash you; make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well." But their ears were dull that they could not hear. Nor was this practice of employing bloody sacrifices as a method of expressing religious life, and this notion that bloody sacrifices were necessary to appease and gratify the deity, confined to Judea. The whole ceremonial of Judea was confined to one temple; and the Jewish faith in God was more sincere, and the Jewish sense of accountability to Him more deep and strenuous than in light-headed Greece or sensuous Rome. But if the sacrificial service was less continuous in pagan lands, it was sometimes conducted on a larger scale; and the notion that the spiritual value of the service depended on the money value of the thing sacrificed was more deeply rooted. It was not uncommon to offer on special occasions a hundred bullocks at a time, and even human sacrifices had not been wholly eliminated, by either the levity of spirit or the development of civilization, from pagan rites.

Now Paul's writing is to be interpreted in the first place in the light of these facts, and as the climax and consummation of the long line of preceding Hebrew prophets of whom he was the last. To the silent but intense objection of the pious worshiper, whether Jew or pagan — what becomes of our sacrifices? how shall God be appeased, and devotion to Him expressed? Paul's answer was ready: "Christ is our propitiation; He is our Passover; He is our first-fruits; He is our sacrifice; it is through faith in *His* blood we have access to God; the highest, supremest life has been laid down for us; we need no other. The drops of

¹ H. W. Beecher's *Life of Christ*, p. 156.

blood that trickled from his hands are all ; there is no need of a hundred bullocks, or of rivers of blood flowing beneath the temple floor." As a Protestant preacher to a Roman Catholic penitent, who should ask, What penance shall I suffer for my sins ? might reply, Christ is your penance, you need no other ; so to Jew and Gentile who asked, bewildered by a teacher who proclaimed the unbought Gospel of God's free love, What, then, shall we do for a sacrifice ? Paul replied, " Christ is our Passover ; set forth to be a propitiation ; henceforth in *his* blood we have access unto God and peace with him." Looking back along the line of history, we cannot doubt that this teaching has wrought a revolution in the Church of God, greater and more radical than we are wont to recognize. Since Paul's day sacrifice as an expression of religious life has been utterly abolished wherever Paul's writings have exercised a dominant influence on the religious thought of any people. Then it was universal ; now it is unknown. No longer the lowing of cattle, the bleating of lambs, the cooing of doves, the blood of victims greet ear and eye in any temple court. The place of worship is no longer a place of butchering. This crude, barbaric, pagan conception of religion, permitted under restraint by the Mosaic law, swept away as puerile and needless by Paul's teaching, exists now only in two forms, — in Romanism in the mere idle figment of an unbloody sacrifice in the Mass, and in Protestantism in the theological notion, still lingering in symbols and sermons, like memories of a morbid past in a deserted cloister, that God is a being who could ever be appeased by the slaughter of cattle under the Old Testament, or needed to be appeased by the death of a Divine Martyr, under the New Testament ; or that sin is an external blot that can be washed away either by rivers of blood of beasts or drops of blood of the Son of God.

This, however, is certainly not a full explanation of the emphasis which Paul puts on the sacrifice of Christ as the foundation of redemption. The death of Christ was no mere chance production of a mob, seized upon by the apostle to sweep a superstitious relic of barbarism from the religion of the world. It was no mere glorious act of martyrdom, symbolic and stimulating of human courage and enthusiasm. It was part of God's eternal design. Christ came to the earth that He might suffer. To suffer was as truly a part of his mission as to teach. An unsuffering Messiah could no more have been than an unteaching Messiah. I need not go back to the Old Testament prophecies, to such passages as

Isaiah's famous picture of the Man of Sorrows, to show that this thought lay interwoven in the more spiritual anticipations of the Hebrew people. I need not quote from the evangelists such passages as John's report of Christ's sermon at Capernaum, to show that it was interwoven in the life and teachings of the Master himself. For I am here endeavoring to interpret not Isaiah, nor Christ, but Paul. It suffices to say that he simply reiterated, in his own strong and idiosyncratic way, this fundamental truth, that the manifestation of God to men was in a suffering Messiah. "Whom God hath *set forth* to be a propitiation;" "whom God hath *given*;" "whom God hath *made* to be sin for us;" "God *commendeth his love* in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." Paul even declares that it is because of the humility and sufferings and death of the Messiah, that God has highly exalted Him and given Him a name which is above every name.¹ It is true also that he, in common with the other writers of the New Testament, represents the sufferings and death of Christ as no mere episode in the divine administration; it is the disclosure of an eternal fact. The laying down of life in the incarnation is only an outward revelation of a laying down of life which never ceases, and never can cease, so long as there is sin in God's universe, and love in God's heart. The death of Christ is but a making known to us "the mystery of his will which He hath purposed in himself; even the mystery which hath been hid from ages and from generations, but is now made manifest to his saints."² So Peter declared, with that audacious disregard of logical consistency so characteristic of the sacred and, indeed, of all spiritual writers, "Him being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken and by wicked hands have crucified and slain." So John calls Him a "Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." In all this there is something more than the mere assertion that God foresaw the death of Christ as He foresaw that of Stephen or that of Paul himself; there is the far profounder truth implied, that the death of the Messiah was a revealing of the suffering and sacrificing nature of Him who is the same yesterday and forever, and who can never look on sin and suffering without being moved to take the burden on himself and bear it for those He loves.

Philosophy has busied itself in discussing the question why Christ suffered. What terrible necessity lay upon God to deliver up his only beloved Son? What exigency plaited a crown of

¹ Phil. ii. 6-9.

² Ephes. i. 9; Col. i. 26.

thorns and nailed Him to the cross? To rescue men from Satan, said ancient scholars. To appease God's wrath, said Calvinism. To make it safe for God to forgive sin, said New England. To exhibit God's love, says a modern school. Paul gives to this question no answer. Nowhere in his Epistles does he so much as consider it. The *effect* of Christ's death he does explicitly define; the *object* of it he does not seek to probe. Perhaps there was no object; rather — this would be a truer statement — perhaps the object lay in the necessities of God's own nature, not in compulsion brought to bear upon Him by Satan, the necessities of his government, or even the moral needs of men. A mother is weeping bitter tears over the sin and folly of an apostate son. The philosopher inquires into the cause of the tears. "Why do you weep, madam?" he says. What useful service can tears render? Will they appease the bitter indignation of your own heart against the ingratitude of a rebellious son? Do you shed these tears that you may make it safe to forgive his wrong-doing and receive him that was an outcast to your love again? or do you think, perchance, that tears will produce an effect on him whom neither fear of punishment nor hope of reward could move, and do you weep to move him to repentance? I think I see the wonder changing into indignation in the mother's heart as she turns upon her philosophic inquirer her questioning eyes, and replies: "Ah! you do not know a mother's heart or you would ask no such questions as these." She weeps, not to appease her wrath, nor to make forgiveness safe, least of all, dramatic tears to make a show withal to move and melt the on-looker; she weeps because she is a mother and her boy is in sin, and because love always, and by the very necessity of its nature, must weep when sin wounds it. Why did David cry, "Oh, my son Absalom! my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!" Why did the father of the Prodigal Son go forth to meet him with compassion in his heart and tears in his eyes, fall upon his neck and kiss him? Answer me that, and I will tell you — this, I imagine, would have been Paul's answer to the question — why God gave his only-begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish, but have everlasting life. The sacrifice of Christ was the cry of God over a lost world, "Oh, my son Absalom! my son, my son Absalom! I die for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son."

And now, if the reader has followed me thus far, he is, perhaps, prepared to see what seems to me to be the relation of propitia-

tion or sacrifice to justification, as Paul presents the two ideas. Popular theology has regarded justification as a purely forensic term ; as equivalent to pardon ; as imputing simply the remission of punishment. Sacrifice, therefore, also becomes a forensic term ; it is a part of the process of acquittal. It is either a means of appeasing divine wrath, and so making it possible for God to remit penalty, or a means of satisfying law, and so making it safe for God to remit penalty. Whichever view is taken, both rest in the assumption that the object of justification is to let a convicted sinner off from punishment, and that sacrifice is a bearing of that punishment in his stead. But, if I read Paul aright, justification is not exclusively, nor even chiefly, a forensic term ; the forgiveness of sins is not the same as the remission of punishment, and does not always even involve it ; and sacrifice is not a means to make it either possible or safe to remit penalty, but the divinely ordered means for the purification of character. Paul's doctrine of justification is that God possesses a righteousness which forever goes out of himself that it may righten those who open their hearts to its influence. His doctrine of faith is that man can directly and immediately open himself to receive the immediate and direct personal influence of a light-giving and a life-giving God. His doctrine of repentance is that man cannot thus open his soul to God without a keen sense of the shame of his past sin, and a genuine and profound sorrow for it. He must die to sin ; he must crucify the old man. His doctrine of sacrifice is that no higher nature can ever go down with healing power into a lower one, to regenerate and reform it, except by suffering with him who is to be redeemed. His doctrine of atonement is that the process by which God and man are made as one is this process of commingled sorrow. God suffers in his own person the shame and sorrow of his child's sin ; that is sacrifice. The child suffers the shame and sorrow of his own sin ; that is repentance. This common sorrow affords a common experience ; the Saviour and the sinner are as one ; sorrow opens the heart of God to man ; sorrow opens the heart of man to God ; and through these opened doors, opened by a sorrow shared by both, life passes from one to the other ; and he that was dead is alive again.

As I read over this attempted interpretation of Paul's theology, it seems to me sadly inadequate to express even my own conception — but who is adequate for such a gospel ? There is no space here to take this conception and apply it to the interpretation of Paul's always mystical and often enigmatical writings. This is

the only just test of its value. Let the Bible student, who cares to follow the matter further, take this as a key and apply it to the elucidation of the apostle's many declarations concerning the death of Christ and the Christian's conformity to Christ's death. Does it give to them a profounder and more spiritual meaning, or a narrower and shallower one than they bear as interpreted by the governmental school of theology? By that test every interpretation of the apostle's reading must be judged at last.

Lyman Abbott.

CORNWALL-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

EDITORIAL

COMMENT ON CURRENT DISCUSSION.

It is quite impossible, without additional facts, to estimate intelligently the grounds of Mr. Spurgeon's secession from the Baptist Union. The charges which he prefers against the Union for the looseness in doctrine of its membership are too sweeping and violent to form a basis of judgment. When one says of a religious association of which, till now, he has been a member, — "We are unable to call these things Christian Unions, they begin to look like Confederacies of Evil," — the utterance reveals the temper of mind of the writer, not the facts in the case. It seems more than probable that Mr. Spurgeon's dogmatic habit, which has been so effective in the pulpit, has brought him into a state of chronic impatience with all methods of Biblical interpretation or doctrinal statement other than his own. At all events the religious public has yet to be assured of so serious and widespread a defection from the faith on the part of the Baptist Ministers and Laymen of England, as the action and words of Mr. Spurgeon would lead it to expect.

Apart from the question of fact in the case, or the theological issues involved, Mr. Spurgeon's secession is of interest as showing the method of discipline in unorganized religious bodies. If the Baptist Union had been a highly organized body, like the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, Mr. Spurgeon would have naturally proceeded against his offending brethren in the way of formal discipline. In the absence of an organization warranting such a course, he could only discipline them by the withdrawal of fellowship — a method which Dr. Plumb says is "the normal and very effective method of discipline among Congregationalists," and which he advocates in present application to the teachers of the "New Theology," and to those who are in sympathy with them. The method is "normal" to all Congregational bodies: its effectiveness depends entirely upon the number and standing of those who use it. We can conceive of circumstances in which its use would have very evident disadvantages. A serious responsibility, however, rests upon those who withdraw fellowship, because of the effect of their action upon Christian unity. Christianity is best defined to the world through those things which unite, not through those which separate, Christian believers; and Christian unity cannot be maintained except by allowing the distinction between things essential and non-essential to faith, and in respect to essentials by allowing a difference in methods of interpretation. Inspiration and atonement are essentials in Christian doctrine, but not theories about them. Variation of opinion in non-essentials and in the interpretation of essentials may coexist with the common and most vivid apprehension of Christianity in its work in the world. And it must never be forgotten that it is the *apprehension of Christianity in its positive and outgoing power*, rather than in its unrevealed relations, which constitutes

the ground of Christian unity and the inspiration to Christian service. We have seldom seen this thought stated with such clearness as in the following extract from an editorial in "The London Spectator" (October 29th) upon Mr. Spurgeon and the Baptist Union : —

"What was it that originally made the Christian Church? Was it not a perfectly new vision of God's character, actions, and purposes, and the consequent transformation which took place in human aims and hopes? Of course, that implied a common theology of a very new and startling kind; but what Mr. Spurgeon at least evidently means by doctrine was rather the implication than the absolute essence of that theology. The facts which changed men's hearts were the evidence that God had done marvellous things in order to make man different from what he had been, and the doctrine was rather the explanation and analysis and coördination of the divine actions than the actions themselves. Such matters, for example, as Mr. Spurgeon refers to — plenary inspiration of Scripture, or eternal hopelessness for those who die without belief in Christ — are in the highest degree remote from the divine facts, the belief in which gave such new and extraordinary strength of cohesion to the first Christian community; probably neither of these doctrines was either held or so much as canvassed, or even conceived, by any one of the writers in the New Testament. What filled them with wonder and common joy and common hope was the life and death and resurrection of Christ, and the gift of the Holy Spirit to the church. All the so-called doctrinal theology was due to reflection on these facts, and the attempt to hold them intelligently and coherently. We believe that the more there are of these honest confrontings of modern difficulties with ancient doctrine the more we shall come to see that, after all, the essence of unity in a Church is what it believes concerning God's mind and character and active manifestation in history, concerning the divine sacrifice and suffering on our behalf, — in short, concerning the secrets of the divine nature, so far as they affect our standards of life and duty. The unity of a church is and must be deeply affected by the belief or skepticism of its members as to what God really is, and has shown himself to be, by actual interposition in human affairs. But it need not surely be affected by their common belief or common indifference in relation to matters of such extremely indirect concern with our life and duty as the partial fallibility of sacred historians, prophets, or even apostles, or the limits of the mercy with which those human beings may be treated in another world who have never had what most of us would call a fair chance of a true moral probation in this."

The reference in the preceding paragraph to the withdrawal of fellowship as a method of discipline, as advised by Dr. Plumb in dealing with the advocates of the "New Theology," suggests a contrary opinion set forth very vigorously by Dr. Merrill, of St. Louis, in "The Advance" of November 10th. The communication is so clear and terse that we give it entire. No better plea for toleration has been made. Of the two theories which are presented, as relieving the dogma of the universal perdition of the heathen, it seems to us that the theory of implicit faith, or "faith character," fails to take the full strength out of Christianity. It does not emphasize or even express the power of Christianity in motive, or show

what influence is at work for those destitute of the requisite "faith character." But we acknowledge its rights as a theory, and we claim by virtue of its standing in orthodox bodies the like place for the theory of the possibility of a Christian opportunity for all men. If orthodoxy held to the universal perdition of the heathen, neither theory could be tolerated. As it does not hold to this dogma, why should one relieving theory refuse to tolerate the other?

"Now that the smoke of the conflict has cleared a little, it may be possible for us to look over the field and discover the reasons for the sharp encounter that has taken place. I will call one party to the strife, Andover; the other, Beacon Hill. One, A; the other, B.

"Both A and B agree in their belief that there is one God, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit; that the Bible is the only authoritative rule of faith and practice; in the total depravity and lost condition of mankind; in the vicarious atonement provided by the death of Jesus Christ; in the eternal punishment of all who reject the Saviour provided. Both A and B believe in a universal atonement. Both deny that all who die without having heard of Christ are lost.

"To clear the difficulty thus faced by both, A says: I infer from the Biblical representations of God, and from a few texts, that God in providing a way of salvation through Jesus will give all a chance to believe on Him; and if that cannot be done in this world, it will be done in another. B says: From my conception of God's character, and from a few passages of Scripture, I infer that all who would have accepted Christ if they had heard of Him, will not be punished, but will be saved through Jesus on the ground of their 'faith character.'

"Neither of the combatants can bring any undisputed 'Thus saith the Lord' for the theory that he holds. Both are sure that they are in this matter, as in many others, justified in holding a speculation that, in a narrow use of terms, may be called 'extra-Biblical,' that in this way only is it possible to get at and express the real meaning of the Word of God.

"Why the conflict? There is none at home. Men holding either of these theories are freely admitted to the pulpits and associations of Christendom. Why should there be conflict when men are being sent to the heathen? Neither of the parties need say to the heathen: All who have died without a knowledge of Christ will be eternally lost for not believing on Him. A has his theory to relieve the mind of the heathen whom he is asking to believe in a just and merciful God. B has his. Neither of them has behind him the mighty impulse of a belief that all the heathen world, unless it accepts of a personal Saviour before death, goes without exception to an eternal hell. No such nerve of missions exists in an intelligent Christian church to-day. It is time to cry a halt. A and B must hear the voice of C, which, standing for Congregationalism, ought to stand for common sense. C says it is time for those who have freely received the precious gospel to freely give it, by furnishing money and by going themselves to the perishing, and in doing this divine work to use A's money and men and extra-Biblical theories, and B's money and men and extra-Biblical theories; that A should not ask B to send A's men save as A's money is furnished; that B should not ask A's men to furnish their money to send exclusively B's men; that by and by perhaps, a calm study of the Scriptures and of providence will disclose the fact that neither A nor B

has found the correct theory for the truth upon which they both are agreed. There never was a quarrel with a less adequate cause. Let us have peace."

The opposition to the execution of the Anarchists, so far as it existed, was confined to two classes, those who doubted the expediency of the act as a matter of public policy, including a few lawyers and some business men, and those who, like Mr. Howells, thought that the doings of the men, being chiefly in the way of writing and speaking, did not constitute a capital offense. It is difficult to see, according to the view of this latter class, what could constitute a capital offense that should fall short of the actual physical deed, murder, that is, by hand. It was proved upon the trial that these men were in a conspiracy to effect substantially the end reached, and that at the time the most of them were directly inciting to the act. The distinction is a perfectly plain one between writings or speeches from which dangerous inferences may be drawn, and such as immediately and by direct intention incite to crime. The principles of Anarchy may be as freely discussed as the principles of Christianity, as witness the discussion of the Coming Anarchy by Prince Kropotkin in a recent number of the "Nineteenth Century." But Anarchists have no more right than Christians to propagate their principles by inciting to violence. The attempt to paralyze a community with fear by the use of dynamite is only a revival of the principle of the Inquisition. Whoever attempts to convert society to his principles or beliefs, be they wrong or right, by fear of loss of life or of property, is a public enemy. The violence of the method used or urged, not the badness of the principle, constitutes the crime.

The London "Spectator" of November 5th devotes an editorial to the rumored intention of the government to bring in "a great Purchase Bill for Ireland." Assuming that the government are contemplating this step, the "Spectator" urges that, in case they can construct a practicable scheme, it should be introduced immediately. For, it says, the statesmen of both parties believe that the existing strife must end either in the passage of such a measure or in Home Rule. Hoping and believing that Home Rule will never be granted, the "Spectator" is eager for the introduction of the alternative measure, and the consequent cessation of a strife which it believes to be doing untold mischief in destroying respect for law and loyalty to the state. It thinks that a Purchase Bill introduced by the Tories might win the farmers of Ireland to their side, and so at one stroke paralyze the Parnellites.

As the "Spectator" may be considered the spokesman of the more able and honest Liberal Unionists, these are important words.

The advocacy of such a costly measure as the only way of putting an end to the present strife is an ingenuous admission of the staying power of the Home Rule cause. It unconsciously admits, too, that its advocates are at least not wholly misguided. "Give the Irish people the power of acquiring the land," it is said, "and they will cease clamoring for a

Parliament." But is such a gift, costing scores of millions, to be made as a concession to foolish, unjust outcry? We do not assume, of course, that the land is to be handed over to the Irish farmers without exacting compensation. Any Land Bill that could be passed would contain some provision for restoring to the government what it should pay the landlords. But, even with such a provision, any Land Bill capable of execution would be a very expensive and troublesome measure. To introduce such a bill merely to get rid of annoying agitation, to advocate it as a concession to popular whim, while denying that there is any evil to be removed by it, would show a moral lightness of which certainly the "Spectator" would not like to be accused. We must, therefore, find in its words the expression of a feeling, perhaps not consciously held, that some deep wrong must be removed before the Irish agitation can be brought to an end. Does not this go to show that the Tory policy of severe coercion is not to keep the support of the Liberal Unionists?

DR. STORRS'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

DR. STORRS's letter contains pleasing indications of his desire to promote unity in the constituency of the Board. With this purpose in view he seeks "to outline, with absolute freedom of speech, the course which appears from my [his] point of view equitable toward all, consistent with the whole history of the Board, reverent toward its Lord, and adapted to further its benign operations." We desire to promote no other policy than one which can be thus described, and to appreciate, in their full worth, such suggestions as Dr. Storrs may offer for its elucidation. He disclaims any right to speak for others, but affirms that if the views which he expresses do not represent the judgment of the Board and its constituency he shall retire from its Presidency. His paper thus assumes the position of a proposed platform, on which a judgment is invited. For this reason, as well as from its intrinsic merits, it invites careful and candid attention.

Dr. Storrs expresses the hope that a future motion of inquiry into "the methods heretofore followed by the Prudential Committee in their transaction of the business of the Board" will be unanimously and cordially approved. What is the occasion or purpose of this examination does not appear, beyond the suggestion that "we all want the best" methods. The proposal is too indefinite to admit of much intelligent discussion. Does it include an investigation of the management of the Home Department for several years past? If so, it comes, in the most important respects, too late. The lips of one of the most important witnesses are sealed in death. Results that might have been secured by the adoption of the resolution of inquiry proposed by Mr. Hazard at Des Moines can best be attained now in a different way. We think that any resolution hereafter offered should be specific.

A further suggestion in the letter respecting the appointment of a

committee at the next annual meeting of the Board to report a year later upon the question of modifying its constitution, overlooks the reference of this subject, in part at least, to Dr. Quint's committee. It is, however, in the line of a general movement of thought at the present time. Changes long in solution are often precipitated by a sudden shock. The nomination to the corporation for two successive years of men presumed to be supporters of the management, the filling this year of places made vacant by the death of liberals with conservatives, the positive indecency of creating voters between the close of a discussion of resolutions concerning the policy of the Board and action upon them, have made an impression which cannot be obliterated. Dr. Storrs's suggestion at this point is in the line of a public demand.

Probably the portion of Dr. Storrs's outline of policy which will receive the closest scrutiny is what he has to say upon the qualifications of candidates. His suggestions here will command, we think, so far as they are positive, the general approval of the liberals. He emphasizes justly the need of treating each case by itself, and ascertaining the general spirit and purpose of the candidate, and urges impressively that "due regard should always be had to the probable influence of an earnest missionary zeal and the educational force of missionary work pursued in a temper of loyalty to Christ, upon the formation of future opinion in those whose impressions are tentative and unfixed. . . . Evangelists and missionaries naturally draw nearest to the heart of the gospel. They know in experience that the Word of the Lord is quick and powerful; and that to substitute for it any theories of human device, and accordingly of questionable soundness, is to replace the sword of the Spirit with a tin blade." Dr. Storrs's argument would doubtless have been reinforced on this line if he had had larger practical experience in dealing with missionary candidates, and especially with theological students. He would have realized so that he could not have omitted allusion to it, that ordinarily men do not offer themselves for expatriation and all the other peculiar sacrifices involved in foreign service without a strong faith in Him who is the Truth, as well as the Way and the Life—a faith which is the surest guarantee of doctrinal stability and purity.

We are disposed to think that under the instructions proposed by Dr. Storrs a Home Secretary not committed to an antagonistic policy would have recommended the appointment of all the men and women who have been discredited to the Committee and rejected by it, and whose cases have become known to the public. We are equally clear that the present Home Secretary cannot carry out this programme without changing, root and branch, his methods. It is radically inconsistent with his fundamental principle. That principle is, that the Board must maintain as an essential part of the gospel, and a belief indispensable to missionary appointment, the doctrine of the universal decisiveness of this life. There can be permitted no more uncertainty or wavering or shadowiness of opinion on this article of faith than in respect to any other.

What now is Dr. Storrs's position? He first lays down, at some length, that the Board has decided that the doctrine of a future probation is not "a constituent part of the gospel of Christ." There are expressions in this portion of Dr. Storrs's letter which fall below the general level of candor and impartiality for which his letter is to be commended; yet his main contention is that the theory of a future probation is to be left to discussion outside of the Board, and that it cannot now be recognized as a part of the message which the Board authorizes its missionaries to proclaim. In all this we are in entire agreement with him, and we do not know of one among the candidates whose opinions have been brought into the existing controversy who would dissent. Not one has desired to preach future probation as a part of the message of salvation which he has received from Christ to proclaim to the heathen.

Whatever cloudiness is spread over Dr. Storrs's policy by occasional expressions in this part of his exposition of it is dissipated by what follows. Evidently, if the dogma of the universal decisiveness of this life is a Scriptural teaching, and is to be coördinated with the doctrines of the divinity of Christ, the atonement, and other essentials of faith, the Board has no right to "authorize" a doubtful assent to it, or a private rejection of it. Such a course would call out the severest censure from its constituency and the condemnation of all believers. It could not be countenanced by Dr. Storrs. Yet in respect to the dogma in question he recommends precisely this policy. How far he goes, and the relation of his proposed method to that hitherto ascendant at the Missionary Rooms, we may show by supposing it to be practically applied. Encouraged by Dr. Storrs's letter, students, we will assume, from certain institutions begin again to apply, through the Home Secretary, for appointment. The following conversations ensue as a part of the customary examinations which he conducts:—

No. 13 CONGREGATIONAL HOUSE,
ROOM OF THE HOME SECRETARY.

The Home Secretary: Please give me your views respecting the Biblical and vital doctrine of the universal decisiveness of this life.

Miss —: I have not studied theology, and have no "speculative scheme." I do not find in the Bible any explicit revelation of a future probation. I am content to leave the whole matter with God.

The Home Secretary: Does this imply that there may be a future probation for any?

Miss —: In leaving the matter wholly to God, of course I do not leave it only partially with Him. If He sees best to give a knowledge of his atoning love to those who died without it, so that some are saved by it, I suppose that He may; and when we leave the matter with Him and find relief, I think we usually hope that somehow He will thus be merciful.

The Home Secretary: But the Bible shows that we cannot leave the matter with God to this extent. Such a hope is not permissible.

Miss —: I applied because I understood that Dr. Storrs had explained differently the position of the Board. He says, — speaking of his understanding of recent action of the Board, and of the Prudential Committee, — “that when one does not find the new theory sustained by the Bible, and does not hold it as part of an accepted speculative scheme, but leaves the whole momentous matter . . . in the hands of Him who as judge of all the earth will do what is right in wisdom and love, no hindrance is interposed to immediate appointment.”

The Home Secretary: Dr. Storrs says that missionaries, men and women, ought to be persons of strong convictions, — stronger than is necessary always for ministers of the gospel at home.

Miss —: Yes, but he could not have intended to apply this remark to indulging a hope about the salvation of heathen who die without the gospel, for he says, or implies, that one may have such a hope, if it is “vague.”

The Home Secretary: He adds, “acknowledged to be unsupported by the Scripture.”

Miss —: If my hope rested on plain Scripture it would not be “vague.” Dr. Storrs cannot mean that it may find no suggestion or encouragement in the Scripture. I could not leave the matter, as he says, in the hands of a being of wisdom and love but for revelation. My hope is as vague as the limit of the shadow of the cross, vague as the horizon of the atonement, — it rests in the character of God as revealed in Christ.

The Home Secretary: Perhaps such a hope is sufficiently “vague” and “unsupported” to meet Dr. Storrs’s requirement. Still, it is a hope, and how can it be harmonized with the doctrine of the universal decisiveness of this life?

Miss —: It cannot. I understand Dr. Storrs to propose, delicately but plainly, to withdraw this test from candidates.

The Home Secretary: You will doubtless emphasize in your thought on this subject John v. 29?

Miss —: I believe that every Scripture, inspired of God, is also profitable for teaching, etc.

The Home Secretary: You will send me the health certificate.

[*Exit candidate.*]

The next candidate who presents himself is a student of theology. The conversation soon turns into the usual channel.

The Home Secretary: Do you accept the Biblical truth that this life is universally decisive.

Student: The Scriptures plainly reveal the universal sinfulness of men and their need of such a Redeemer as is offered in the gospel. How his grace is made known to those who never hear in this life of such a Redeemer, or indeed that it is revealed, the Scriptures do not teach.

The Home Secretary: Have you an opinion on the subject?

Student: No.

The Home Secretary : Have you read what Professor Phelps says respecting such agnosticism? I have repeatedly called attention to it. He says: "On this point, also, it will not do for a religious teacher to say, 'I do not know.' He ought to know." This point of doctrine is a main and vital one, and is generally so regarded.

Student : I supposed that while the Biblical teaching respecting the sin of rejecting Christ and the fact of the final judgment have been receiving new emphasis from Christian teachers, there is a general tendency to be less dogmatic respecting the destiny of those to whom Christ is not here revealed. I supposed also that Dr. Storrs intended in his letter to recognize this fact.

The Home Secretary : To what do you refer?

Student : To his statement respecting "the considerate care" with which "the want of an opinion" on the part of candidates will be treated by the Committee. He would not use this language respecting any one of the essential truths of Christianity. Concerning these he would say with Professor Phelps, that a missionary should have positive convictions, and be able to preach from a clear and strong faith.

The Home Secretary : Have you applied for appointment in consequence of the publication of Dr. Storrs's letter?

Student : Yes.

The Home Secretary : Are you aware of the action of the Committee in the case of "Mr. B."?

Student : Yes. "Mr. B." said, "I do not know," and the Committee rejected him.

The Home Secretary : You know, I presume, that the Board at Springfield, by formal vote, approved of this rejection?

Student : Yes. But I hoped that the sending out of Dr. Storrs's letter from these rooms and the reception which it has met with were indications that such a decision would not be repeated.

The Home Secretary : You regard Dr. Storrs's letter, then, as proposing a new rule?

Student : Certainly.

The Home Secretary : It is difficult to see how this rule, after the vote at Springfield, can be put in force without further action on the part of the Board.

Student : You mean that the question will have to be brought again before the Board, perhaps at Cleveland?

The Home Secretary : Why, yes, if there is to be a change.

[*Exit Student.*

Another candidate, also a theological student, but from another Seminary and ignorant of the preceding conversation, called. The conversation again soon reached the pivotal question.

The Home Secretary : You wrote to me that you accept the doctrines commonly held by the churches sustaining the Board?

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Student : Yes.

The Home Secretary : No doubts upon them ?

Student : No ; I mean that I am convinced of their truth and desire to preach them.

The Home Secretary : How about the doctrine of the universal decisiveness of this life ?

Student : I was not aware that this is a doctrine which the churches require to be held as an article of faith. It is not mentioned in the Commission's Creed.

The Home Secretary : Have you read the twelfth article of the "Memorandum" I sent you ?

Student : I did not understand that I was expected to subscribe to that.

The Home Secretary : No, not exactly. It states however a doctrine regarded by the churches as very important.

Student : I received the impression at the meeting in Springfield, to which we were kindly invited, that the Board and not the churches decide what doctrines missionaries are to hold.

The Home Secretary : The Board has decided that the theory of a future probation is not "a constituent part of the gospel of Christ."

Student : Excuse me, I did not suppose that any one maintained that it is. I am not a believer in a future probation. It seems to me that the Bible does not exclude the hope that in some way the grace which saves men here through the motive of the cross will be given to all men for whom Christ died. Not that all will be saved, but that all will have a Christian probation.

The Home Secretary : Is this more than a "vague hope" or "sympathetic impulse" ?

Student : Yes, it is an opinion, though "tentative and unfixed."

The Home Secretary : You avail yourself, I notice, of Dr. Storrs's language. I will use his words also. Is your opinion a "controlling theological bias" ?

Student : No.

The Home Secretary : Do you desire to preach it ?

Student : I want to preach the clearly revealed truths of the gospel. The hope that God's grace is not withheld from the millions who have died without Christ is not founded on such a revelation, yet it has some support in Scripture. I should regard it as a hypothesis which is helpful in relieving difficulties, not a mere speculation or conjecture and yet not an established opinion. It cannot be made an excuse for delay of repentance, for it does not apply to those who would thus use it. It lies along the approaches to certain truths, most of all those of the universality of the gospel, and the character of God as revealed in Christ. The nearer I get "to the heart of the gospel," the more I think that this grace will be found to be a part of its universal provision for mankind. But I do not presume to state or hold a supposition or an inference, still under discussion, as an authorized doctrine. If I understand Dr. Storrs's lan-

guage, I am included in the class of those whose opinion on this subject need not be a bar to appointment.

The Home Secretary: You mean that you hold your opinion as "personal" to yourself, "in silent submission to subsequent correction," rather than as "a distinct dogmatic tendency or a formulated conviction"?

Student: Yes, if this does not impose a rule of absolute silence. I do not so understand it. A "personal" hope may be sometimes the best medium of aid and comfort to a brother who is in distress of mind.

The Home Secretary: Would you expect to exercise the same liberty of thought and speech abroad as at home?

Student: I claim the same right to liberty. Every one who seeks to win men to Christ, and to promote union and coöperation in Christian work, will pay due regard to his position and associates. Some things may be right and lawful which are not expedient.

The Home Secretary: The decision of the Board at Springfield is so clearly against you on this point of liberty that I do not think the Committee, even if in view of Dr. Storrs's letter it should waive the doctrinal difficulty, can appoint you at present. Meanwhile I hope you will review the whole subject and not abandon your purpose.

[*Exit Student.*

One point has appeared in these conversations beyond our main purpose, namely, the purely transitional character of Dr. Storrs's proposals. We suppose the key to his entire philosophy of the situation is to be found in these statements:—

"A Society like the Board, constantly responsible to large Christian constituencies, and properly controlled by their determinate judgment and will, must recognize in the end whatever results are thus attained and adapt them to its subsequent course. But its very function, as an executive body, for accomplishing a particular immediate work, requires it cautiously to follow, not aggressively to lead, in such discussions; while it plainly forbids it also, with imperative precept, to anticipate in its proclaimed doctrine conclusions which the majority of its members and of their churches do not accept."

These principles lead Dr. Storrs to two conclusions, namely (1), that the Board should not "authorize" its missionaries to make the theory of a future probation a part of their authoritative message; and (2), that the Board should adjust itself in some measure to the growing demand for a larger toleration in respect to "questions of eschatology." We agree with him in these principles and in their application. Indeed, the contention that the Board in doctrinal matters should be governed by the will of the churches, and should not meddle with an existing theological controversy and take sides upon it, has been one of our chief concerns, and the main ground of our criticism of the action at Springfield. We are firmly persuaded that if the will of the churches had been followed Mr. Hume would not have been kept back from his work for many weary months, and that the whole controversy within the Board might have been avoided, and

the rejected candidates be all now at work in the mission fields. But however this may be, it is of noteworthy present advantage that Dr. Storrs commits himself to this principle of church control, and proposes to help in securing a reorganization of the corporation by which it will more readily reflect changes in the opinion of the churches than it does under its present constitution. Dr. Storrs's application of this principle is, however, quite imperfect; intentionally so, it may be. If in obedience to the progress of thought in the churches the dogma of the universal decisiveness of this life is no longer to be insisted on, the Board has no right to prohibit its missionaries from holding any of the theories current among evangelical Christians, and not excluded by the churches, which claim consideration when this dogma is withdrawn. It is impossible to abandon, as Dr. Storrs does, the old dogmatism and justify, as we hope he does not, a new one; to say, 'the Bible does not exclude the supposition of future grace for some,' and then to add, 'but you must not accept this hypothesis, especially if you think there are reasons for it.' Dr. Storrs's letter is very weak at this point, unless it be interpreted as purely a temporary and transitional statement, which we assume to be all that it is intended for. It should also be remembered that a minority has special rights in matters admitted not to belong to the essentials of faith. Here the principle of toleration should have the widest scope and freest exercise. And if it be granted that the teaching of the Bible is not so conclusive against a future probation as to prohibit a missionary from entertaining a secret or private hope respecting it, where is the warrant or who has the lawful authority to prohibit his avowing his hope? Or if it is admitted that the Biblical reasons for the universal decisiveness of this life are not sufficient to establish this doctrine as an article of faith, how does it become intolerable that one should be incited by this very fact to discover, and to find reasons for, a larger apprehension of the possibilities of divine grace? Of all the positions that can be taken on this question none certainly is more likely to be purely ephemeral than this, that a man may cherish a hope that the heathen will have future opportunities of grace, but may not cherish such a hope if he finds any good reason for it.

The earlier part of Dr. Storrs's letter is liable to convey wrong impressions as to the contention of the minority. We trust that the effect actually produced was not intended. There cannot be a grosser misrepresentation of what was desired by the minority at Des Moines or Springfield than to charge it with twice forcing upon the Board the theory of a probation after death, and seeking to secure its authorization as a constituent part of the gospel. If all that the Board did at Des Moines and Springfield was to decide adversely such an issue as this, Dr. Storrs may be assured that this settlement is not likely soon to be disturbed; and we think no more striking and conclusive proof could be given of the justice and wisdom of his comment upon the incompetency of the Board, under the conditions of its meetings, as a theological tribunal, than would be implied in the supposition that its members

understood at Des Moines and Springfield that they were voting upon this question.

The Board does not commit itself to theories which it tolerates. A missionary has recently published in China a series of papers which maintain that there are and have been no truly pious heathen, that God has decreed to pass the unevangelized heathen by, that they pass out of this world unrenewed and confirmed in sin, that there is no hope for them beyond. Is the Board committed to such theories because it does not recall this man?

This case has a bearing on the question of toleration to which we just adverted. The representation of the character of God conveyed by such dogmas as those advocated by this missionary is abhorrent to many supporters of the Board. They are pained to have it thus presented to the heathen mind. It is not unlikely that a majority of the corporate members of the Board would dissent from it, and altogether probable that a larger proportion of its constituency would be offended at it. What then? Is it the path of wisdom to withdraw such a man from his work, or if he should come to this country for needed rest, detain him from returning? It may be said that he holds to the old theology. But outgrown dogmas are no safer than those to which the church may not have grown up. The point is, his views are not those of the majority, whose judgment Dr. Storrs recognizes as authoritative. Shall the man be recalled? He is one of the best missionaries in the service. He holds and preaches all the essential articles of faith, as they centre in Christ and Him crucified. There is a better course for the majority to take—that of toleration. The advantage of this method abroad as well as at home is, that Christianity in the end is more adequately represented. There is much fanciful talk about the need of uniformity in missionary teaching. It assumes that missionaries have only to deal with rude men—a phrase whose own irrelevancy is suggested as one recalls the familiar story of the Frisian chief who refused, at the font, to be baptized because of a missionary's answer to his question about his ancestors.

There are great perils in diplomatic adjustments of controversies—the perils of concealment, evasion, substitution of phrases for realities, of compromising formulas for honest manly thought and utterance. It should not be hidden from view that the policy proposed by Dr. Storrs, however honestly proposed and accepted, is exposed to these dangers. He suggests its delicacy and intricacy in his exposition of it. We believe that the wisest statesmanship for the American Board requires a policy less beset with moral exposures.

The churches are agreed as to the essentials of faith. On no one of the cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith is there need of minute discrimination between “the want of an opinion and the presence of one,” between a “vague hope,” a “silent” hope, or a “personal” hope and something more pronounced and distinct. Examinations which inevitably drift into such inquiries are presumptively evil. As a proposed perma-

nant policy it would be no worse to seek to revive courts of casuistry or to establish councils of Jesuits. If future grace for men who have died unconfirmed in wickedness and accessible to the grace of a Saviour of whom they have not heard is allowed to be permissible as a "personal" hope, it is to this extent and degree recognized as a probable part of that gospel which is nothing else or other than the revelation of God seeking and finding the sinful and lost, and giving to every man the opportunity of recovery through this personal and divine intervention for his salvation. And we know of nothing that could be more undesirable than to subject honest and disingenuous minds in the fresh zeal of special consecration to the service of Christ in foreign missionary work to the necessity of informing a Secretary of the Board in just what exact sense and to what precise degree they can say that such a hope is not a part "of that divine message which came to our fathers and has come to us from the bleeding and kingly hands of Christ." Any just presentation of such a Redeemer suggests a larger gospel than any generation has yet received. Loyalty to Christ may be, must be, insisted on, consecration to his service, trust in Him as man's only Redeemer, — but when a policy goes beyond these bounds into delicacies and intricacies it is in danger of becoming itself indelicate, a tangled web, a cause of needless and sometimes painful moral perplexities, or an allurements to insincerity.

The churches are also agreed as to the safety of liberty. They will demand it more and more for missionaries, for India and Japan, for every land where they seek to set up the cross. "Men must be free," — we quote from a report signed by Rufus Anderson, David Greene, Selah B. Treat, and approved by a former Prudential Committee — "and must feel that they are free, in order to rise to the full capacity and dignity of moral agents, and be subjected to the full control of law, reason, and the moral sense. And, of all gospel ministers, the missionary among the heathen most needs to have his mind and spirit erect, and to feel that all good men are his brethren. This is necessary to the unity, peace, order, and efficiency of every mission. The law of liberty is an all-pervading law in Christ's kingdom." And, as we have before pointed out, nowhere is the repression of freedom and progress of thought more intolerable than in respect to questions admitted to be debatable, and concerning which the churches have pronounced no decision save the law of toleration and liberty. Such a policy of restriction and illiberality will prove, indeed already has shown itself to be, prejudicial to the quality of the service which the Board can command. It puts the missionary under artificial restraints, cuts him off from living sources of knowledge, says to him: You are not free like your brethren to know the highest and the best in modern thought. Others can use the most scholarly interpretations of Scripture that have anywhere been reached, but you must keep to the results accepted by the men who were admitted by ticket to Olivet Chapel. Pastors and missionaries at home can draw from the most recent, able, and varied expositions of theology they can command, whether

English or German, but you must not go beyond the conclusions approved by the doctors of divinity who spoke for the majority in the City Hall. When we think of the needs to-day of such a country as Japan, when we recall what we have heard of our brethren in the Congregational ministry there, when we look to any land, now calling for missionaries, where there is already awakened thought, and openness of mind, and increasing acquaintance with the works of the most manly and vigorous thinkers of our day, we cannot repress our indignation at such narrowness. It is not merely a loss of power and opportunity, but a positive and immeasurable harm.

After the majority at Springfield had completed its task of revolutionizing the Board and violating some of the dearest rights of consecrated men and women and of a large portion of its constituency, the cry was started: Now let there be rest! Vain illusion! Scarcely does the waning moon complete another of its changeful cycles before the President who was elected by that majority proposes a new doctrinal platform and raises a new theological issue; and adds, that unless his views are approved by the members of the Board and "the multitudinous contributors whom they represent," *"everybody may know that I shall then retire at the end of the year."* [Italics ours.] A pretty little Nemesis for certain leaders this, as well as a sudden shock to a dream of peace. One theological question, at least, seems thus to be shaping itself authoritatively for the next meeting at Cleveland. How the "multitudinous contributors" are to express an opinion on Dr. Storrs's proposals and concessions, and especially on his practical abandonment of the Home Secretary's theological test of candidates, does not appear. He leaves them in this dilemma. If they contribute to the Board, they will be understood to vote in favor of the Home Secretary's policy and against his own. If they withhold their gifts, they encounter his grave declaration, "nor will any change be wrought in those minds" (the minds of the "controlling" majority) "by a withholding of funds from the common treasury." It is a good thing to have "an end of litigation"; but it is a better to have good laws, and a wise execution of them. The moral of it all is this: there can be no "rest" until in some way the rights that have been violated are restored, and the Board returns to "the old paths." If Dr. Storrs shall prove to be a leader into this way of peace, none will rejoice more heartily than we; nor will we allow ourselves to question that his devotion to justice and liberty is as controlling now as in the days when he was associated in the editorship of the "Independent" with JOSEPH P. THOMPSON and LEONARD BACON.

THE MINISTRY UNDER CERTAIN SELF-IMPOSED LIMITATIONS.

In a former article, on the professional education of ministers, it was intimated that, when they fail to come into living contact with men, the reason is more likely to be found in the customs and methods which pre-

vail in the actual exercise of their profession than in the omissions of their theological course. It will be recalled that ministers had been criticised on the ground that they are not in touch with the thought and life of to-day, that they are not leaders of men, but only sermonizers and makers of calls, and also that the fault had been laid at the door of the theological seminaries. We return to the subject in order to consider some of the limitations which ministers are in danger of accepting as they enter and continue in the duties of their sacred calling. These restrictive conditions, rather than any apparent unpracticalness of preparatory studies, are likely to narrow the preacher and bring artificiality into his work. We would not, however, be understood to imply that the modern ministry, as a whole, is inefficient. Considering the demands which the frequency of preaching to the same congregation makes on the intellectual and spiritual resources of clergymen, it is to be wondered at that so large a majority are successful, and it may at least be fairly claimed that the ministerial, judged by the average of results, compares favorably with the legal and medical professions. We shall therefore discuss certain tendencies to self-limitation, due to various causes, against which every preacher should be on his guard, and which, when they become dominant, produce the results of which complaint is made.

The tendency to what may be called Ecclesiasticism is so influential that freedom from it, even on the part of the broadest minds, can be had only by constant watchfulness. It consists in undue regard for the external organization, especially of the local church over which the minister is established. The pastor thinks that his most important work is to secure additions to the church. He becomes aware that success is measured chiefly by the numerical enlargement of the church. There looms before him the annual report of accessions, which will afterwards appear in the year-books of the State Association and of the denomination at large, and by which, as he supposes, his own standing will be affected. Or, if he does not care for that, he finds it a common theory that the increase of the church is the principal object to be aimed at. The effect is twofold. His preaching is directed in undue measure to the act and method of conversion, so that he seldom gets beyond the first principles of the gospel of Christ. He thus reaches only a narrow segment of the real thought and need of his hearers, and only a temporary phase of religious feeling. It also comes about that he devotes personal attention mainly to those who are most likely to come into the church. Thus some ministers seem to be chiefly occupied in persuading young people to make profession of faith. While we do not for a moment undervalue the importance of youthful consecration, nor ignore the value to the young of participation in church life, we are decidedly of the opinion that the proper influence of the pulpit is greatly reduced when the thought and motive of mature life are not usually addressed, and especially when the reason of such limitation is the desire to enlarge the external organization. It is not a good sign if the labors of a revivalist are more highly valued than the constant

work of resident clergymen. Because he brings people together for a few days and presses one point, till those who are likely soon to make the outward sign of their faith, or who are most impressionable, are induced to become members of the church, it is thought that he, in a fortnight's campaign, has done more good than the pastors of the place in several years. It is singularly ungracious for this class of preachers, who go from place to place without permanent responsibility, and who present but one class of motives, to turn about in conventions of Christian workers, and accuse the clergy at large of inefficiency because the results of revivals are not secured all the time, and then to charge it on courses of instruction in theological seminaries, because the Bible in its original form, doctrinal theology, and church history are made more prominent than the conduct of inquiry meetings and the management of Sunday-schools. But pastors themselves, the best of them, are in danger of valuing the visible result of numerical enlargement above the less tangible growth of spiritual life. It is a weakness of human nature to estimate values by that which is visible and outward, and the temptation is strongest in the religious sphere, where the real results are in the slow hidden processes of character and the interior life. There is liability that in this respect the very elect will be deceived. Ecclesiasticism exalts the external organization. It puts the means in place of the end. We are not aware that the danger is any less in non-liturgical than in liturgical churches.

Another limitation to which ministers are in danger of becoming subject, while not easily defined, is constantly in waiting to put its yoke upon them. For want of a better name it may be called Pietism. One of its characteristics is a *phraseology* out of which very much of the original meaning has evaporated, till it has become arid and without significance. There are words and phrases, some of them taken from the Bible, some from obsolescent doctrinal statements, and some from expressions into which the religious emotion of a former generation poured its heat and glow. This phraseology is heard in sermons and in prayers, and always makes an impression of vagueness. The preacher who has contracted this style would be somewhat surprised, and perhaps perplexed, if he were required to translate it into equivalent expressions which everybody understands. Suppose a friend, of correct literary taste, were to take the sermon under which the congregation had been listless and mark the words and phrases which should be rendered into more definite and intelligible expression. One result might be that the preacher would see he had himself attached no clear meaning to them, that he was in the neighborhood of thoughts for which he put down some current but too general phrases. The list might include such terms as "salvation," "grace," "faith," "spiritual," "service," "come to Jesus," "kingdom of God," "sanctification," "pouring out of the Spirit," "sinfulness," "corruption," "lost," "renewed," "experience," and the like. What was your precise meaning, asks the friend, when you said "the kingdom of God"? Was it not a convenient term to suggest some phase of social improvement

due to the gospel? Why do you so frequently employ the word "experience," especially in the plural? Have you not identified the circumstance with the meaning which might have been pressed out of it; and even when you have used the word correctly, have you not been magnifying the feelings of men as if those feelings were the highest good of religion? But, replies the preacher, are not these words and phrases found in the Bible, and in the writings of eminent divines? Certainly, and they are, at least the separate words, found in the dictionary, too. And sometimes they may be used with the utmost appropriateness. Your mistake is that you frequently employ them when they are quite remote from your meaning, and sometimes when your thought has not naturally led up to them. The fault is that you habitually use abstract instead of concrete terms, general instead of definite expressions, and that you have been indulging yourself in this way because they have a pious and even Biblical sound. You ring the changes on these words, or rather you ring these words on changes of thought which require more variety and definiteness of expression. You have thought more of the sound than of the sense. It would be an excellent use of some of your hours in the study to read John Foster's essay on "The Aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion," an aversion which he traces in part to the vague use of religious phraseology, which is only one remove from cant. The phrase may be pious, but the use of it indolent and slovenly. Profanity is the misuse of pious phrases; and the glib, unreflecting, inappropriate employment of them may not be very much better. In fact, there is no such thing as a pious phrase, any more than there can be a pious fraud. The pietism which rolls the morsel of well-sounding phrases in the mouth to conceal the absence of thought and feeling is the counterfeit of spirituality. Another characteristic of pietism is a *tone* of expression somewhat plaintive, somewhat languid. It is apt to appear as a cadence, the voice dying away in a falling or rising inflection, a cadence known among the irreverent as a pulpit tone, a drawl, or even a whine. It is sometimes adorned with a smile which seems to some sweet or heavenly, although others, it must be confessed, are so disrespectful as to call it sickly. When the physical intonation and facial expression do not suggest the pietistic habit, the tone may be detected in the emphasis and proportion of thought. Attention is directed to the sad aspects of life, to its burdens, cares, sorrows, and trials, to the comfort, pity, soothing, and peace which religion affords. Deprivations are more conspicuous than achievements, patience than courage, endurance than service. This same pietistic tone becomes habitual when the proportions of the gospel are reversed and sin is dwelt upon more than newness of life. The positive hopes and motives of the gospel are not ignored, but in such cases, where grace abounds, sin much more abounds. When the attempt is more sedulously made to impress on men the fact that they are sinners of a deep dye than that they are by right the children of God, the reaction will be manifest in the very tone of the preacher. The sinfulness and

corruption of man must, indeed, be emphasized, but to dwell disproportionately on them is no superior evidence of piety as compared with dwelling on the hopeful, moving, revolutionizing power of the gospel of Christ. It is really pietism, the counterfeit of piety, affecting style of expression and quality of thought, and making impressions of truth which are unreal and unchristian. There is a tendency in the speech and thought of clergymen, or of a coterie of religious workers or talkers, which insensibly affects every preacher in his treatment of spiritual truths and feelings. If, instead of calling things by their right names, instead of speaking out like a man, and, like himself, instead of emphasizing the positive elements of truth, he is vague in speech, plaintive and effeminate in tone, and dwells among the conditions to which the gospel comes rather than among its vital forces, he becomes unreal and loses living contact with the men of his day.

The preacher labors under a self-imposed limitation when he *insulates* truth from life. The insulation of religious truth keeps it out of connection with life by barriers which may be nearly invisible, but are none the less impassable. It is truth of the highest value concerning which the preacher speaks. But for some reason or other it is remote and unreal. He is speaking about God in his character and purposes, about Christ the Friend and Saviour of men, about the eternal significance of the present life, yet only a feeble impression is made, and many hearers go away blaming themselves for indifference and wandering thoughts. But the difficulty is that the preacher holds truth and life apart. He preaches on some doctrine as that which is to be maintained or believed, as that which the Bible plainly teaches, or which has always been held by the church. His anxiety seems to be that his people should be correct in their religious opinions. Truth is put on the defensive against imaginary objectors. Such preaching may be sound to the core, but it is not helpful nor influential. It is not felt as motive nor as inspiration. The preacher's love of the truth seems in excess of his love of men. He seems to be discharging a distasteful duty in defense of the truth, and to heave a sigh of relief at the end of every sermon. Now it makes comparatively little difference on which side the preacher starts — on the side of truth or the side of life, if only he unites them. The profoundest truth, if it is felt to be in vital relation with conduct and purpose, will be welcomed. Men will bear the most searching analysis of motives if they are led on to see the adaptedness of truth to their actual life. If only in some way that truth which he handles with an almost superstitious dread could be taken off that tripod which insulates it, and allowed to touch the ground, thrills of influence would be felt in the hearts of waiting men. Therefore the preacher should speak of that which has become real and helpful to himself. He should declare and enforce that which has become significant to his own thought, and by methods of argument and expression which are characteristic of himself. He is to preach out of reflection and conviction, otherwise hearers will be

doubting whether he really believes all that he says. A few truths which a man really believes will have more effect than a comprehensive system to which he only assents, and which he maintains without sense of reality and importance. In a word, he should be a *preacher*. The gospel is *preached* when its truth is conveyed through the medium of personality, and when the preacher's personality is obviously the result of the truth he declares. He should clear himself of all conventionalism in phrase and opinion, should push aside modes of teaching and of influence which do not suit his natural methods, even as David put away the armor of Saul, and should try to preach neither above nor below the full measure of his genuine conviction. The principal mistake of many a minister is that all his life he is trying to be somebody else.

We are led by these reflections to the most serious charge we have to make against the ministry. We make it in kindness as well as sincerity, and cannot refuse to plead guilty to it for our own part. We believe that the tendencies which have been mentioned, and which are limitations on the influence of preaching, are results, usually, of a single cause, which is, *mental indolence*. Ministers may fail on account of having mistaken their calling, from constitutional sensitiveness or timidity, from inadequate intellectual power, or from poor health. Such causes we are not now considering. But when ministers are found exalting the outward organization, vamping in vague religious phrases, adopting the artificial tone of sentimentality or sanctimoniousness, and failing to make religious truth real to actual life, the reason in most cases is intellectual laziness. Not but that such preachers work hard, both early and late. Not but that they are busily occupied every hour of the day. Not but that they make sacrifices of personal ease for the sake of their people. The ministry as a class cannot be accused of *general* laziness. But when they are ineffective for the reasons given above, the real cause is intellectual laziness. The toil of thought is unwelcome. The preacher does not do his own thinking, or does not do it thoroughly. We do not mean that he does not study, that he expends his energies in running about his parish. He may be an omnivorous reader and a proficient scholar. But the toil of brain by which alone he can be carried through to the significance and uses of truth he will not undertake. He thinks his way *into* a truth of the gospel, or a problem of life, but he does not think his way *through*. He jots down some suggestions that come to him and writes them out till the usual amount of paper is covered, and on Sunday reads or declaims what he has written, but has been skirting the outside without once penetrating to the heart of the truth, or the secret of life. He preaches the gospel, but is not able to say with Paul, "according to *my* gospel." It is for this reason that he attempts to build up the external organization and so seems to be securing results, for this reason that he glides into the current of traditional expression and the tone of dreamy, mystical, pietistic feeling. It is for this reason that he never gets truth out of the clouds and into its relations. He does what human nature is always doing, holding

itself up with props of conventions and customs so that it need not stand alone; satisfied with that which is accredited as safe and sound, so as to avoid the laboriousness of thinking along the lines of old truth into new applications and needs, a task which is always in important respects a solitary task, out of the line of traditions, precedents, and agreements. Whether or not one expends his strength on this most fruitful toil depends not on the proportion of his preparatory studies, but on his own honest, earnest, deepening love of the truth, for the sake of the truth, indeed, but still more for the sake of men.

There is no remedy for ineffectiveness from this cause in artificial changes as from written to extemporaneous preaching. The method of delivery has an importance, but it is only secondary. The cure will not be found in attaching more sacredness to the pulpit, nor in reducing its sacredness by colloquialisms. The panacea for lack of effectiveness is not in having a more familiar acquaintance with men, nor in choosing themes of passing interest. People do not want preaching to become practical rather than doctrinal, nor to have the minister more frequently in their offices and parlors. If asked, they might not be able to say what they do want. But when truth spoken out of real personal possession and conviction comes to them they respond. It is the true spirituality which is sense of the reality of God, of the seriousness and value of life, of the imperative of duty. To possess this, not brilliancy, nor talent, nor fervor is essential, but an earnest interpretation of truth into life and of life into truth, while the preacher himself is seen to be realizing the ideal of character which he describes and enforces. It is only in some such conception of his office and some such devotion to his work that the preacher can be permanently useful, or his vocation be considered the highest of callings.

THE ANDOVER REVIEW FOR 1888.

WITH its next number "The Andover Review" enters upon its ninth volume. As may be seen from the announcement of the Publishers, to be found on the advertising pages, new subscribers can obtain back numbers of the Review from the beginning, bound or unbound, at reduced rates. Recent subscribers may wish to avail themselves of the same offer to complete their sets.

The attention of present subscribers is called to the opportunity offered, in the renewal of their subscription, to secure the new hymn-book—Hymns of the Faith.

In response to many requests received during the past year, the Review will henceforth be furnished to all Home and Foreign Missionaries at \$3.00.

The purpose of the Editors in the conduct of the Review for the coming year is best defined by the past. The venture of the Review, when established four years since, into the field of theological and religious discussion as a *Monthly* seemed somewhat hazardous. The traditions within

that field were chiefly toward the Quarterly. It was believed that the honorable repute of the Quarterly for weight and scholarship might be maintained in connection with the broader and more practical treatment of current themes made possible by a more frequent issue. The reception accorded the Review has encouraged the Editors to think that their conjecture was right, and they have seen no reason to change or essentially modify the plan under which their thought took shape. This plan assigns the largest space to contributed articles on subjects of general interest which come within the scope of the Review, classifies the more critical articles under departments, and provides for the editorial discussion of current topics. It thus becomes possible to present month by month a magazine of from 112 to 120 pages, combining the more critical features of the older Reviews with the freer treatment of questions in Sociology, Education and Literature, so far as they have a bearing upon religious culture or theological thought. During the past year special attention has been given to the best methods of work in the church, and to the most complete presentation of missionary intelligence, and these subjects will receive equal attention during the coming year.

In the conduct of the Review in theological discussion the object is not controversy. The object sought is "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth"; and the pages of the Review are open to all who are seeking this end in matters of present contention, whatever may be the variation in opinion from that advocated on the editorial page. But in its editorial utterance the Review will not shrink from combating those assumptions which destroy the hope of Christian unity, or from exposing those contradictions and evasions in belief which tend so seriously to weaken the aggressive and working power of the Christian faith. The theological aim of the Review, as it is to-day, cannot be more fitly expressed than in the words which set forth its aim in its first issue: "The Editors of this Review will welcome to its pages the contributions of men of various schools of thought who are seeking with them to develop a truly Christian theology. We are the furthest possible from any conceit of leadership; we simply have convictions which have cost us something, and which we hope may be of help to others. We desire help from others. We seek to promote large-minded, large-hearted discussions of Christian truth, recognizing our own limitations, and the manysidedness and growing proportions of the truth as it is in Jesus. We desire especially to do what we may to confirm the faith of believers in the essential truths of the gospel, to unite them in intelligent and efficient Christian work, and for this end to aid in the development of a Christian theology which by its genuineness and purity, its reality and comprehensiveness, shall stimulate and sustain the highest endeavor for the advancement of Christ's kingdom. To our thought there is a preparation and demand for better statements of Christian doctrine in the religious life of our time. This is a missionary age. Never before has that enthusiasm for humanity, which is from the very heart of Christianity, so taken domin-

ion of the Church. There is need of a more distinct theological recognition of the providential and spiritual leadership of the world by its Redeemer and Lord: of a theology which discerns his greatness, and which sets over against the terrible magnitudes of human misery and sin and guilt, the magnitudes of his person, his cross, his lordship, his final coming as the Judge of mankind. If this Review is helpful to the growth and diffusion of such beliefs, its theological purpose will be fulfilled."

BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

THE COSMOGONY OF GENESIS.

A DEFENSE AND A CRITIQUE.

IN a paper contributed by me to the "Sunday School Times" of December 18, 1886 (page 807), on the lesson taken from the first chapter of Genesis, I ventured to make the statement that "the order of creative events, as taught by science, was fundamentally different" from that affirmed in the cosmogony of Genesis. The limits of space at my disposal did not permit me to explain in detail the grounds upon which this conclusion rested; and there were doubtless some who, as they read it, condemned it as ill-considered and premature. Certainly, this was the position assumed by the writer of an article on "Genesis and Modern Science," in another part of the same paper (p. 802), who charged such theologians as had committed themselves to a similar opinion, with an impatient dogmatism, and plainly intimated that, in venturing to differ from authorities such as Professor Dana and Sir J. W. Dawson, they were, in his judgment, guilty of unpardonable temerity and presumption. As regards the charge of dogmatism — in so far as I may suppose that, though not, indeed, mentioned personally, I am implicated in it — I can only say that the conclusion expressed in my article was the result of a long and patient examination of the facts made some years since, and aided by all that the most competent authorities on both sides had written respecting them, — an examination which left upon my mind no doubt that, upon this point, Professor Huxley in his "American Addresses" was substantially right, and that the advocates of the opposite view had not succeeded in establishing their case. I have never held any *à priori* theory of the "limitation of inspiration to purely spiritual truths," and would gladly have been brought, had the facts permitted it, to a different conclusion; but, even after making every allowance for the popular, non-scientific phraseology of Genesis, I found it simply impossible honestly and straightforwardly to compare the record in Genesis with the record as taught by geology and astronomy, and to say that the two, even approximately, coincided. The records differed; and by no legitimate method or artifice which I had seen applied to them could the differences be made to vanish, or even be shown to be insignificant. It is, perhaps, not unreasonable to hold that a theory of inspiration ought to be consonant with the facts of the Bible; and in so far as I accept the limitation indicated above, I accept it simply because the facts force it upon me. Is it then just that men who have obtained conclusions as to which, prior to investigation, they can honestly say that

they were conscious of no *præjudicium* whatever, and which they have arrived at only after careful and prolonged inquiry, should be accused of impatience or dogmatism because they venture to express and publish them?

Secondly, the charge is made — not, of course, any more than in the former case against me personally, but against those who think similarly — of temerity and presumption in differing from those who are acknowledged masters of science, such as Professor Dana and Sir J. W. Dawson. There seems here to be a little confusion of thought. To differ from such masters of science, on a point of geology or palæontology, would indeed be an act of presumption intolerable in one who was merely a Hebrew scholar or a philologist: but where, it may be safely asked, is the Hebrew scholar or philologist to be found who does so differ from them? We accept, gratefully and unreservedly, the facts of the past history of the earth, so lucidly and admirably expounded by these masters of science. There is, and can be, no dispute here; the dispute arises only when the sequence thus expounded is compared with the sequence taught in the first chapter of Genesis, and the question is mooted, *Do they agree?* In differing from such scientists, in the answer given to *this* question, I am sensible of neither presumption nor temerity. In the first place, the question is no longer exclusively a *scientific* one: it is in part a *philological* one. Professor Dana and Sir J. W. Dawson have a right to speak with regard to the interpretation of the record of nature; as a Hebrew scholar, I claim a similar right to speak on the interpretation of the record in Genesis. It is impossible for me to judge of the evidence bearing on the nature of "Eozoon"; all that I can do (if I have occasion to refer to it) is to quote the opinions of eminent geologists who have discussed it: but I can judge of the meaning of a Hebrew word, and I deny the right of men who are not philologists to impose upon the text of Genesis, senses which Hebrew scholarship shows to be inadmissible. In the second place, scientists are themselves divided in the answer which they give to the question above stated. If Professor Dana and Sir J. W. Dawson declare the record in Genesis to be reconcilable with science, other scientists, of not inferior eminence to themselves, declare the contrary. I do not allude merely to Professor Huxley; the Rev. Charles Pritchard, formerly President of the Royal Astronomical Society, and now Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. — the accomplished author of the "Hulsean Lectures" for 1867 on "Analogies in the Progress of Nature and Grace," — expresses himself entirely in the same sense.¹ Where the doctors in science thus

¹ In an article in the London *Guardian* for February 10, 1886: "Taken, then, in this plain and grammatical sense, this majestic Proem, if regarded as an account of creation in fact, contains statements, which to my apprehension are irreconcilable with what we at present know of the constitution of nature; and there is offered no appreciable hope, that I can discern, of a reconciliation from future discoveries." And a little below: "That it (the Proem of Genesis) could not originally have been intended to give a scientific account of creation in its precise order, or method, or limitation of time, I am convinced, when I read of (1) the existence of waters before the appearance of the sun: (2) the clothing of the earth with fruit-trees and grass, each bearing its fruit, before the creation of the sun: (3) the successive orders or stages of creation, occupying each one single day." It is right to add that Professor Pritchard is "fully convinced of the existence of a superhuman element running throughout the Proem from its beginning to its end," and that the main part of his article — too long to transcribe — is occupied with an eloquent exposition of what is sub-

disagree, there is no greater presumption in differing from one than in differing from another; and the humblest layman must decide between them, to the best of his abilities. Nor, where the question, as has been explained, does not touch a point that could only be determined by minute technical knowledge, need he hesitate to do so. Respecting the facts disclosed by science there is, as has been said, no dispute. The dispute is whether these facts agree or do not agree with the description in Genesis. A person who, though he may not have acquired the geologist's mastery of details, nevertheless possesses an intelligent grasp of the past history of the solar system and of this earth, as it is taught by the sciences of astronomy and geology, may be not less capable of forming a judgment upon this point than Professor Dana or Sir J. W. Dawson. The British jurymen lacks all special knowledge, both of the science of law and of the technicalities of the subject submitted to his decision; nevertheless, his general education enables him to discriminate between the arguments addressed to him by opposing advocates, and to determine upon which side the right lies. With not less justice may one who is at least not wholly unacquainted with the teachings and methods of science take upon himself to decide whether the sequence taught in a scientific manual agrees or not with the sequence of Genesis, and whether the advocacy of Professor Huxley and Professor Pritchard on the one side, or of Professor Dana and Sir J. W. Dawson on the other, is the more logical and conclusive. I venture to think that it would have been more dignified, as well as more advantageous to the cause which he had at heart, if the writer in the "Sunday School Times" had *refuted* the opposite view, instead of imputing faults of character and temper to those who held it.

The grounds for the conclusion expressed by me in the "Sunday School Times" were stated in an article in the "Expositor" for January, 1886; and it is not necessary to repeat them here. I need hardly say that before writing that article I had carefully studied Sir J. W. Dawson's view, as exhibited in his "Origin of the World according to Revelation and Science"; and was compelled to own (for reasons which were stated) that I could not accept it as satisfactory. I was not, however, I regret to say, acquainted with the article of Professor Dana in the "Bibliotheca Sacra,"¹ to which my attention was first called by a notice in the "Sunday School Times" of December 11 last. The fame of Professor Dana's name led me to procure his article without delay: I was eager to know if, where so many had failed, he had succeeded. The criticisms which the perusal of it suggested to me must form my excuse for the present article. Will the reader bear with me while I endeavor to point out, as briefly as possible, and I hope, without "presumption," in what respects Professor Dana's attempt appears to me to have failed?

With the translation of the *Cosmogony*, contained in Professor Dana's article (except in one not very important particular, to be noticed presently), I have no fault to find. I am also ready to grant (p. 206) that man's comprehension of any idea communicated to him by another is conditioned by the amount and character of the knowledge and beliefs already possessed by him. But the accommodation which this principle implies must surely be restricted within reasonable limits. It cannot, for example, be regarded stantially a form of the "vision" theory—a theory which, if the objections urged against it by Delitzsch are not insuperable, would seem to be the one which it would be most reasonable to adopt.

¹ April, 1885, pp. 201-224.

as admissible to suppose that the idea communicated may be — not modified merely, but — *transformed*, so as to become in the mind of the recipient something altogether dissimilar from the reality, and not recognizable as a representation of it. Our only means of learning what the nature of a communicated idea is, is the language used by the recipient for the purpose of expressing it; and if the idea has been transformed in his mind in the manner supposed, there is no revelation or communication of truth whatever. If that which the recipient expresses stands in no intelligible relation to the reality which it is the purpose of the revelation to communicate, the reality remains unknown. Even where things spiritual are denoted by material figures, there is some relation or analogy between the figure and the idea signified, which makes the figure an apt and suitable expression of it. Much more will this be the case when the truth to be communicated belongs to the physical universe. The following pages will show in what respects Professor Dana's application of his principle appears to exceed legitimate limits, and presupposes, in fact, that the reality has been so disguised, in the course of transmission through the mind of the recipient — *i. e.*, here, the inspired writer — that the idea which his words convey stands in no relation to it, and cannot be imagined to represent it.

Professor Dana accepts the nebular hypothesis of the origin of the solar system, and begins by seeking to accommodate it with the first five verses of Genesis. In order to accomplish this, he considers, following substantially Professor Guyot,¹ that the terms "earth" and "waters" in ver. 2 do not denote anything which we should call by those names, but describe matter, while yet "inert," prior to its being endowed with "force" (page 210), and the power of molecular action (page 208). The endowment with such capacities he supposes, observing the convertibility, established by science, of light with heat and electrical and chemical action, to be signified by the work of the First Day. Thus he writes, page 209: "The fiat, Let light be, was consequently the beginning of light, heat, and chemical action in matter, which matter till then was inert." That "light" may have included, or involved, the capacity for other analogous molecular activities need not be disputed. Professor Dana does not, however, state what he conceives to have been the condition of "inert" matter. Yet we surely have a right to know what that was. For unless it was something which, at least approximately, resembled earth and water, it is impossible to grant that it could have been denoted by those words. Professor Guyot, indeed (page 38), imagines it to have been gaseous. I make bold here to ask a question, which perhaps some physicist will be able to answer. *Is this correct scientifically? Is it a fact that the matter of which a gas is composed is inert?* I read in Professor

¹ *Creation*, 1884, p. 36: "The Hebrew word *matm* does not necessarily mean waters, but applies as well to a gaseous atmosphere." I reply without the smallest misgivings, and in the assurance that every Hebrew scholar, on whichever side of the Atlantic his home is, will approve what I say: The meaning of the Hebrew *matm* is perfectly well established; and it can be applied to nothing to which the English word "water" could not also be applied. (The proof drawn by Professor Guyot from Ps. cxlviii. 5, is extraordinary. How could the Psalmist invoke a gaseous atmosphere to praise the Lord, which, *ex hypothesi*, had ceased to exist — being condensed into the different heavenly bodies — countless ages previously?) The explanation of *earth*, p. 35, is not less strained: who, except in the interests of a theory, could have supposed it to denote a formless (p. 38) sphere of gas, — the primordial cosmic material, out of which the universe was ultimately formed?

Tait's "Lectures on Some Recent Advances in Physical Science" (London, 1885, page 329), that "in a mass of hydrogen at ordinary temperature and pressure, every particle has on an average 17,700,000,000 collisions per second with other particles." That, at least, does not look like "inertness"! But passing this objection by (as one with which the scientist must deal), and allowing that "inert" matter might be gaseous, is it credible that a formless body of gas could have been denoted by the terms *earth* and *water*? This, however, is Professor Guyot's view, and I do not seek to impose it upon Professor Dana. Professor Dana offers no definition of the properties or appearance of "inert" matter, — of matter prior to its endowment with heat and other molecular activities. A competent British scientist, intimately acquainted with astronomical physics, to whom I have submitted this part of the present article, permits me to state that, in his judgment, "inert" matter is inconceivable, and unthinkable. I only ask, therefore, Is it probable that anything reasonably capable of being described as "earth" and "water" could have existed at that *very* early stage in the history of the nebula, when the matter composing it was still in an "inert" condition? To be sure, Professor Dana writes, "the waters were not literally waters, whatever the strict meaning of the Hebrew word; nor was the earth a defined sphere in space." But whatever license of accommodation in the communication of truth to men not possessed of scientific training be conceded, the very nature of language implies that the terms used to express it must designate something *resembling*, more or less, that which the persons using and hearing them would understand them to denote. In fact, however, the text itself will not admit Professor Dana's interpretation. In ver. 1, "heavens" and "earth" are spoken of. In ver. 2, the "earth" is mentioned in contradistinction to the "heavens"; and immediately afterwards, the "deep" and the "waters" are named, with the Spirit of God brooding "upon the face of" the latter. This mention of "the earth" and "waters," in juxtaposition, implies a contrast, a distinction, between the two (exactly as in ii. 1, 4, 5, and constantly) that is inconsistent with a state of matter in which (if anything whatever can be predicated of it) its parts and qualities must have been indistinguishable. With such a state, also, the idea of a *surface* would appear to be not less incompatible. "Earth" and "waters" opposed to one another imply a contrast. Could any continuous aggregate of solid particles, such as might be denoted by the term "earth," have existed, prior to the endowment of matter with "force"? Could "water," or indeed any fluid whatever, have existed apart from the molecular activity which we term "heat"? The language of ver. 2 expresses, as clearly as language can, that matter has already passed beyond the alleged "inert" stage, and has been endowed with at least *some* of those energies which, according to Professor Dana, were only conferred upon it afterwards, when the fiat "Let there be light" went forth. Professor Dana's interpretation of "day" as = *period*, I am ready to accept. I do not indeed feel sure that it is right; but (as I have stated elsewhere), I think it reasonable to allow that it may have been used consciously by the writer in a figurative sense, as a part "not of the reality, but of the representation"; and I am not prepared to recede from this position.

Of the work of the Second Day, Professor Dana, still following Professor Guyot, offers an unusual explanation. Instead of interpreting, as is commonly done, the division of "the waters from the waters" of the separation, by an expanse or firmament, of the waters of the earth's sur-

face from the waters, that is, the clouds, above (or, as otherwise explained, of the earth's molten surface from the clouds), he understands it of something far more material and important, namely, the *making of the earth*. During the First Day, according to the theory, the substance of the universe had been diffused, in a highly attenuated form, through "the immensity of space": the work of the Second Day consisted in the separation of the earth from the diffused matter in which it was involved (and, *a fortiori*, it may be observed in passing, as Professor Dana remarks on page 203, the formation of the *sun*), supposed to be denoted by the "division" of "the waters from the waters" by the "firmament." Is this interpretation credible? The "earth" has already been mentioned in ver. 2, — not "formless and naught," but "waste and void," a blank and desolate¹ expanse, with the spirit of God brooding over the face of the "waters." I protest against the assumption, which Professor Dana's theory involves, that an attenuated vapor or nebula could be denoted in Hebrew by the word "waters." There is not a word in the account of the Second Day which expresses, even by implication, the making of the earth. *The earth is already made* in ver. 2; it is mentioned (as has been already pointed out) in contradistinction to "the heaven," just as in ii. 1, 4, 5; and it uniformly denotes (both in such cases and in all others) what we should describe by the same term. Certainly, it might reasonably be held to describe our globe in a *less finished* form than that in which we know it, but not when it was so far immature as to be commingled with, and indistinguishable from, the general substance of the universe, and that substance, too, as we saw, still "inert"! The ordinary interpretation of vers. 6–8 must be acquiesced in. The verses describe something which, in the conception of the narrator, took place subsequently to the "making" of the earth, presupposed already in ver. 2; and this, no doubt (without raising the question whether the "firmament" was conceived as solid or not), was the separation of the waters which the Hebrews regarded as stored in the clouds (vii. 11; Pa. civ. 3, etc.), from the waters on the surface of the earth.²

¹ The idea conveyed to a Hebrew reader by the words in ver. 2, rendered in the Revised Version "waste and void," appears from a comparison of the two other passages in which they appear together (and in which alone the second word "void" is used besides in the Old Testament). In Isa. xxxiv. 11, the desolation impending over the country of Edom is announced in the words, "and he shall stretch over it the line of *wasteness* ('tohu'), and the plummet (*lit.* the stones) of *voidness* ('bohu')." And Jeremiah, depicting the condition to which he sees Judah about to be reduced, uses the same words: "I beheld the earth, and lo, it was *waste* and *void*; and the heavens, and they had no light. I beheld the mountains, and lo they trembled, and all the hills moved to and fro" (Jer. iv. 23). It is evident that the words describe, not a formless and invisible mass of gas (Guyot, p. 38), but a blank and desolate tract of country.

² In this connection occurs the inadequate translation alluded to above. The expression in ver. 20, "in the open firmament of heaven," cannot be quoted as evidence that the "firmament" was not conceived by the author of the Cosmogony as a solid expanse. The expression is literally (as the margin of the Revised Version states), "on the face," or "in the front" of the firmament (or expanse) of heaven. *On the face* is the same phrase as in vers. 2, 29; Lev. xiv. 7, (*lit.* "upon the face of the field"); Ezek. xxxii. 4, xxxiii. 27, and repeatedly: in these passages it denotes position in *front* of a horizontal surface viewed from above; elsewhere it denotes position in *front* of an object viewed from the same level (for example, Gen. xxiii. 19, and often, in the definition of

Passing by, for the present, the work of the Third Day, we come to that of the Fourth Day, — the creation of luminaries. The difficulty which the work of this day occasions, in every attempt to accommodate the nebular theory to the Cosmogony of Genesis, is well known. Sir J. W. Dawson labors strenuously, though unsuccessfully, to overcome it. Professor Dana seems strangely unaware of its magnitude. Considering the purpose of the luminaries to have been to mark seasons and other divisions of time, all that he says, with reference to it, is, "The great purpose of the sources of light was, therefore, accomplished by them, whether they were 'made,' or made to appear." Is there, then, no difference between *making* and *making to appear*? Or is Hebrew incapable of expressing the idea "appear"? The idea is expressed by one of the commonest words in the language, a word occurring in this very chapter. Here, on the contrary, the writer expresses, as explicitly as it is possible for language to do, his sense that the luminaries had no existence prior to the Fourth Day, and that the work of the Fourth Day consisted in their formation. "And God said, *Let there be luminaries in the firmament of heaven to divide the day from the night, etc. . . . And God made the two great luminaries. . . . And God set them in the firmament of heaven to give light upon the earth,*" etc. (vers. 14–18). Had the writer meant "appear," it would have been easy for him to write, "Let the luminaries *appear* in the firmament of heaven," as he has written in ver. 9, "and let the dry land *appear*." And if there were any doubt as to the meaning of *be*, it is removed by the word *made* in ver. 16, which is perfectly unambiguous and distinct.¹ Naturally the term used leaves it open whether the luminaries were "created," or formed out of preëxisting matter; in the latter case, both it and the following *set* might be reasonably used to denote the *whole* process of condensation, and adjustment of orbits and distances, by which, according to Laplace's theory, the "heavens" and earth," as we know them, were slowly formed out of the primitive nebula. A majestic conception, which the imagination fails, even remotely, to realize, within the gigantic limits of space and time which it implies, but which the reverential theist contemplates with humility and awe! Grand, however, as the conception is, it cannot be accommodated to vers. 14–18, on account of the contradiction which, when the attempt is made, at once arises with the earlier part of the narrative. For, according to vers. 9–13, *vegetation* had appeared upon the earth on the Third Day, that is, an entire "period" prior to the formation of the sun. This, as Professor Dana naturally admits (page 203), is inconsistent with Laplace's theory. For, if the different bodies constituting the solar system were (as the theory supposes) formed by the gradual condensation of diffused matter, one member of the system, namely, the earth, could not have consolidated,

a locality); here it denotes position *in front of* a surface (or expanse) viewed from below. (The argument in this note is not directed to show that the Hebrew *raqia* denotes of necessity a solid surface, but only to show that the expression "*in the open firmament of heaven,*" in the English Version, cannot be appealed to as proof of the contrary.)

¹ It never means *appointed*, except where the "appointing" involves the "making" of something which did not exist before, as "*made* priests for the high-places" (1 K. xiii. 33); of course, the "priests," as such, did not exist before. So the Romans said, "*creare magistratum.*"

² The limitation of the "stars" at the end of ver. 16 to the *planets*, which has been suggested (though not by Professor Dana), is arbitrary, and contrary to Hebrew usage: see Gen. xv. 5; xxii. 17, etc.

and have so far cooled, as to permit vegetation to grow upon it, at a stage when as yet the sun was not "made," or "set" in the heavens. At a period when vegetation was abundant upon the earth the substance of the sun must have been so far concentrated and condensed, that it was already, to all intents and purposes, "made." The difficulty arising from the "making" of the sun being assigned to the Fourth Day, Professor Dana only evades by attaching to the simplest and most ordinary of Hebrew words a sense which they do not bear.

With respect to the order in which living organisms appeared upon the earth, Professor Dana writes (page 215): "The succession in the living tribes given in the chapter is: (1) Plants (third day); (2) Invertebrates and the lower Vertebrates (fifth day); (3) Mammals, or the higher Vertebrates (first half of the sixth day); Man, the head of mammals (second half of the sixth day). This course of progress accords in a general way with the readings of science; and the accordance is exact with the succession made out for the earliest species of these grand divisions, if we except the division of birds, about which there is doubt." It will be recollected, now, that the plants ascribed in the Cosmogony to the third day are, in particular, grass, herbs (that is, vegetation more generally), and fruit-trees. This division is evidently borrowed from popular use, and it would be unfair to limit each particular with scientific rigour. But the terms must be interpreted with reasonable fidelity: though the "trees," for instance, may not have included every species — or, indeed, many species — which has since appeared, the term must be held to have been intended to denote something which in nature and appearance resembled "trees," and could *bona fide* be described by the name. The narrator implies, moreover, not that the *germs* only of such herbs and trees were generated on the third day, but that the herbs and trees themselves were then produced: "And the earth brought forth grass, herb yielding seed after its kind, and the tree yielding fruit, wherein is the seed thereof, after his kind: and God saw that it was good. And there was evening, and there was morning, — day third." Can words express more plainly that, in the conception of the narrator, vegetation, including the higher kinds of plants, such as fruit-trees, had appeared on the earth during the third day, two days — that is, *ex hypothesi*, two periods — prior to the first appearance of animal life, on the fifth day? I ask Professor Dana, Is this in accordance with the teaching of science? Certainly it is not in accordance with the teaching of his own "Manual of Geology." I there find it stated that land plants (such as alone are indicated by the words of Genesis) first appear contemporaneously with such Invertebrata as mollusks, corals, and crustaceans, and that prior to this period nothing but the remains of *marine* plants are discoverable in the earth's strata.¹ Not a word is said on even

¹ *Manual of Geology* (ed. 3), p. 157, where with reference to the graphite of the earliest or Laurentian rocks, which Professor Dana regards as "strong evidence that plants of some kind, if not also animals [is this in agreement with Genesis?], were abundant," the words occur: "The plants must have been the lowest cryptogams, or flowerless species; and mainly at least marine algæ or seaweeds; for the Primordial beds next succeeding contain remains of nothing higher. This argument from the Primordial examples excludes all mosses, and the ordinary terrestrial plants; but not necessarily lichens, since these grow in dry places, etc." Even through the main periods of the Lower Silurian, in which the radiates, mollusks, etc., appear, "algæ or seaweeds, of the kind called fucoids, are the only forms observed" (pp. 169, 186): the first traces of fern-like land plants are named on pp. 197, 198. Similarly Geikie, *Text Book of*

the probable existence of land plants, except, indeed, lichens (which are treated, page 157, as possible), prior to the age of the Invertebrata. But admitting the imperfection of the geological record, and the possibility therefore that a land vegetation may have then existed, I ask Professor Dana, Is it probable, and in accordance with the system and analogy of nature, as disclosed by science, that such vegetation should have been sufficiently advanced, in this pre-Cambrian period, to include *fruit-trees*? not cryptogams merely, but "*trees yielding fruit wherein was the seed thereof*"?

The difficulty respecting birds (which are assigned in Genesis to the day before mammals) is admitted by Professor Dana,¹ and need not therefore be dwelt upon.

Professor Dana continues: "Science might say that the principles of zoölogical classification would have been conformed to more closely, if the work of the fifth day had ended with the Invertebrates, leaving all the Vertebrates to the sixth day. But this arrangement, viewed in the light of the philosophy of history, is no improvement, since the record, like the rest of the Bible, has special reference to Man, in whom is the consummation of all history." Thus the *facts*, though revealed, are *misrepresented*, for the sake of a theory! The lower Vertebrates, which appeared really during the sixth period, are transferred to the preceding period, on account of the closer affinity subsisting between the higher Vertebrates and Man! Is this consistent with a revelation in which the sequence of events is one of the most prominent features? Stranger things, however, follow. "The sixth day's work includes only that particular division of Vertebrates to which Man himself belongs, whose common characteristic, that of suckling their young, is, through the feelings of subjection, reverence, and affection it occasions, of the highest value as a means of binding child to parent, man to man, and man to his Maker." The sixth day's work includes "*all creeping things* (*rémes*) of the ground." There may be a little uncertainty as to how much this term exactly comprises; but there can be no doubt that it includes *reptiles*. Keil, for instance, writes, "*rémes* includes the small land animals which move without feet, or whose feet are imperceptible, reptiles, insects, and vermin, and is in ver. 25 distinguished by the addition 'of the earth' from the reptiles of the water (ver. 21)."² Delitzsch, while giving the same definition, thinks that the term may also have included "such smaller land animals as cling more closely to the ground." There is no passage which determines this question conclusively; but the extension suggested by Delitzsch is not improbable. It is, however, undoubted that the term includes, and includes indeed primarily, creeping reptiles and insects.³ Do I learn, then, on the

Geology (1885), p. 660, with reference to the Silurian system: "The plants as yet recovered are chiefly fucoids. . . . Traces, however, of a higher vegetation have been discovered, which are of special interest as being the *earliest known remains of a land-flora*." (The *italics* in these extracts are mine.)

¹ P. 223. "The existence of Birds before the earliest Mammals is not proved, though believed by some palæontologists on probable evidence."

² So, also, Gesenius ("*reptiles*"): his opinion is not quoted correctly in Guyot, pp. 120, 121.

³ It occurs in popular classifications of the animal kingdom, by the side of "beasts, fowl, and fishes" (1 K. iv. 33; Ez. xxxviii. 20; Hos. ii. 18; cf. Gen. ix. 2 [*ū. wherewith the ground creepeth*]). The most conspicuous and abundant species of the animal kingdom in the East, when beasts, fowl, and fishes have been excluded, would be reptiles and insects. The limitation of *rémes*

authority of Professor Dana, that reptiles and insects are *mammalia*, and that they *suckle their young*? They must do so if his argument to account for the transference of the lower Vertebrates from the sixth to the fifth day be a sound one. For if the theory be true, that the work of the sixth day has been artificially limited for a special purpose, the limitation must have been adequate to the purpose desired. But while reptiles (*which are Vertebrata*) and insects, neither of which suckle their young, remain as part of the work of the sixth day, this purpose would not appear to have been secured. If reptiles and insects are worthy of being created on the same day as man, it is difficult to understand why Birds, if (as the hypothesis itself tacitly admits) they were actually a creation of the same day, should have been artificially relegated to the day previous. There would have been the greater reason (had the theory been a true one) for transferring the "creeping things" to an earlier stage, because in point of fact they *actually appear then* — reptiles and insects being both abundant (if I may be pardoned for saying so) even before the earliest mammals, in the carboniferous period!

There follow two admirable and delightful pages (216, 217), where the reader listens to Professor Dana expounding, as only a master can, some of those marvelous principles of correlation and continuity which science has taught us to find (and expect) in nature.

In the pages which remain, there are some points which might be criticised; but they are either of subordinate importance, or merely involve the restatement of some previous position.¹

Professor Dana is too sound and genuine a scientist to deflect the facts of science, even by a hair's-breadth, for the sake of harmonizing them with the Book of Genesis; he does not hesitate, in order to gain the same object, to deflect the sense which the text of Genesis legitimately expresses. It may be unreservedly admitted that he does this under the plea that his theory of accommodation justifies it, and in the conviction that he is doing no violence to the text of Genesis. But our only knowledge of the ideas which the sacred writers received is obtained from the language in which they have expressed them; and our only means of determining the sense which this is intended to convey is by observing attentively the usage of Scripture. Were the Hebrew words concerned of rare occurrence, or doubtful signification, were there any ambiguity of construction or sense,

here to the "smaller quadrupeds of the land" (Sir J. W. Dawson in the *Expositor*, April, 1886, p. 297) cannot be sustained. The text of Genesis mentions expressly, and more than once, "*all the creeping things of the ground*," "*all creeping things that creep upon the earth*."

¹ For instance, the text of Genesis uses *bārā'*, *create*, with reference to the creation of matter, animal life, and man. If, now, it be true (p. 219), that the use of this term implies in some special sense divine intervention, it is arbitrary to transfer this intervention, in the second case, from the production of *animal* life (as in Gen. i. 21) to that of "*life*" generally (p. 219, line 6); that is, of vegetable not less than of animal life. It would have been natural to bring Professor Dana's statement into harmony with the text of Genesis by the supposition that "*animal*" had accidentally fallen out before "*life*" in the line quoted; but the same words exactly are used in the passage of Professor Guyot's work referred to (*Creation*, p. 128; cf. p. 30), and appear there to be intentional. It is doubtless true that even plant-life has never been produced by science from dead matter; but so far as any argument can be based upon the use of *bārā'*, this cannot be claimed to be affirmed by the language of Genesis; for *bārā'* is not used there with reference to the production of plants.

the latitude claimed would be cheerfully and cordially granted. But no such doubt or ambiguity exists. Professor Dana's accommodation of the nebular theory to the Cosmogony of Genesis is purchased at too high a price. It implies that in ver. 2 "earth" and "waters" denote nothing resembling what those words expressed to the ancient Hebrew, but matter in that unimaginable condition when it was not yet endowed with "force"; that the "waters" in ver. 6 denote not what the Hebrews knew as "water," but matter in another and different stage of existence, namely, the attenuated substance of the universe while yet diffused in space; that *be* and *made* in vers. 14, 16 mean *appear* and *made to appear* (set in ver. 17 is not explained); and that when it is said that on the Third Day the earth brought forth grass, herbs, and fruit-trees, the meaning really is, that it brought forth different species of sea-weed, and the lowliest, seedless types of land vegetation. Those who know the genius of the Hebrew language will concede what is possible; but there is a point beyond which their concessions cannot go. All this is as impossible in Hebrew as it would be in English. The Cosmogony of Genesis has not yet been reconciled with the nebular theory of the origin of the solar system, and with the succession of life upon this globe, as these are at present taught by science. Those scientists who hold that they have succeeded in so reconciling it, are true to science; they do not realize the violence which they are doing to human language as the vehicle and exponent of thought; they do not perceive that they are silently substituting for the sense expressed by the author of the Cosmogony an altogether different sense, such as the theory requires.

That there is much in the *theology* of Professor Dana's article with which I cordially concur, and which I rejoice to see expressed by him, I need hardly pause to remark. My views of the positive value of the Cosmogony have been indicated in the article in the "Expositor," which has been already referred to, and it would be out of place to repeat them here. As I have said, I would gladly have contended for more, had the facts been such as to afford me the smallest hope of success. What the facts are, has been frankly and honestly stated with reference to some of their most salient features, by Professor Pritchard. I do not *seek* for discrepancies in the Biblical narrative; but where they exist, it seems to me that the only wise and right course in the Christian apologist is truthfully and fearlessly to acknowledge them.

S. R. Driver.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, ENGLAND.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

SYSTEM OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS. By DR. I. A. DORNER. Edited by DR. A. DORNER. Translated by PROFESSOR C. M. MEAD, D. D., and REV. R. T. CUNNINGHAM, M. A. Pp. xx, 616. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1887.

About four fifths of this volume was dictated by the author before his death, and appears without substantial change. The remainder, including the discussion of the Family, the State, and the Church, is from notes taken in the lecture-room in 1879. Professor Mead has translated as

far as page 224, and Mr. Cunningham from that point to the end of the work.

An affectionate tribute to Dr. Dörner, in the preface written by Professor Mead, sets the great theologian before us as a symmetrical, gentle, patient, saintly Christian, whose character and opinions were in perfect agreement. The sketch of his activity in ecclesiastical affairs and missionary operations, in addition to his lectures and publications, impresses one with the prodigious amount of labor he performed in a spirit of humble consecration to the service of Christ and his church, rather than of personal ambition.

The characteristic of his ethical system is its comprehensiveness of view. The realization of man's ethical worth in personal and social life, under the gospel and within the kingdom of Christ, goes out beyond narrow and one-sided theories to the completeness of the moral life in all its relations. As the author's plan unfolds, it is seen that no important element of the moral constitution of man, and no essential condition of his life in the world and under Christianity, is overlooked.

The work is on the field of *Christian Ethics*, and after a statement of the meaning of morality as including the Good, the Law or Duty, and Virtue, there is a careful consideration of the relation of Christian to philosophical ethics, which is shown to be a relation not of antagonism, nor of identity, but of lower and higher stages in the same process. Philosophical ethics "never gets essentially beyond the Ought, the moral requirement," while Christianity "affirms that it carries in itself the real operative principle of virtue." There is added to natural ethics the historical church in the person of Christ and the kingdom of God bringing the real forces of divine truth and love upon the conscience and will of man for his moral perfection.

Morality is grounded in the idea of God, the ultimate thought, which is necessary to the mind, being that the ethical has absolutely the highest worth as compared with all other conceptions, and that it necessarily requires existence. "The meaning of absolute obligation is just this, that for the *obligatory* thing a real existence is demanded." The ethical is also the inmost principle of the divine being ruling all his attributes. And in this ethical conception of God his personality is necessarily given. It is then shown that Love is the Essence of God's moral nature. Transition is thus made to the world. "God, as being holy love, wills that there be, distinct from Himself, a world designed for morality, as also morality is designed for it." God, therefore, wills a natural world as place and opportunity, and a multiplicity of persons with rational and moral powers, who are distinct from each other yet bound together by common endowments and interests. Among these persons a moral process is initiated, in view of ends to be attained which are seen to be obligatory because worthy of men.

Upon the basis of man's native powers, physical, psychical, and rational, the great variety of individuals is developed, which gives the true social unity, or ethical cosmos — an organism which is the union of what is common and what is individual. The origin of the peculiarities of different persons is traced, in a highly interesting chapter, to sex, temperament, race-distinctions (which may have originated in temperament), and talents. The common interests of men furnish a strengthening bond of union. Self-preservation requires mutual services in the subjugation of nature and the development of industries which create a framework for

moral development. The necessity arises, also, for marriage, bonds of kinship and friendship, tribal life leading to the State, traffic, barter, and commerce. All this is the condition of ethical development rather than its end. Hedonistic ethics converts these means, the *goods* which become available, into the end or absolute *good*.

To man, thus conditioned and surrounded, God brings the law of moral obligation, which the moral sense recognizes and the moral impulse seeks to realize. The law is found to be divine by reason of its necessity, absoluteness, and universality. There can, therefore, be no real conflict of duties. Conscience, the correlate of law, is an aptitude of man's rational constitution, but requires growth or education in a world of actual relations and obligations. Freedom is the essential condition of moral action, which to be moral, must be intelligently chosen and pursued in freedom. Freedom is not pure determinism, the necessary result of calculable causes, nor is it pure indeterminism, the negation of motive, habit, and character. True freedom is not merely the choosing but the realizing of the highest good, a definite moral character being developed, to which the choice of evil becomes more and more a moral impossibility.

The practical goal of moral action is the ethical, as distinguished from the natural order of the world, and is best understood as the kingdom of God, or of an organized life of love in the world, in which nature is made subservient to moral ends. It includes a living filial intercourse between God and man, the right regulation of the energies of man so that they become virtuous energies, and the moral upbuilding of human life in moral communities which are the outgrowth of the imperfect natural communities.

The stage of law or right is preparatory, and therefore incomplete, especially in consequence of disobedience or sin, by which advance under law is hindered, and the moral faculties of man are disordered. It is, therefore, necessary that God should communicate himself, bringing the divine into the human that the human may become divine. The revelation of the will and character of God is completed in the Incarnation, which gives to the world the God-man. He is unique both in his relation to God and to man. In Him dwells a reconciling and perfecting power, and the power of establishing through the Spirit the kingdom of God, or that absolute moral organism in which is realized the ideal both of the individual and of the whole world. Christ is the personal *law* of faith and life; the all-embracing *virtue*, and as such has become the personal sacrifice for our race towards God; and the king of love beginning the kingdom of God and endowed with infinite fullness of power.

Man, in relation to Christ, has regenerating faith, the cardinal *receptive* virtue; love, the cardinal *productive* virtue of the *will*; and wisdom (or hope) which united with love is the cardinal *productive* virtue of the *intellect*. Under Christian wisdom or hope is an admirable discussion of pessimism and optimism in contrast with the Christian expectation of a gradual subjugation of evil by the power of faith and love.

The maintenance of the Christian personality is considered in its relation to God, to itself, and to others. Under the Christian's relation to God the place of ascetics, vows, meditation, prayer, the Lord's day, and confession of faith are extensively treated. Under the Christian's relation to himself, self-love is defined, and shown to include care for physical existence and for virtuous happiness, partly through recreation, for ownership

of property (as enabling the Christian to take his part in the subjugation of the world), for culture, for truthfulness, and for the choice of a vocation. The questions which naturally arise under these topics are thoroughly debated. Under the Christian's relation to others is considered the proportion of communicative goodness and recipient love. The grace and duty of right receiving is emphasized. The settlement of strifes and the regulation of social intercourse are briefly treated. The closing division treats of the kingdom of God which is the union of moral communities into one organism. It exists in three main portions, the Household, the State, and the Church. Discussion of the household, which is the fundamental moral community, opens the subjects of marriage and divorce, which are treated at length, the family, hospitality, and the relation of masters and servants. The State administers justice, and defends the rights of the various spheres of individual and collective activity. Art and science (including education) are considered at this point, as having an indirect relation to the State. The Church is the distinctively religious community, maintaining doctrine, public worship, preaching, and self-purification. For these purposes it has its confessions, liturgies, and hymns, preachers, officers, and various societies or organizations.

This sketch indicates, partly in the words of the author, the lines along which the system of Christian ethics is developed, but only suggests the profundity and comprehensiveness which characterize the reasonings of a great Christian thinker.

George Harris.

FUTURE RETRIBUTION. Viewed in the Light of Reason and Revelation. By C. A. ROW, M. A., Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral, Author of the Bampton Lectures on "Christian Evidences viewed in relation to Modern Thought," "The Jesus of the Evangelists," "Reasons for believing in Christianity," etc. 8vo, pp. x, 429. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1887. \$2.50.

This is a very mild and well-reasoned book, written by a man who is irremovably grounded in evangelical truth, and thoroughly convinced that the Scriptures give us the truth. The book has no rationalizing evasions, and no rebellious starts, such as betray overweening confidence in the writer's personal view of things. This makes it very much more valuable.

Mr. Row, like most other Anglicans, notably so Dr. A. V. G. Allen, and notoriously and ridiculously so Charles Kingsley, seems wholly incapable of any interior apprehension of Calvinism. Consequently, although his strictures on Augustinianism have much force, his book is less likely to be serviceable among Calvinists than Arminians. And his animadversions at large upon the generally accepted doctrine of eternal punishment, though not polemic in tone, are hardly sympathetic enough in spirit, do not sufficiently explain how the Church of Redemption has come to accept it. He might have done well to inquire why such a mind and heart as Arthur Hallam's, bound by no professional or traditional limitations, could find it reasonable. And the weaker the author shows the merely Scriptural proof to be, the more strongly the inquiry presses, How has the Church come to insist so firmly upon it?

His criticism of the current Scriptural proof-texts for the position that eternal punishment is absolutely endless and conscious seems much

weaker than it is, because this interpretation crumbles and dissolves so easily and spontaneously as each text is examined, that the attack seems languid for want of sufficient resistance. The doctrine of an absolutely endless and conscious doom, like that of an absolutely divine and essential episcopate, has not been deduced from the Bible, though like that it has been strenuously maintained in the church, and has with very considerable show of evidence been interpreted back into the Scripture. Both doctrines may be true, though the one seems trivial, and the other unendurably terrible; but both need a second column of support. The Bible alone does not suffice.

Canon Row's position, that most of the Scriptural descriptions of doom including the word *ἀπώλεια*, or cognate with it, more obviously suggest the image of a devouring energy which shall abolish sin by consuming the existence which is hopelessly implicated with sin, is of course unquestionable in itself. But as the doctrine of the inherent imperishableness of human personality has in some way or other become accepted as an essential article of Christian faith, it is of course necessary to conform all these passages into agreement with it. The disinclination to surrender this is the stronger, that the forms of the doctrine of Conditional Immortality have been so multiple, and some of them so desperately fantastic. The author deals at considerable length with the Rev. Edward White's treatise on "Life in Christ," which seems to be at once the ablest and the most unintelligibly complicated of all these attempts. But certain it is that the New Testament knows nothing of any Immortality except that which has its ground in a substantial, initially a moral union with God in Christ. It is plainly a question entirely indifferent to the evangelical salvation, whether or not there is to be for those who refuse this salvation, an absolutely endless persistence, after all the disintegrating forces of retribution have done their work, in a bare and meaningless scheme of being. That God will counterwork the forces of dissolution for the mere sake of inflicting endless torment, is a position which it is not likely many, if any, will now maintain. Still, the belief that Man, as being created for immortality, is endlessly exempt from dissolution, and may come into an irreversible alienation from God which shall drive him into "the blackness of darkness for ever," though assuredly not pronounced upon in the Scripture, does not appear intrinsically unreasonable, nor in any way at variance with either the justice or the benignity of God. Canon Row's contention, that God cannot ever "be all in all" unless a time comes when all evil agents shall either be converted or extinguished, hardly appears convincing. The Apostle is contemplating an infinite Cosmos, from which everything incurably alien to God shall finally be expelled. It is hardly inconsistent with this conception — which contemplates, not extinction, but subjugation — that there shall be an "outer darkness," in which the abortiveness of evil shall be permitted to shroud itself. That evil has been, will always be true. That evil may continue to be, powerless and always repressed, to be

"In perpetual, restless change
Self-fed and self-consumed,"

allowed "to mix no more with goodness," may reasonably be thought the deeper truth, though, as a learned friend has remarked to us, "it is no more possible to make a final affirmation concerning the end of sin than concerning its beginning."

The prebendary's argument respecting those *vexata vocabula*, αἰών and αἰώνιος, is of course impregnable, so far as it makes out that the substantive and the adjective as following it are constantly applied to things which are not in fact eternal. But we do not see that he makes out that they do not *mean* eternal. Αἰών may or may not originally mean Eternity, but in the New Testament it seems reasonably certain that at least αἰώνιος means, not "age-long," but "everlasting." The substantial question is, Does the word "everlasting" — which we are certain that no sound translator would ever think of displacing by "age-long" — apply to a metaphysical or to a practical eternity, one to which the mind refuses to give any limits? It is plain that the equivalent terms, Hebrew and Greek, are in both Testaments often used of a visual eternity, and all that we can say is, that where the subject requires an absolute eternity, αἰώνιος, at least, is quite competent to express it. Mr. Row would of course acknowledge that in Matthew xxv. 46 Life and Death are made parallel. The purpose of the statement requires nothing more. Whether they are parallel in themselves or not, rests on very different considerations. The author justly protests against making the hope full of immortality rest upon the result of interminable discussions over the meaning of a Greek word of uncertain etymology, of widely varying uses, and which has received into itself all the varying senses of the equivalent Hebrew terms. "Because I live, ye shall live also." Union with God in the Son is a guarantee of continuance in being, which disunion from God is not and cannot be.

The author dwells with due emphasis on the fact that in the New Testament "eternal life" means something essentially different in quality from mere continuance in conscious existence, but he is far from falling into the extravagance of those who are so possessed with this idea that they empty into it the whole thought of duration, so that, so far as appears, there might be a ζωὴ αἰώνιος of a few minutes' length. Canon Row acknowledges unceasing existence as essentially involved, but unceasing existence in the life of God.

The author mildly, but very decisively, refutes that wretched plea for doctrinal theories which shock all human, and emphatically shock all Christian, sense of justice and all Christian compassion, namely, that justice and mercy in God may possibly contradict all human conceptions of both. Which is simply to say that God's abysmal being may prove at the last to be fiendlike and not godlike. As Mr. Row says, when God assures us that He will judge the world in righteousness, He means that He will judge the world in righteousness. And when we are told that God is love, the meaning doubtless is — that God is love. He does not answer the strange reproach, for in his calmer atmosphere he has probably never heard it, that it is Universalism, and Universalism of the worst kind, to say that God will not, in either world, give over his loving efforts to bring the sinner to repentance until the sinner himself has made it impossible. Men who urge such charges may well believe that Supreme Love means Supreme Hatred, and that Divine Righteousness means a contempt of the affirmations of the moral reason which God has planted in us. Such men may well propound the thesis that "the height of love is — exact justice," and then go on to prove that "exact justice" means the opposite of everything intelligible to man as justice. But this latter hideousness is falling into disrepute even with the scribes, and the former will follow.

The author discusses mildly but firmly the question whether God will continue probation for those who have not known Christ on earth, or have known his name but not his character. He takes as the foundation of his decision the declaration that God is rich in mercies, and that He is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance. He remarks that the Old Testament had no proper revelation of immortality, but that confidence in God rose in some saints to a glorious confidence of this, and that deductions from God's essential character are as legitimate now as they were then. But to those who conceive God as lying couched, as He himself tells Cain that Sin lies, at the door of death, no matter when, or how, or under what possibilities of character, it may come, to tear in pieces every unregenerate soul that makes the transition, with the fell resoluteness of One who has long waited till the grudging protection of a charmed line should be forfeited, of course all this is infinitely unreasonable. That mercy rejoiceth against judgment they cannot deny, for it is written in the canonical Scriptures. They have to content themselves with disbelieving it. Those who are not angered by this "larger hope," but only saddened because they believe that there are prevailing arguments against it, are of course not liable to this reproach. Undoubtedly, as President Fairchild contends, there may be, not only an inherent, but a providential limitation of probation. To suppose that the Creator will always wait on a contemptuously rebellious creature is to dishonor the relation of Creator and creature. But to say that the accident of death is appointed for this limit in all possible cases is to convert Providence into arbitrary will, the profound thought of Jacob Boehme to the contrary notwithstanding.

The author discusses the brief positive teaching of continued probation in the New Testament, by the Apostle Peter. He has no difficulty in showing that no one would ever have thought of denying it but for precommittal. The underlying consciousness that the Apostle does teach this comes out in some very strange shapes, on which I shall not animadvert here, but shall only say that those who hate the doctrine so much that they lampoon the Apostle for teaching it, will do well to heed the words of the Lord: "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me."

The author well remarks, that whatever we may think of continued probation, we cannot well deny continued purification, unless we would ascribe to death a sanctifying efficacy beyond its utmost reach. He meets the reproachful word Purgatory very calmly. Purification and Penalty are very different things. Our Roman Catholic friends are not taken in, even by the charges of "Romanizing," which such opinions encounter. Mediæval theology is doubtless active in this controversy, but they know — as witness some eminent Roman Catholic writers of our own country — on which side it lies.

The author deals concisely with Universalism, showing its exegetical and argumentative weakness. Many of his own arguments, it is true, were first advanced by the Universalists. As the "Congregationalist" has judiciously observed, Christians in this country did not at first do justice to what was sound in their arguments on account of the haste made by irreligion to take their name as a varnish of mere ungodliness. But the era of *irreligious* Universalism has pretty much passed away, being succeeded by that of avowed Epicurean infidelity.

The author concludes by quoting that passage of the "Analogy" which speaks of the probability (declared also by Dr. Samuel Hopkins) that there would be various scattered intimations of Scripture, long neglected, which would at last be combined, and flash unexpected light upon obscure regions of truth, since God does not give doctrine ready made, but the germs and possibilities of it. This position of the great Bishop and of the great Doctor, however, is likely to fare at the hands of too many as the Augustinian theology has fared at the hands of the Church of Rome, which, as Gibbon says, has always received it "with open applause and secret reluctance."

In brief, this is an excellent book, which ought to be widely read.

ANDOVER.

Charles C. Starbuck.

GESCHICHTE DER PÄPSTE SEIT DEM AUSGANG DES MITTELALTERS, von DR. LUDWIG PASTOR, a. o. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität zu Innsbruck. Erster Band. Freiburg im Breisgau. 1886.

Our Catholic friends have never been satisfied with Ranke's "History of the Popes." It has been impossible to deny the great genius of the writer or the remarkable success of the book, but, in the words of a celebrated living Catholic historian, "ce puissant esprit a pourtant fait des efforts remarquables pour atteindre à une entière objectivité, sans jamais parvenir à se pénétrer du caractère universel de la papauté, et à comprendre l'importance de sa mission historique." It takes a great many things to make up an entire objectivity. This dissatisfaction has shown itself often in works on special points or periods of the history, but in the present we have the first volume of a work which is to cover the whole period of Ranke's and something more.

It must be acknowledged that the time has come for a rewriting of the history of the Popes. While Ranke's work can never be superseded because of the value of its general views and its keen insight, much new light can now be thrown upon matters of detail. The opening to investigation of the vast stores of material under the control of the Pope in Rome makes the present a very favorable time for undertaking this work. Professor Pastor has certainly not neglected his opportunities in this direction. His list of inedited material used, and that upon almost every page, is unusually large even for a German work. An Appendix of a hundred pages contains a number of these new documents, the more important, perhaps, being the confession of Stephen Porcaro and the Bull commissioning Nicholas of Cusa for the reformation of the Church in Germany.

Beginning with a brief survey of the Papacy in Avignon, enlarging slightly the account of the schism and the councils, with more of detail still for the time of Martin V. and Eugene IV., the narrative becomes full and minute with Nicholas V., and the volume closes with the death of Calixtus III. in 1458. A mere glance will perceive the numerous subjects of interest which fall within this period. The Renaissance, the great schism, Wycliffe and Huss, the revolutionary attempt of the councils and the demand for inner reform, the fall of Constantinople and the beginning of the Turkish war, all these are treated more or less at length, and often with the aid of new material.

The Renaissance is treated but briefly and incidentally, as is natural,

but with much of interest. The problem which the relation of the Papacy, at times, to the Renaissance presents to a Catholic writer is solved, as well as it can be, by insisting with much emphasis upon a distinction between a pagan or false and a Christian or true Renaissance. That there was in the movement a tendency towards a revival of pagan ideas and conduct is a fact of importance. That there was a double tendency, Christian as well as pagan, in it as a Renaissance during the fifteenth century is not merely doubtful as a fact, but if proved, of comparatively little value either as a defense of the Papacy or as a fact in the history of civilization. The important influence of the Renaissance upon Christianity does not come within this period nor in this way.

In the history of the Papacy during this time by far the most important event is the crisis created by the theory of the supreme authority of a general council and by the meeting of the councils themselves. It was a momentous crisis not merely in the history of the Papacy but also in the development of the whole intellectual and religious life of Europe. It is of little real use to imagine what would have been the result if any historic fact had been different from what it is, and yet it does aid us to a certain extent in acquiring a just estimate of any great turning-point in events. Had the theory underlying the great councils of the fifteenth century made itself dominant, it is practically certain that the movement towards national church independence, which at the end of the period did obtain so much success, would have been entirely successful. With so much granted, — virtually independent national churches under a constitutional monarchy — an ecclesiastical federal empire, — the inference is easy that the work of Luther, which was inevitable in any case, would have required no revolution for its success, and would have been followed by far different consequences. Is it to be expected that a Catholic writer will perceive the full significance of this crisis? Can entire objectivity be expected to extend so far? Of all the events in the history of the world there is none concerning which complete impartiality of view is more difficult than those in the religious history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The fundamental standpoint of both Catholic and Protestant is a practical begging of the question. One's objectivity may easily extend to criticising men and measures upon his own side with great severity, and to recognizing the superiority of motives and character upon the other, but when it comes to such large facts as the revolutions, attempted and successful, of these two centuries, it becomes a different matter. Certain it is that this book, while it recognizes the fact that the real thing attempted by the councils was to create a constitutional monarchy, a moment of supreme danger to the theory of papal absolutism, fails entirely to indicate the wider meaning of these events in the general history of Europe.

Perhaps it is not fair to make this a matter of criticism. It is fair, however, to notice that the book throughout displays a genuine German lack of insight, an inability to estimate the wider value of facts. But aside from this the value of the book is very great. We have the clearest possible statement of the papal position as against the councils. The Pope is the absolute head of the Church, appointed not by it but for it. A council has no power over him; indeed, there can be no œcumenical council without the Pope, and the decrees of any council can be annulled by him at any time. Pisa was a most revolutionary assembly, Constance

no council until summoned by Gregory, the general feeling a council mania, and the assembly at Basle council fanatics — almost the only instance of calling names in the book. The objectivity extends to severe criticism of the papal policy in many cases, to deploring the failure of Martin V. and other Popes to undertake a thorough reform, and to very clear and fair statements of opposing views. Keeping in view the fact that it is primarily a history of the Papacy, the historical perspective, the choice of events upon which to enlarge, is extremely good. The style is entirely without ornament, and a very odd effect is produced on one who reads a number of books with this at finding frequent sentences transferred verbatim from other authors without quotation-marks or other warning, though references are made in the foot-notes. That which makes this book indispensable to the student of this period, aside from its being an authoritative statement of the Catholic view, is the new light which is thrown upon numberless matters of detail.

George Burton Adams.

SPRINGFIELD, Mo.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D., LL. D., Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. With Maps. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1887. \$3.50.

In the "Outlines of Universal History" (noticed in this "Review," vol. v., p. 448), and in the volume now before us, Professor Fisher has provided the two most compact, trustworthy, and best proportioned text-books in the English language in their respective departments. Would that all text-books could be written by men at once practical teachers and masters of their subjects. The notion that the preparation of elementary schoolbooks may be left to men whose knowledge is only at second or third hand, or even still more remote, should be exploded. The elements of a subject are its profoundest truths. To set them forth clearly, proportionately, with firm discrimination yet without assumption of knowledge, requires a master's hand.

Professor Fisher's church history is not a mere text-book, being written with more of range and amplification than the "Outlines," and for general perusal. It is, however, the fruit of long experience in the classroom, and is preëminently adapted to the needs of students who desire a general and comprehensive knowledge of its subject. In the arrangement of the materials there is a combination of the rubrical and chronological methods, according to the best results of modern periodology and scientific classification. Three eras are marked, with subdivision into nine periods. The epochal year between the Ancient and Mediæval Eras is found, rightly we think, in the time of Charlemagne, not in that of Gregory I. The dates for periods are 100, 312, 590, 800, 1073, 1294, 1517, 1648. The second date, 312, assumes an unproved edict of that year (pp. 5, 50). Either the date 311, or better, 313, is preferable. The rubrical divisions are clearly defined under the heads, Missions, Polity, Doctrine, Christian Life, Worship. In the execution of the plan the apportionment of chapters follows faithfully the course of the history, now one topic taking the lead and now another. Fundamentally there are but three main rubrics, Doctrine, Life, Organization. Missions are part of the work of the Church. Worship is one expression of its life. Professor Fisher's development of his general plan is so true

to the subject of the history that it really follows in the main a better rubrical division than is stated on pages 2 and 3, particularly in the association of "Life" and "Worship." The conjunction of "Worship" with "Polity," in one instance, is suggestive of the deeper meaning which the rubric "Organization" should have, and which it gains when it is connected with Doctrine and Life, and appears as one of the three main aspects of historical Christianity.

The relation of Christianity to secular history is a subject which Professor Fisher treats with special fullness, as compared with other church historians. He evidently agrees with Professor Creighton, that ecclesiastical history cannot be written upon merely ecclesiastical lines. No part of this book, which is everywhere instructive and readable, is more fresh and attractive than the chapters in which the events of church history are treated in their connection with political history.

With this topic of the progress of Christianity in its connection with secular history, that of doctrinal history is specially elaborated. The author sketches in a masterly way the course of doctrinal development, and reviews the leading controversies. His judgments are firm, but never narrow nor partisan. They are necessarily compact in statement, yet remarkably clear. Sometimes in a few sentences a verdict is rendered that reveals to any one familiar with the subject the superiority of the writer's powers of historical judgment as well as the comprehensiveness of his scholarship. The method and style in this portion of the book, as elsewhere, are so free from what is technical and professional that the general reader will find it adapted to his needs. It is much to be desired that the members of our churches should become more generally acquainted with the history of Christian doctrine than is now the case. Professor Fisher's book supplies the needed help.

The topic of Christian Life is allotted a due place, and its treatment shows the same judicious use of the best materials that characterizes other divisions. We cannot but think that there is at present more room and call for new investigation and profound reflection in this province of church history than in any other. Much has been done to show the influence of the Church at different periods in the great spheres of human life, but what was the power that wrought? What was Christianity, as the ultimate spring and motive of life, to its followers from age to age? What was it over and beyond natural religion and natural ethics, Aristotelianism, Confucianism, human reason and the human conscience? Professor Fisher's sections on Christian Life help to the understanding of such questions and show what Christianity has done *for* men. They stimulate to yet further questionings as to what it is *in* men.

The author modestly alludes to the liability to inaccuracies of such a work as he has attempted. We have found it noticeably free from minor inadvertences, even in the proofreading. It is well supplied with Maps and Tables, and has a full Index, prepared by Mr. Henry E. Bourne, to whom the author acknowledges still further indebtedness.

On critical questions connected with the earlier history of the church evident pains has been taken to keep well within the lines of established fact and sifted results. This wise caution makes all the more noteworthy the paragraphs which treat of opinions upon theological topics now under discussion — as the Sacred Canon, Inspiration, Atonement, Eschatology. The few words on the "Rise of the New Testament Canon" (pp. 78, 79) may be particularly referred to for their suggestiveness.

The account of the Origin of the Apostles' Creed on pages 66 and 67, seems to us somewhat over-cautious. In its old Roman form this Creed probably dates earlier than the middle of the third century; and Caspari has, to say the least, invalidated the theory that it sprung from earlier "rules of faith." It seems to be more likely that these rules are expansions or interpretations of the baptismal symbols, of which the old Roman Creed is an example, and for the West the archetype.

In conclusion, while again expressing the hope that the remarkable clearness, fairness, judgment, and literary skill with which this volume is prepared, as well as the importance of its theme, will secure for it a very wide reading in the churches, as well as in the higher institutions of learning, we can assure its author that none will more highly appreciate his service, or be more grateful to him, than those whose duty it is to cultivate the same noble science which he is promoting so industriously and successfully.

Egbert C. Smyth.

CHRISTIAN FACTS AND FORCES. By NEWMAN SMYTH, author of "Old Faiths in New Light," "The Reality of Faith," etc., pp. 267. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1887.

These sermons, as the author states in the dedication of the volume, are the product in part of his last year's ministry. They bear on every page the marks of immediate connection with the spiritual life of his congregation. No heat is lost in the passage from the study to the pulpit. Sometimes the message will brook no words of introduction, the preacher contenting himself with a simple reference to the thought of the preceding Sabbath, or with the direct form of personal address, "I wish to speak to you this morning;" while the conclusion of the sermon not infrequently shows the reluctance of the preacher to give over the truth in the hearing which he has gained for it, — "But I must break off my sermon," "I must close with the half not uttered." The sermons have the directness, the timeliness, the throb of sermons prepared week by week in the thought of the spiritual needs of men. They are practical in the sense that the preacher is endeavoring through them to bring the truth which he holds in assured possession to the help of life. Dr. Smyth is evidently a student of human nature and a keen sympathizer with men in their sins and sufferings and wrongs. But his first impulse to preach comes from the side of truth. He does not put into the Scriptures under the stress of life. He starts from out the Scriptures with a message of hope. Many of the sermons in the present volume are the evident outcome of studies in the closing periods of the life of our Lord. And yet they are not studies but sermons. Dr. Smyth knows how to divide in his use of material. The author and the preacher are held, each to his proper function. The sermons show that he has more to say, but one must turn to his books for the philosophical or theological statement.

The ruling idea of this volume is what might be expected in the knowledge of the theological writings of Dr. Smyth. It is everywhere the Christian conception of God, of truth, of life. But the expression of this thought is peculiarly free from the contentious spirit of the times. There is only the most occasional and incidental reference to existing controversies in the Church. The truth, as the preacher conceives it, is stated in its positive and practical relations. And how positive and practical

these relations are, we may discover in the range and direction of thought in the sermons before us. Some of the titles are—"The Changed World," "Standing in the Truth," "The Positiveness of Jesus," "The Beginnings of Discipleship," "The Christian Revelation of Life," "A Real Sense of Sin," "Misunderstanding Christ," "The Great Requirement," "The Limits of Spiritual Manifestation," "The Interdependence of all the Saints."

The sermon on "Standing in the Truth" is a remarkably strong and impressive statement of the moral element in Christianity.

"In this one short text, '*He stood not in the truth because there is no truth in him,*' Jesus puts before us the real thing to be desired in our anxiety to stand in the truth. And like all other real things of worth to us, this object to be desired pertains to a man's character. The truth must be in us, or we cannot abide in the truth. Having no truthfulness within, the Evil One lost his standing in the truth of God's universe without him. He had fallen from the truth because there was no truthfulness within him.

"This extremest case of Satanic falling from the truth illustrates the whole process of descent of soul from the truth. According to this word of Jesus, we may take it as general law, that a mortal being must himself be truthful in order to maintain his standing in the truth of things. A man cannot know the truth of nature if he cherishes a lie in his heart. The soul must itself be truthful to see the truth. When we exhort men, therefore, to stand fast in the faith, we need, if we would follow Christ's example, to look to it first and last that we and they are in our spirits of the truth. If not, we shall not find by all our logic, sure, sunny standing-place in the truth. . . .

"The universe is a moral universe and its forces are honest forces. Soon or late, in this world or another, the end of inward untruthfulness is certain as the law of gravitation. The moral universe can be relied upon eventually to throw out every immoral man. *Without* are the idolaters, and every one that loveth and maketh a lie."

The following extract from the sermon on "A Real Sense of Sin," shows the discrimination of the preacher in dealing with the more serious aspects of spiritual experience.

"We cannot hold our conception of God, and attach to it a conviction of sin which belongs to another conception of God. We cannot retain a religious feeling or experience which is the reflex of our predominant conception of God, if we have habitually in our mind a different thought of God. For example, when St. Augustine ceased to think of this world as under the dominion of the powers of good and evil, and believed in one true God, he saw the sins of his youth in altogether a new light. So as we change, or clarify, or Christianize our thought of God, our religious feelings will naturally follow that change, and our sense of sin, if it be genuine, will correspond to our thought of what God is, and of what we are towards God. Yet just at this point we are apt to fall into religious fictitiousness. We may not discern how great has been the change which has come over men's thoughts concerning God, and so vainly strive to force ourselves into emotions and convictions which were true to former ideas of God, but which are not true to our prevalent thought of God."

The sermons on "Putting the Witness away" (referring to the desire of the Jews to kill Lazarus), on "The Gospel a Gift to the Senses," and on "Zebedee's Absence," are peculiarly fresh in subject and treatment. The most helpful sermon in the volume is on "Reconciliation with Life," from which a closing extract is taken.

"Nevertheless I must walk to-day, and to-morrow, and the day following. Not to the Son of man alone, but to every man there come inevitable days of life. No human will can escape the necessity of saying at some hour, 'I

must.' Even Napoleon has his St. Helena. We say, 'I will,' and the next day finds ourselves saying, 'I must.' God never suffers us to say the one for many hours without compelling us to say the other. Thoughtlessly we go our way, and look up to find ourselves facing the inevitable. There it is, steadily confronting us. It is hard as the face of a precipice. We cannot go around it. We cannot climb over it. We must stand still before it. There is no word of our English speech which we more cordially dislike than this same short word, *must*. We will not brook it when spoken to us by other men. Any friendship would be broken by it. Love knows nothing of it. Liberty consists in refusing to speak it when kings proclaim it or any foreign might commands it. Men have died rather than yield to it. Yet nature every day compels us to say it, and hard providences often wring it from broken hearts. There is a strange contradiction between our vital instinct of freedom and this inevitableness of so much of human life. We do not recognize this variance between constitution and necessity in other objects which have their appointed places in the order of nature. We are aware of no contradiction to the nature of matter when we say the molecules of oxygen and hydrogen must combine in certain definite proportions. It would be no insult to a star to declare it must keep true time over our meridian. Nature is one ordered compulsion. But from the first impulse of infant consciousness our human nature rebels against inevitableness. The child has always to be taught the habit of obedience. There is some spiritual power in us evidently created for a free life unrestrained by outward compulsions. Sin is wild outbreak of freewill, and its curse. But the principle of rebellion against the power of nature over us, and our objection to any outward control, is a constitutional principle of human nature. It is born in us, and we can never be content to say, 'I must,' unless we can say in the same breath, 'I will.' . . . How we should learn to say 'I must,' is the subject of this morning's sermon."

William Jewett Tucker.

ANDOVER.

PARISH PROBLEMS, HINTS, AND HELPS FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE CHURCHES.
 Edited by WASHINGTON GLADDEN. Pp. 479. New York: The Century Co.

This is more than a book, it is a library. Twenty-four writers contribute to its pages. But the volume is so skillfully edited that all confusion is avoided. Dr. Gladden presides over the book with the ease of a master at a feast. He never obtrudes his personality, but it is nowhere wanting, informing the book with rare good sense, clear moral discrimination, and the charm of a direct and practical purpose. The sections from his own pen reveal the writer's fresh, pointed, manly way of dealing with all social and business questions. He is as happy in brushing away the absurdities in the charge of "Stealing a minister," as he is in enforcing upon laymen "The duty of taking office" in the church, or of illustrating "Man's work in the local church." Whatever Dr. Gladden has to say upon these and kindred topics is so full of sense, so healthy in its tone, so bright and so true, that the reader quickly passes from interest to hearty assent.

The origin of the book is ascribed in the preface to Mrs. Margaret Woods Lawrence, whom the editor graciously characterizes as that "elect lady, who, as maiden, wife, and widow, has borne names endeared to the church at large, and who has usually preferred to appear under a mask that has grown transparent with time — the literary *nom de plume* of 'Meta Lander.'" Mrs. Lawrence contributes one entire chapter — that upon the Pastor at Home — and several sections in other chapters; and

the style of her writing, in its quaint terms, humorous reminiscences, and familiar treatment of some very practical questions of pastoral and social etiquette, relieves in no slight degree the otherwise severely business-like character of the volume. It is to Mrs. Lawrence that the readers of the book are indebted for the reprint of "A Apele for Are : 2 The Sextant of the Old Brick Metin 'ouse, by A Gasper."

The variety of authors and of subjects precludes the possibility of a review of the volume in detail. Several of the sections have been written by specialists, but on the whole there is a noticeable absence of professionalism. Hobbyists have been carefully excluded, and the relation of parts in the general scheme has been secured, as has been suggested, by good editing. Special mention ought to be made of the chapters or sections on Parish Business, by Austin Abbott, Esq.; on Music in Worship, by Prof. Waldo S. Pratt; on the Mid Week Service, by H. M. Scudder, D. D.; on Study and Pulpit, by Theodore T. Munger, D. D., and on Organizing the Church for Work, by George R. Leavitt, D. D. The most unsatisfactory chapter is that on Parish Buildings. Some good hints are given in a blunt and vigorous way, but they are chiefly on the negative side, while the discussion itself is very fragmentary and incomplete. No one could expect a treatise on church architecture, but one might reasonably ask for more positive suggestions in respect to parish buildings. A valuable reminder to churches in city and country is given in the title of the section on Unproductive Property.

The practical effect of this book upon the churches will be most wholesome. It will correct many inherited abuses, and stimulate to much wise activity. A church will learn from it how to respect itself as well as how to treat its minister. And it can be read with advantage by the ministry, if a minister is not already inclined to state his case too strongly. The professional minister will get, however, little comfort from its pages: he will find himself rebuked and instructed in the lessons which are so plainly taught to the members of churches and parishes.

William Jewett Tucker.

ANDOVER.

AMERICAN STATESMEN. LIFE OF HENRY CLAY. By CARL SCHURZ. In two volumes. 16mo. Vol. I., pp. 383; Vol. II., pp. 424. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1887. \$2.50.

CARL SCHURZ is, among us, a good deal like Homer's imagined spectator of the fight, conducted invisibly through it by Hermes. He has unquestionably an immovable attachment to that republic to which he has committed all his fortunes, and in which he has made for himself so eminent a career. But a dispassionateness which is doubtless in a measure constitutional is in him fortified by a happy impossibility of viewing our national conflicts of one and two generations back with quite that quickening of the pulse felt by those whose personal and whose hereditary life is rooted in them from the beginning. Especially is Mr. Schurz, as enjoying an inviolable immunity from the "Presidential fever," qualified to describe its confusing effects upon the intellect and conscience of those who are smitten with it, as visible in the life of this most illustrious of all its victims. The author carries us back to 1818, and from that point almost to the end shows us, with evident reluctance, what in Clay's transparent character is only too plain, how

often "that strange disturber of impulses and motives, of perceptions and conclusions . . . clouded his discernment."

Clay's life, as set forth here, gives the full impression of the other clouds through which his generous greatness so often shimmered uncertainly: his want of an unimpeached morality, though not of a spotless integrity, his want of a thorough foundation of knowledge, and perhaps his too impressible temperament. But though these things clouded his greatness, nothing could conceal it. From his boyhood till his death he took a first place everywhere, simply because he could not help it. He could throw away his advantages fast enough to lose the Presidency, but he could not help being greater than a President.

Mr. Schurz has often enough occasion of grave disapprobation of Henry Clay's course, but he never forgets the essential nobility of his public character. He describes as "the wellspring from which Henry Clay drew his political inspirations, — a grand conception of the future destiny of the American republic, and of a government adapted to the fulfillment of that great destiny; an ardent love of the Union, as the ark of liberty and national grandeur, a Union to be maintained at any price; an imaginative enthusiasm which infused its patriotic glow into his political opinions, but which was apt to carry him beyond the limits of existing things and conditions, and not seldom unfitted him for the formation of a clear and well-balanced judgment of facts and interests. But this enthusiastic conception of national grandeur, this lofty Unionism constantly appearing as the inspiration of his public conduct, gave to his politics, as they stood forth in the glow of his eloquence, a peculiarly potent charm."

The biography brings out in surprising distinctness the measure in which the Great Compromiser, in and beneath all his compromises, was inspired with a hatred of slavery. This appeared from the time when in youth he vainly endeavored to rid Kentucky of it up to the time when, in old age, he fruitlessly repeated the effort. He could not attempt an occasional apology for slavery without betraying his scorn of it. If he opened his lips to bless, he was apt to end by cursing it altogether. The most amusing instance of this appears in the letter which certain mercantile poltroons of New York had procured him to write, in maintenance of his own compromises of 1850, and in which he would only spare one fifth of the space for strictures on the Abolitionists, giving up the other four fifths to denunciations of Southern disunionism. He could not, it is true, as Mr. Schurz points out, apprehend the absolutely "irrepressible conflict" as could those Northern men who led the anti-slavery cause, as he was also incapable of understanding the mortal offense he had given to the North by sharpening the penalties of the Fugitive Slave Law. But he was constitutionally and territorially designated as the one who, through concessions to the South, often of baleful extent, was, now and again, to put off the inevitable collision until the time to which, as our author shows, he never ceased to look forward, when the free States should have so irresistible a preponderance that, if the South broke away, it could not fail to be crushed. The emphatic passion of his declaration that he would go with the Nation, whatever his State might do, must have been worth many battalions after his death, to keep Kentucky in her place.

Henry Clay's "American system" has prevailed after him, with a thoroughness the prospect of which would have made him stand aghast. But the history of its fluctuations and mutations under him, the tricks of

prestidigitation by which he tried to convince his admirers that a tariff simply for protection, simply for revenue, for revenue with incidental protection and for protection with incidental revenue, were all substantially one and the same thing, with a little difference in the angle of vision, is as droll as anything can be that is so curiously unintelligible. Clay was no great economist, private or political, and seems, like Fox with the funds, to have enjoyed seeing the duties go up or down as might best perplex the other side. Still, a man who so strongly accented the rights and duties of the national government could hardly fail, other things being equal, to like a high tariff best.

Clay appears especially contrasted with one man, and mortally opposed to another, — Adams and Jackson. The author sums up John Quincy Adams very well as “a man of great ability, various knowledge, and large experience; of ardent patriotism, and high principles of honor and duty; brimful of courage, and a pugnacious spirit of contention; precise in his ways, stiff and cold in manners; tenacious of his opinions; irritable of temper; inclined to be suspicious, and harsh in his judgments of others, and, in the Puritan spirit, also severe with himself.” He describes him elsewhere as seeming formed to make admirable principles and character as disagreeable as possible. He succeeded only too well, when, under a tempest of dislike, and of long-surviving and ever-reviving slander, he, and Clay with him, had to strike their flag to the semi-piratical craft of Andrew Jackson.

Mr. Schurz gives Jackson credit for certain blind instincts of the public good. A man so portentously ignorant could not very easily have any other than blind instincts. His services against nullification were great, and would have been essentially greater but for Henry Clay's irresistible propensity for compromising. Mr. Schurz also regards his distrust of a National Bank as warranted, though exaggerated beyond measure. But he was himself a greater nuisance and danger than anything short of nullification. The absolute demoralization of the public service for one generation, if not for two, ought to have been enough to make an administration infamous. But even that is less than the absolute incarnation, in his own revengeful personality, of the most aggravated unreason of democratic absolutism. He was not an Attila, but in his lesser measure he too deserves to be called a Scourge of God. How strangely he contrasts with that other man, who also rose from the very bottom, and who also governed his countrymen absolutely, but only by reflecting upon them the light of the eternal verities from the mirror of his fatherly wisdom!

It is hard for even those of us with whom, in our youth, Henry Clay was contemporary in his age, to follow him back to the utterly different conditions before the second war with England, which his eloquence helped to make inevitable. His arguments and his prophecies were hardly borne out by facts, but, as Schurz thinks, he rendered a great service to his country. He delivered us from the misery and shame of a nationality that did not know whether it had leave to stretch its limbs in the world or not.

Mr. Schurz gives an entertaining account of the tedious and uncertain negotiations in Ghent, and of the amusing brushes between Clay and Adams, held in balance by the Switzer Albert Gallatin. It is with very comprehensible feeling that our author recounts the passionately ungenerous thrust which this grand servant of our republic afterwards suffered at

Clay's own hands, because he was an American by free choice, and not an American because he could not help it. But Clay lived to be deeply ashamed of it.

We cannot but see that this biography suffers essentially from lacking a certain smack of the soil, which of course it could not be expected to have, but which is only a subordinate and dispensable merit. The same remark applies to the style, which is, of course, good and clear, but perhaps a little wanting in color.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Kuragefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments, sowie zu den Apokryphen, herausgegeben von Herrmann Strack und Otto Zöckler. A. Altes Testament. Dritte Abtheilung: Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige, ausgelegt von August Klostermann. II. Hälfte. Pp. 305-504, and xiii-xl. 5 mks. B. Neues Testament. Dritte Abtheilung: Die Briefe Pauli an die Thessalonicher, Galater, Korinther und Römer, ausgelegt von O. Zöckler, G. Schnedermann und E. Chr. Luthardt. Pp. xiv, 440. Nördlingen: Beck. 6 mks. — The first half of the commentary on Samuel and Kings was noticed in the August number of the "Review." It is therefore unnecessary to speak further of the author's method. The second half, like the first, is characterized by its careful discussion of questions of textual criticism. With the present installment appears the general introduction, of which the excellent sections upon the Sources and the Text deserve especial mention. The commentary upon the Epistle to the Thessalonians and the Galatians (pp. 1-86) is by Professor Zöckler, that upon 1 and 2 Corinthians (pp. 87-288) by Dr. Schnedermann, Dozent in Basel, and that upon Romans (pp. 289-439) by Professor Luthardt. The well-known Lutheran standpoint of the authors, especially Zöckler and Luthardt, is sufficient to assure us of their position upon all of the general questions under discussion between liberals and conservatives in connection with these epistles. It seems to the writer that the authors might have allowed themselves more space for a discussion of some of the most important and still agitated questions without detriment to the general plan of the series. The criticism of Schürer, which was mentioned in my former notice, apparently finds in the present volume especial justification. In the treatment of Galatians ii. the author contents himself with scarcely more than a reference to his discussion of the same subject in the commentary on Acts xv., where unfortunately the matter is handled in a very meagre way. The commentary upon Corinthians is more satisfactory, though one could wish for a more thorough treatment of 1 Corinthians xv. and of 2 Corinthians xii. In regard to the historical setting the author rejects the theory of a lost epistle between our present First and Second, and assumes but one visit to Corinth upon the part of the apostle before the composition of 2 Corinthians. — *Concilien-geschichte*. Nach den Quellen bearbeitet von Carl Joseph von Hefele. Fortgesetzt von J. Cardinal Hergenröther. Achter Band. Freiburg im

Breisgau: Herder. 8vo, pp. vii, 896. 9.60 mks. — The continuation of Hefele's "History of Christian Councils," interrupted for thirteen years, is resumed with the present volume, which treats *Die Zwischenzeit vom Basler bis zum fünften Lateran-Concil* and *Das Achtzehnte allgemeine oder fünfte Lateran-Concil*. With the completion of the revised edition of Vol. IV. the aged author was obliged to lay down his pen and to entrust the continuation of the revision to his pupil, Professor Knöpfler. From his hand has already appeared (1886) the second edition of Vol. V., and Vols. VI. and VII. are soon to follow. The work done by Professor Knöpfler is most thorough, and puts the fifth volume, in a largely augmented form, fully abreast of the times. The theological world may therefore promise itself from his hands a revision of the remaining volumes in every way worthy of the original. The present volume, by Cardinal Hergenröther, is a continuation — not a revision — of Hefele's work, which in the first edition was carried no further than the seventh volume. Hergenröther has undertaken to complete the whole work (for which at least two more volumes will be required), and Vol. IX. will shortly appear. It is unnecessary to say that the volume just issued exhibits the widest research and the most careful scholarship. The author's reputation is a sufficient guaranty for the quality of the work done, and his connection with the Vatican library furnishes him with unsurpassed opportunities for the collection of materials. The general plan pursued is the same as that of Hefele, and the author has endeavored to remain true to the methods and principles of his predecessor. — *Die Heiligen*. Ein Beitrag zum geschichtlichen Verständniss der Offenbarung Johannis und der alchristlichen Verfassung, von Past. Dr. C. H. Manchot. Leipzig: Veit. 8vo, pp. vii, 160. 5 mks. — This is one of the most remarkable books that has appeared in the sphere of early church history for many years. The learning and ability of the author are not to be denied, but his imagination runs completely away with him, and his results are, most of them, absolutely without historical worth. His thesis is that the Saints of the Apocalypse and of the earliest Christian literature do not embrace all true Christians, but form an especial and higher class by themselves. His proofs, drawn from the New Testament and other early Christian writings, are most remarkable, and where he finds difficulties he does not hesitate to emend the text. His fondness for allegory leads him to some very wild speculations which are worthy to be compared with those of the Alexandrian fathers. Among other interesting discoveries he finds that the Paul whom we know is not one but two persons — a Saint Paul and an Apostle Paul — whom tradition has confounded. It is not necessary to describe the book further. It is certainly worth reading as an excellent lesson in historical method.

PERIODICALS.

Religion nach dem Neuen Testament, mit besonderer Beziehung auf das Verhältniss des Sittlichen und Religiösen und auf das Mystische in der Religion, von Dr. Julius Köstlin. Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1888. Heft I., pp. 7-102. — An interesting article by the Halle Professor of Dogmatics, the author of the well-known "Life of Luther." The writer discusses, first, the general utterances of Jesus and of the New Testament, secondly, the special Pauline and Johannine expressions, and finally considers the religious Being in his relation to himself and to his own good. He concludes with the following words, which form an excellent summary of the article: "So ist die Religion des Neuen Testaments ein

ganz durch Gott bestimmtes Leben und zugleich ein Leben wahrhafter Selbstbestimmung in der Gemeinschaft mit Gott. So ist sie Selbsthingabe, in welcher der Mensch sich selbst gewinnt zu wahren, ewigem Leben." — *Die Apokalypse* gegen die jüngste kritische Hypothese in Schutz genommen, von Dr. Willibald Beyschlag. Ibid., pp. 102–138. — The writer discusses at considerable length the theory of Vischer that the Apocalypse is the Christian revision of an originally Jewish work. He takes up Vischer's positions in detail, and combats them most energetically, concluding that the theory is entirely baseless. In his interpretation of the difficult passages which come under discussion the writer lays great stress upon the poetical character of the Apocalypse, and complains that Vischer treats it as mere prose and displays a lamentable lack of the religious and æsthetic feeling necessary to understand the book. The same traits are therefore prominent in the present article which characterize the author's well-known "Life of Christ," and which give to that an æsthetic interest at the expense of critical worth.

Arthur C. McGiffert.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Boston and Chicago. One Girl's Way Out. By Howe Benning, author of "Miss Charity's House," "Quiet Corners," etc. Pp. 368. 1887. \$1.25; — The Sewells; or, To Every Man his Work. A story of Every Day Life. By M. E. Winslow, author of "Enderby Bible Class," etc. Pp. 357. 1887. \$1.50; — Sermons for Children. By A. Hastings Ross, Pastor of the First Congregational Church of Port Huron, Michigan. Pp. viii, 323. 1887. \$1.25.

Cupples & Hurd, Boston. Letters from Colorado. By H. L. Wason. Pp. xi, 158. 1887. \$1.25; — Old New England Days. A story of True Life. By Sophie M. Damon. Pp. iv, 434. 1887. \$1.25; — The Monk's Wedding. A Novel. By Conrad Ferdinand Meyer. Pp. 168. 1887. \$1.25; — Matthew Calbraith Perry. A Typical American Naval Officer. By William Elliot Griffis, author of "The Mikado's Empire," "Corea the Hermit Nation," and "Japanese Fairy World." Crown 8vo, pp. xvi, 459. 1887. \$2.00.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. The World to Come. By William Burnet Wright, author of "Ancient Cities." 16mo, pp. viii, 307. 1887. \$1.25; — Knitters in the Sun. By Octave Thanet. 16mo, pp. 352. 1887. \$1.25; — The Holy War. By John Bunyan. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. John Brown, B. A., of Bedford, author of "The Life of Bunyan," etc. 12mo, pp. xxii, 379. 1887. \$1.50; — The Pilgrim's Progress. By John Bunyan. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. John Brown, B. A., of Bedford, author of "The Life of Bunyan," etc. 12mo, pp. xxii, 380. 1887. \$1.50.

Silver, Rogers & Co., Boston. Brief Institutes of General History. Being a Companion Volume to the author's "Brief Institutes of our Constitutional History, English and American." By E. Benjamin Andrews, D. D., LL. D., Professor of History in Brown University. Pp. x, 440. 1887. \$2.00.

The Century Company, New York. Songs of Worship. For the Sunday-School. Edited by Waldo S. Pratt. Pp. 265. 1887; — Aids to Common Worship. Services of Holy Scriptures, from the Revised Version in the Readings and Renderings preferred by the American Revisers. Pp. xxviii, 413. 1887.

Funk & Wagnalls, New York. Paradise: A Novel. By Lloyd S. Bryce. Pp. 172. 1887. 25 cents.

